

# *The Journal of Historical Review*

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Thies Christophersen  
*Auschwitz and West German Justice*

—Book Reviews—  
—News and Comment—

# *The Journal of Historical Review*

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## Editorial Note

# Historical Revisionism and the Legacy of George Orwell

During the Second World War, George Orwell wrote a weekly radio political commentary, designed to counter German and Japanese propaganda in India, that was broadcast over the BBC overseas service. His wartime work for the BBC was a major inspiration for his monumental novel, 1984. Very few readers of 1984 know, for example, that Orwell's attack against the perverse double-talk language called Newspeak was based on the author's revulsion against Basic English, an artificial language that Churchill's wartime cabinet wanted the BBC to use in its overseas propaganda. Similarly, Orwell's model for the lying Ministry of Truth was the British wartime Ministry of Information, which censored BBC broadcasts. The shorthand form, Minitrue, was taken directly from the Ministry of Information telegraphic address, Miniform.

Throughout his lifetime, the great English writer continually questioned all "official" or "accepted" versions of history. As early as 1945, just after the end of the war in Europe, he expressed doubts about the widespread stories of "gas oven" exterminations (*Notes on Nationalism*). George Orwell was a revisionist. He detested officially sanctioned atrocity and hate propaganda. If he were alive today he would certainly be nauseated by the pervasive Holocaust propaganda of our times. And as a staunch lifelong supporter of free speech and open historical inquiry, he would undoubtedly defend the right of revisionist historians to present their challenging views to the world.

It is worth noting that last July's devastating fire-bomb attack against the offices of the Institute for Historical Review, the foremost center of dissident historical inquiry, took place during the year made immortal by 1984. The terrorist attack also forced the rescheduling of the revisionist conference dedicated to Orwell's memory. Symbolically, the July fire-bombing of the Institute was an attack against the spirit of George Orwell in our times.

Life in the western world today differs markedly from what Orwell suggested it might be like in 1984. In contrast to the squalid, puritanical and thoroughly regimented life of 1984's Oceania, American life today is increasingly anarchic and self-indulgent. But there are also many ominous similarities. Deceptive "Newspeak" terms are in wide use today. One of the most odious examples is "affirmative action" which, despite its benign



ring, is a dishonest label for a vast government-imposed program of anti-White racial discrimination. And like the hysterical "hate sessions" unforgettably described in 1984, Americans endure an endless array of hyper-emotional propaganda designed to whip up mindless hatred of anything smacking of "Nazism" or "Hitlerism." While the attention span of the American mass media normally seems to last no longer than a few weeks or months, its appetite for Holocaust atrocity propaganda is apparently insatiable.

Orwell himself recognized that "unacceptable" views are suppressed in modern democratic society not in the crude, heavy-handed way described in 1984, but much more subtly and insidiously. He put it this way:

At any given moment there is an orthodoxy, a body of ideas which it is assumed that all right-thinking people will accept without question. It is not exactly forbidden to state this or that or the other, but it is "not done." . . . Anyone who challenges the prevailing orthodoxy finds himself silenced with surprising effectiveness. A genuinely unfashionable opinion is almost never given a fair hearing, either in the popular press or in the highbrow periodicals.

Accordingly, Holocaust revisionism is vilified with particular vehemence, almost invariably by individuals who have obviously never made the slightest effort to discover what revisionists have actually written. When the mass media does bother to describe revisionist views on the Holocaust to the public, the usual practice is to portray them as so ludicrous and childishly absurd that no rational person could possibly take them seriously, but also as just plausible enough so that others, not quite so enlightened, might be taken in. The Simon Wiesenthal Holocaust Center, for example, charges that revisionists claim that concentration camp crematories were not really crematories at all, but bread ovens. Revisionists are often accused of claiming that the well-known photos of emaciated corpses found in camps at the end of the war are fakes, or that no Jews ever died in the camps. Such perverse misrepresentation is very reminiscent of the passage in 1984 which describes a "hate session" presentation of a concocted speech by the monstrous and semi-legendary arch-fiend Goldstein:

Goldstein was delivering his usual venomous attack upon the doctrines of the Party—an attack so exaggerated and perverse that a child should have been able to see through it, and yet just plausible enough to fill one with an alarmed feeling that other people, less level-headed than oneself, might be taken in by it.

The powers that be are not content with merely propagandistic or behind-the-scenes methods of maintaining their self-serving



portrayals of history. While historical revisionism has always been strictly forbidden in Communist countries, now even some ostensibly democratic governments are trying to legally suppress "unacceptable" historical views. The West German government, for example, has approved a proposed law that would prohibit historical works that "minimize" or "deny" Nazi crimes.

The Canadian government has banned the importation of many purely political and historical works, including *Behind Communism* and *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, on the basis of a law which makes it illegal to import literature "of an immoral or indecent character." Bowing to pressure from the B'nai B'rith, Canadian officials added *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* to its list of banned books. Canadian police even raided a couple of university libraries to seize copies of this supposedly dangerous book from library shelves. The B'nai B'rith recently asked the Canadian government to forbid the importation of all future issues of *The Journal of Historical Review*, a particularly pernicious violation of the time-honored principle of the presumption of innocence. Of course, the hypocritical import ban will have no significant long-term effect on the ever wider distribution of revisionist works in Canada. As Arthur Butz put it, the Canadian move against his book was rather like locking the barn door after the horses have already escaped.

The most spectacular recent effort to legally suppress free historical inquiry and expression was the Toronto trial of revisionist Ernst Zuendel on a charge of "publishing false news likely to cause injury or mischief to a public interest." Despite the guilty verdict against the German-Canadian for publishing the booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, the trial was a public relations victory for Holocaust revisionism.

Canadian television and newspapers gave the eight-week-long case prominent and detailed coverage. Among those who testified on behalf of Zuendel were IHR Advisory Committee members Dr. Robert Faurisson, Dr. William Lindsey, Ditleb Felderer and Udo Walendy. Generally unbiased press reports appeared under startling headlines, such as: "Gas was not used in prison camps, expert tells court," "Nazi gas chambers unproven, court told," "Genocide a myth, jury told," "The Nazi 'final solution' meant relocating Jews," "View of Belsen was propaganda, trial told," "Mass gassing impossible, says chemist," and "Camp gas chambers fake, Holocaust revisionist says." Never before have revisionist views received such widespread coverage in any country. As a result of the trial, more Canadians than ever now doubt the Holocaust story.

The apparent consensus of Canadian newspapers and news commentators is that the Zuendel case was a major mistake and

that the seldom used law under which he was tried should be abolished. For example, *Toronto Star* columnist Gerald Caplan complained that “someone made a terrible, terrible blunder” in putting Zuendel on trial because “the very magnitude of the attention he has received has afforded him and witnesses who supported him some legitimacy in the eyes of innocent Canadians.” In an editorial entitled “A threat to free speech,” the *Toronto Star* pointed out that the vaguely worded law under which Zuendel was tried is ominously characteristic of totalitarian societies. The *Star* compared the Zuendel trial to similarly perverse legal efforts to suppress Galileo’s supposedly dangerous idea that the sun is the center of our solar system and, more recently, the theory of evolution. *Toronto Sun* columnist George Jonas lamented that the trial “handed them (Zuendel and his supporters) a victory on a platter.” In the words of another *Sun* columnist, Walter Stewart, Zuendel “won the propaganda war hands down.”

The increasingly frantic efforts by “thought police” organizations such as B’nai B’rith are manifestations of weakness, not strength. For despite the tremendous obstacles, the trend is clear. Historical revisionism has been growing ever more influential. Revisionist works can be found in ever greater numbers of college and public libraries across the United States. And the phoenix-like rebirth of the IHR from the ashes of terrorist attack is proof of the Institute’s undaunted vitality and an expression of its supporters’ faith in the ultimate triumph of truth over lies.

One of the great strengths of historical revisionism in its struggle for public acceptance is that it holds the moral high ground. In spite of their pervasive propaganda and awesome power, the B’nai B’rith and its allies operate like thieves in the night. They cannot tolerate the glare of scrutiny or the light of open debate. Despite their yapping about human rights and democracy, they are the ones trying to stifle free speech and open inquiry. In the long run, their deceitful and hypocritical efforts just won’t wash with men and women of good will.

In the wake of the arson attack against the Institute’s offices last July, hundreds of letters of support and encouragement arrived from around the world. Among the many who expressed their solidarity with the IHR were two of the most widely-read and respected historians of our time. British author, David Irving, who addressed the 1983 IHR conference, told the Institute: “I was deeply shocked to hear of the firebomb attack on your premises. . . . The inaction of the Torrance police department since then is also disturbing.”

And American Pulitzer prize-winning author John Toland wrote:

When I learned of the torching of the office-warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review I was shocked. And when I heard no

condemnation of this act of terrorism on television and read no protests in the editorial pages of our leading newspapers or from the halls of academia, I was dismayed and incensed. Where are those defenders of democracy who over the years have so vigorously protested the burning of books by Hitler? Are they only summer soldiers of democracy, selective in their outrage? I call on all true believers in democracy to join me in public denunciation of the recent burning of books in Torrance, California.

The fact that the Institute for Historical Review is so hated and vilified by the bigoted forces of darkness that seek to strangle any contrary voice, no matter how modest, is itself evidence of its importance as a bulwark against intellectual tyranny and scholastic repression. Just as challenges to political and social orthodoxy are vitally important in any healthy society, so also is it essential to challenge orthodox portrayals of the past. That is the work of historical revisionism. It deserves the support of everyone who honestly supports the search for historical truth, no matter where it may lead. George Orwell would surely agree.

—Mark Weber

## Correspondence

### Dr. Faurisson's Comments

About "A Challenge to David Irving," which appeared in the last issue of *The Journal*, Winter, 1984 (pp. 288-305).

I am very sorry that five corrections were not made to this article, to wit:

—p. 296, 1.29: instead of "Kurt Gerstein" should read "Kurt Gerstein or of Konrad Morgen"

—p. 297, 1.1: instead of "things" should read "events"

—p. 300, 1.16: instead of "the other defendants" should read "other defendants"

—p. 301, 1.3: instead of "does not at all seem" should read "does not seem"

—p. 303, 1.24: instead of "Eichmann, Heinrich Mueller" should read "Oswald Pohl, Heinrich Mueller, Eichmann"

In addition, a portion was omitted which I ask be included in the next issue:

On p. 718 of *Hitler's War*, David Irving writes:

In October 1944, Himmler ordered the extermination of the Jews to stop.

*Continued on page 122*

# Orwell's '1984': Was Orwell Right?

JOHN BENNETT

*(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)*

*Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past.—O'Brien in 1984*

*Every government is run by liars and nothing they say should be believed.—I.F. Stone*

Many of the predictions made by George Orwell in his book 1984 in relation to "Big Brother" surveillance, corruption of language and control of history have already come about to a great extent in Communist countries and to some extent in the West. The powers of security police in Western countries to intercept mail and tap phones have often been extended, police agencies keep numerous files on law-abiding citizens, and more and more public officials have the right to enter private homes without a warrant. Many government departments keep computerized information on citizens and there is a danger that this information will be fed into a centralized data bank.

Attempts by law enforcement agencies to obtain more information through informer schemes, through new law enforcement agencies, and through new techniques such as computerization of information, are understandable, but the cumulative effect of such Big Brother activities is to make countries such as the United States, Britain and Australia increasingly totalitarian societies. The corruption of language described in 1984 is widespread in the media today, with "Newspeak" terms such as democratic, socialist, fascist, war criminal, freedom fighter, racist and many other expressions being used in a deliberately deceptive, propagandistic way to whip up mass hysteria or simply to ensure that people can never achieve even an approximation of the truth.



### Control of the Past

The fact that almost all media commentary, book reviews and feature articles about the book 1984 have ignored the crucial role of controlling the past indicates that Orwell's prophecy has already been partially fulfilled. The central theme of his book, the control of history, has already been largely written out of references to his book and has disappeared down the memory hole.<sup>1</sup>

The book's hero, Winston Smith, works in the Ministry of Truth rewriting and falsifying history. The Ministry writes people out of history—they go “down the memory hole” as though they never existed. The Ministry also creates people as historical figures who never existed. Big Brother, who controls the State of Oceania, uses “thought police” to ensure that people in the inner and outer Party are kept under control. Oceania is at perpetual war with either Eurasia or Eastasia. Alliances between these three states change without rational explanation. “Hate weeks” are organized against Goldstein, the leader of an alleged underground opposition to Big Brother, and hate sessions are organized against either Eurasia or Eastasia. O'Brien, a member of the inner Party, pretends to Smith that he is part of the Goldstein conspiracy against Big Brother. He asks Smith what he would most like to drink a toast to. Smith chooses to drink a toast, not to the death of Big Brother, the confusion of the Thought Police, or Humanity, but “to the past.” Both Smith and O'Brien, the main characters of 1984, agree that the past is more important. Unfortunately, almost all of last year's media commentary about Orwell's greatest book ignored the importance of the past and control of the past as a theme in 1984. The extent of censorship of history is indicated by suppression of the fact that Orwell originally considered giving the title 1948 to his book because of widespread Big Brother tendencies already in the year 1948, including control of history.<sup>2</sup> It is also indicated by the suppression of the fact that Orwell queried the allegation that there were gas chambers in Poland.

Orwell wrote that

indifference to objective truth is encouraged by the sealing off of one part of the world from another, which makes it harder and harder to discover what is actually happening. There can often be doubt about the most enormous events. . . . The calamities that are constantly being reported—battles, massacres, famines, revolutions—tend to inspire in the average person a feeling of unreality. One has no way of verifying the facts, one is not even fully certain that they have happened, and one is always presented with totally different interpretations from different sources. Probably the truth is undiscoverable but the facts will be so dishonestly set forth in

that the ordinary reader can be forgiven either for swallowing lies or for failing to form an opinion . . .<sup>3</sup>

Because of his experience in the Spanish civil war that media reports of the conflict bore no relation to what was happening, Orwell developed a great skepticism about the ability of even a well intentioned and honest writer to get to the truth. He was generally skeptical of atrocity stories.

It should be noted that Orwell worked for the BBC for a time, and the Ministry of Truth is modeled to some extent on the BBC. Orwell noted that the BBC put out false hate propaganda during World War II, and controlled history by censoring news about the genocidal Allied policy of leveling German cities by saturation bombing. Orwell's beliefs about the control of the past, including the recent past, also derived from his experiences in the Spanish civil war, where he found that "no event is ever correctly reported in a newspaper, but in Spain for the first time I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts."<sup>4</sup>

The popular perception of history is based on brainwashing by the mass media, indoctrination by the education system, peer group pressure, self-censorship and television "docudramas." Docudramas such as *Winds of War*; *Tora, Tora, Tora*; *Gandhi*; *Gallipoli*; and *Holocaust*, which pervade people's 1984-like telescreens, are a blend of fact and fiction. They give a clear and believable, but usually completely misleading view, of historical events. Such devices to indoctrinate and mislead people are not new. Shakespeare's docudramas, such as *Richard III*, served a similar purpose. The pervasiveness of television and widespread literacy make people more susceptible to brainwashing by Big Brother agencies than was possible in the past. The twentieth century is the century of mass propaganda. Due to different systems of propaganda, people in different countries such as Russia, China, and the United States will have quite different beliefs about history. The "Winston Smiths" in Communist countries who query approved history are likely to be more harshly treated than their counterparts in the West.

### Book Censorship and Treatment of Dissidents

Many of the books mentioned in this essay are, for a variety of reasons, including direct censorship, trade boycott and self-censorship by booksellers, distributors and librarians, difficult to obtain. (However, many of them can be ordered from the Institute for Historical Review.) Obtaining banned books and access to restricted information plays a major role in Orwell's best-known work. One of the most important developments in 1984 is when Winston Smith obtains a book by Goldstein which had been effec-



tively banned by the Thought Police. Pressure from people with a thought-police mentality inhibits freedom of speech in my own country, Australia, and has helped to restrict the circulation of some books. Extreme cases of book censorship in the West have occurred in West Germany, where Professor Helmut Diwald was forced to delete revisionist portions from his *History of the Germans*. Retired judge Dr. Wilhelm Staeglich had his book on Auschwitz seized, and the University of Tuebingen, which had granted him his law degree, deprived him of it, ironically under a law passed by the Nazis. In Sweden, Ditlieb Felderer's writings were also recently seized and he was imprisoned for the "thought crime" of querying the Holocaust. His arrest and detention should alarm all people concerned with civil liberties. Mr. Felderer, who has questioned the extent of alleged German war atrocities and pointed out the extent of Allied war atrocities, including one million civilian deaths from saturation bombing of German and Japanese cities, was jailed because of his writings. Following the precedent of Soviet authorities in dealing with dissident thinkers, he was forced to undergo psychiatric examinations. The jailing of Felderer for querying the establishment version of history and his harassment by psychiatrists is clearly an attempt to intimidate him and other free thinkers who have dared to ask challenging questions about the past. The harassment or persecution of Felderer is part of a worldwide attempt to silence revisionist writers. An unsuccessful effort was made to silence Professor Robert Faurisson, a French revisionist historian, by court proceedings in 1983 involving potential penalties of \$200,000, while moves are currently being made, supported by some so-called historians, to remove Professor Arthur Butz from his teaching position at Northwestern University. Canadian postal authorities denied the use of the postal system to revisionist publicist Ernst Zuendel for a time. Various West German writers have been imprisoned, while a French revisionist was assassinated a few years ago. Many civil libertarians, such as the distinguished Jewish intellectuals Noam Chomsky and Alfred Lilienthal, have protested against the attempts to silence revisionist historians, while other so-called civil libertarians have been strangely silent, preferring to defend only the civil liberties of those whose views they agree with.

### **Gandhi and Bose**

Henry Ford said that history is bunk, while Dean Inge noted that historians have the power denied to almighty God of altering the past. These statements are relevant to the film *Gandhi*, which was mainly financed by the government of India and which won

numerous best-film, best-actor and best-director awards. It is widely accepted as an accurate biographical portrayal of Mohandas K. Gandhi. The film portrays the Indian political leader as a saintly figure virtually without fault and suggests that he and his campaign of non-violent resistance to British rule was the reason India gained independence in 1947. The portrayal of Gandhi in the film of that name is a massive distortion. The film ignores Gandhi's tyrannical habits, his hypocrisy, his appalling treatment of his wife and children, his bizarre fixation on bowel functions, and his support for violence in various wars. The film ignores Gandhi's views that sexual attraction between men and women is unnatural and that he demanded celibacy between even married members of his entourage. He was so fanatical about his views on sex that he disowned his son Harilal for wishing to marry, and repeatedly tested his own will by sleeping nude with young women. The film *Gandhi* ignores the Mahatma's elitist attitudes. He is portrayed as a champion of freedom and individual rights, but in real life he was steadfastly opposed to granting additional rights to India's millions of Untouchables. The film's portrayal of Gandhi as a pacifist is incorrect. He supported the British military in the Boer War and World War I. The so-called pacifist gave his approval to men who, as he put it, were "using violence in a normal cause." He gave his blessing to the Nawab of Maler Kolta when he gave orders to shoot ten Moslems for every Hindu killed in his State. Gandhi's hypocrisy and double standards (not mentioned in the film) are also indicated by his opposition to modern medicine and his refusal to allow his wife to receive a life-saving shot of penicillin when she was dying of pneumonia. When he contracted malaria shortly afterwards, however, Gandhi accepted for himself the alien medicine of quinine, and when he had appendicitis he allowed British doctors to operate to save his life.

Perhaps the most serious distortion of history in the *Gandhi* propaganda film is the total suppression of the role played by Subhas Chandra Bose in the events leading to the independence of India. (This subject was examined in detail by Mr. Ranjan Borra in an essay published in the Winter 1982 issue of *The Journal*.) At the time that India attained independence, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee regarded the armed insurrection led by Bose as a far more important factor leading to independence than Gandhi's activities. However, Bose is not even mentioned in the *Gandhi* film. The eminent Indian historian, Dr. R.C. Majumdar, wrote: "There is . . . no basis for the claim that the civil disobedience movement (led by Gandhi) directly led to independence. The campaigns of Gandhi . . . came to an ignoble end about fourteen years before India achieved independence."<sup>5</sup>



There is ample evidence to substantiate the fact that the armed assault on British India by Bose and his Indian National Army (INA) during World War II was the decisive factor that forced the British withdrawal from the Asian sub-continent. The exploits of this army, when they became known, undermined the loyalty of the Indian soldiers, or sepoys, of the British. These men were the mainstay of colonial rule in India. Bose and the INA ignited the spark of a potential military revolt within the country, which the British dreaded above all else. This forced their decision to quit India honorably, while there was still time. As Majumdar wrote: "In particular, the revelations made by the INA trial, and the reaction it produced in India, made it quite plain to the British, already exhausted by the war, that they could no longer depend upon the loyalty of the sepoys for maintaining their authority in India. This had, probably, the greatest influence upon their final decision to quit India."<sup>6</sup>

### **Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace**

The changing alliances between Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia described in 1984 are similar to the changing alliances between the United States, Russia, and China. The state of perpetual war described by Orwell is also reflected in the three hundred wars since 1945, the thirty-seven armed conflicts under way in 1980, and recent conflicts in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Central America, and Grenada. Perpetual civil war also seems to prevail in various multi-racial societies.

"Doublespeak" propaganda terms are used in these conflicts. "Peace-keeping forces" are used to make war, invasions such as in Grenada are described as "landings," planning for aggressive war is described as "defense strategy." The book *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* edited by Harry Elmer Barnes describes the permanent war economy of the United States, the trickery employed by the U.S. government to enter World War I and World War II, and the censorship of dissident historical views by the media, the book trade, libraries, the curricula sections of education departments, and book reviewers. *The Dynamics of War and Revolution* by Lawrence Dennis discusses the need for preparation for perpetual wars to overcome unemployment, boost profits, and use up excess capital. Foreign markets are secured through war and foreign aid. Huge loans are made which cannot be paid back by debtor nations such as Poland and Brazil.

The role of international banks in financing wars and revolutions has been documented in numerous books, few of which are available in bookshops or libraries. Dr. Anthony Sutton documented the link between international finance and the Rus-

sian Revolution in *Wall Street and the Russian Revolution*. The American Red Cross mission to Moscow in 1917 had more financiers than medical doctors. Wall Street banks helped finance the revolution. This has been almost entirely swept under the rug by historians since it cuts across conventional ideas about the political left and right. *Uncovering the Forces of War* by Conrad Grieb deals with the role of international financiers in simultaneously bankrolling both sides in wars.

### Organized Incitement to Hatred

The media in all countries are a vehicle for whipping up hatred against Goldstein-like figures. The aim of hate-week incitement is to divert attention from domestic problems, promote national unity, and, where necessary, motivate people to kill other people in wars. Hate-week campaigns in the Soviet Union direct invective against the Chinese and Western "imperialists." In China hatred is whipped up against the Russians, sometimes the Vietnamese, and, until recently, the Americans. Iran and Iraq use their media outlets to control history, including recent history, and to keep their respective captive populations in the psychological state of hatred required to maintain their current war. Other countries at war or on a war footing use similar tactics. Hate propaganda is used in the civil-war conditions which prevail in many multi-racial societies such as Zimbabwe, Chad, Sri Lanka, Zaire, Ethiopia, Burma, Uganda and Cyprus, which are paying the price demanded by the fallacious belief that multi-racial societies are viable.

The most pervasive hate campaigns in the West are still directed against Hitler, who died almost forty years ago. Hitler is treated in the Western mass media as a Goldstein figure with no redeeming features. Hate sessions directed against Hitler and the Nazis are so pervasive that a visitor from Mars might think that World War II was still in progress. More than four hundred feature films have been produced since 1945 with negative stereotyping of Germans, as well as numerous television series and countless books. (By contrast, the Nazis made only two or three anti-Semitic feature films between 1933 and 1945.) Recent films include *Sophie's Choice*, *Playing for Time*, *The Boys from Brazil*, *Marathon Man*, and *The Odessa File*. Recent television series include *Winds of War*, *Holocaust*, *Kessler*, and *The Secret War*. Many more films, television series, and books are in the pipeline. The cumulative effect of this media avalanche of negative stereotyping of Germans is to incite ethnic hatred against people of German extraction of whom there are more than twenty million in the United States. Civil-rights, human-rights and church groups which have been



quick to oppose racism and anti-Semitism have done almost nothing to stem this incitement to ethnic hatred.

The 18-hour *Winds of War* television saga is a good example of the docudrama blend of fact, fiction and fantasy ("faction") which is accepted by many viewers as objective history. The *Winds of War* film is an instructive example of gross distortion of history, of incitement to ethnic hatred, and of the use of the electronic media as a vehicle for propaganda. *Winds of War* was written by Herman Wouk, a devout Orthodox Jew. It's an American-Jewish version of the last world war in which the persecution of Jews is a dominant theme and war atrocities committed by the Allies, such as the terror bombing of cities, are almost completely ignored. A *Washington Post* reviewer wrote "if you miss the *Winds of War* you will be adding 18 hours to your life," while another critic called the series "essentially a cartoon, a child's history of the war with all the stock characters of a Hollywood propaganda movie."

Wouk tries to make the Jewish people the axis around which American and world history revolves. Without exception, he portrays Jews as warm, sensitive, admirable people who are innocent victims of mindless persecution. The Germans are stereotypes of evil who are barely recognizable as real people at all. The German people are portrayed as suffering from a national character disorder to explain why they admired and supported Hitler, who is portrayed by Wouk as a raving comic-book lunatic. If an 18-hour television series were to be shown at peak viewing time with comparably derogatory portrayals of Jews, there would be a massive protest about "anti-Semitism." The argument that films such as *Winds of War* are made because of popular demand is incorrect, since much of the demand is created by massive advertising and promotional campaigns, often as expensive as the films themselves.

The book *Dealing in Hate* by Michael Connors examines anti-German hate campaigns in both world wars. *Falsehood in Wartime* by Arthur Ponsonby deals with the Allied propaganda lies against Germany in World War I. Second World War propaganda lies are still being churned out on an almost daily basis. If the Germans had won the last world war, and had influence in the media, we would doubtless be having a series of hate sessions against England, America and Russia. If there is another world war, the victors will once again write the history books and cowardly court historians, acting as thought police, will ensure that the history of the war is not objective. Finally, to make a fairly trite but important point—if the conditions described in Orwell's 1984 actually existed in the United States and Australia today, we would not be able to publicly attack official security agencies or query establishment history. Western countries are still the most free and, fortunately, freedom of speech is still widely respected.

## The Ministry of Truth and World War II

The attempt to portray the Second World War as a conflict between total good and total evil is slowly breaking down. Despite decades of brainwashing by the media, censorship of revisionist historians, and the cowardice of establishment court historians, a more balanced history of the origins and course of the war is slowly emerging. *The Origins of the Second World War* by A.J.P. Taylor establishes that Hitler did not plan the war and that the Allies bore important responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict. *Germany's Economic Preparation for War* by Burton J. Klein establishes that Germany was spending a smaller percentage of its GNP on war preparations than either Britain or France in the late 1930s.

The extent of Allied war crimes is slowly being documented. *Bomber Command* by Max Hastings shows that saturation bombing of cities was initiated by the British and that some 600,000 German civilians were killed in the levelling of German cities. A review of Hastings' book in the *London Spectator* was headlined "Devastating and Exterminating" and described the aerial destruction of German cities and the killing of 600,000 German civilians as "the greatest war crime of the Second World War."<sup>7</sup> Other Allied war crimes such as bombing of Japanese cities, the execution of more than 12,000 Polish officers and other leaders at Katyn and elsewhere by the Soviets, have also been documented, although the Katyn massacre is still not widely known in the West. The forced repatriation of millions of Russians and other Soviet subjects back to the USSR, resulting in many deaths, has also been set out in books such as *The Last Secret*. The Nuremberg trials were illegal and yet another Allied crime. This is discussed in *Failure at Nuremberg*, *Profiles in Courage* by the late President John F. Kennedy, and *Doenitz at Nuremberg* by H. Keith Thompson.

However, for every book and film about Allied war crimes there are literally thousands of books and films about German and Japanese war crimes, particularly those dealing with the concentration camps. The greatest war crime of the war, the bombing of German cities, is never dealt with in films, apart from very rare exceptions such as *Slaughterhouse Five*.

The central allegation made against the Nazis is that they exterminated six million Jews during the war, mainly by gassing in gas chambers. This claim has been established as false by Professor Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Dr. Charles Weber in *The Holocaust*, by Walter Sanning in *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, by Dr. Wilhelm Staeglich in *The Auschwitz Myth*, by Dr. Robert Faurisson in *The Problem of the*



*Gas Chambers*, and by Professor Paul Rassinier in *Debunking the Genocide Myth*. Due to thought-police pressure and self-censorship by the media and book trade, these books are not readily available. These books demonstrate that there was no plan to exterminate Jews in World War II, no mass gassings in gas chambers, that fewer than 500,000 people died in concentration camps and that most Jewish deaths were due to diseases such as typhus. Numerous Jewish writers, including civil libertarians such as J. Cohn-Bendit, C. Karnoouh and J. Assons, accept the revisionist view of the Holocaust. Most academics dealing in modern European history are too cowardly even to investigate the revisionist evidence.

The Holocaust story is repeated *ad nauseam* to drum up emotional support for Israel, and Zionist Jews have accurately described it as "Israel's number one propaganda weapon." Anti-Zionist Jews such as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal describe the constant Holocaust drum-beating as "holocaustomania" and point out that the Holocaust has become a kind of new religion among Jews. Jewish intellectual Noam Chomsky described Dr. Rubenstein's reactions to Professor Faurisson's claims that there were no gas chambers as the reactions of a religious fanatic. The Holocaust is so important to Zionist Jews that Professor Friedlander has said that "the Revisionist School of historians, those who say the Holocaust never existed, that it is a Jewish invention, are more worrying than countries' political positions," while Professor H. Littell has said "you can't discuss the truth of the Holocaust. That is a distortion of the concept of free speech. The United States should emulate West Germany which outlaws such exercises." Despite cogent evidence that revisionists are censored and persecuted, one so-called intellectual recently stated that it is fashionable to claim that Hitler's gas chambers did not exist.<sup>8</sup> A five-page attack in the Australian magazine *Quadrant* described revisionists such as Professor Butz, Professor Faurisson and myself as "lone wolf malcontents," the "John Hinckley Juniors of the intelligentsia," and possibly more evil than Himmler and Pol Pot.<sup>9</sup> As is customary with such attacks, no right of reply was allowed.

### **Down the Memory Hole**

Chairman Mao, once the Big Brother of China, has almost vanished down the Chinese memory hole. He has been virtually written out of Chinese history. A similar fate has befallen Stalin in official Soviet history. Hitler, on the other hand, has not been written out of history. He is larger than life, appearing on our 1984-style telescreens on a regular basis as a Goldstein hate figure. He is needed to assist in the portrayal of World War II as a war

between total good (the victors) and total evil (the vanquished). Hitler is also useful for the Hollywood World War II industry which churns out a mind-boggling number of films and TV series about the war. Dr. Alfred Lilienthal has pointed out in *The Zionist Connection* that the three major television networks (NBC, ABC and CBS), the major film companies, book distributors, and influential newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, as well as influential news magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, are owned and controlled by Zionist Jews who use the evil Hitler image and the Holocaust as propaganda weapons for Israel.

Some aspects of popular history are shrouded in secrecy and receive little publicity. Thus, collaboration between the Nazis and the Zionists in World War II, revisionist evidence about the treatment of Jews during that war, the role of Subhas Bose in the struggle for Indian independence, massacres by the Soviets at Katyn, Vynnytsia and elsewhere, and the sinking of the passenger ships *Wilhelm Gustloff*, *General Steuben*, and *Goya*, in each case with greater loss of life than the *Titanic*, are seldom mentioned in the controlled media of the West. Collaboration between the Nazis and the Zionists is established by Jewish writers in books such as *Perfidy* by Ben Hecht, *The Holocaust Victims Accuse* by M. Shonfeld, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* by Hannah Arendt and *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* by Lenni Brenner. The massacre of Polish leaders by the Soviets in 1940 is documented in *Katyn* by Louis Fitzgibbon, while the massacre of some 10,000 Ukrainians at Vynnytsia is covered in *The Crime of Moscow in Vynnytsia*. The sinking of three passenger ships in the Baltic in 1945 with more than 18,000 deaths, mainly German women and children, is dealt with in *The Cruellest Night* by Dobson. *Anne Frank's Diary, A Hoax* by Ditlieb Felderer, which proves that Anne Frank did not write the famous "diary," has been given the silent treatment by the media. In case after case, historical truth has been consigned to the memory hole.

There has also been a fairly successful cover-up in relation to the American entry into the Pacific war in 1941. The largest ethnic group in America is of German origin. Resistance from this and other groups had to be overcome to get the United States into the First and Second World Wars. The attack against the *Lusitania* was used as a pretext for entry into World War I. The attack against Pearl Harbor was the excuse for entry into World War II. Both of these attacks involved gross deception of the American public. The Watergate cover-up was nothing compared with the cover-up over Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt incited the attack with an oil embargo, and knew that the attack was coming. It was not a surprise attack. The Pacific war began in deception and cover-up



and ended the same way. The Japanese offered to surrender prior to the bombing of Hiroshima on condition that the office of Japanese Emperor be retained, and after the bombing the war was concluded with that condition accepted. Why then was Hiroshima bombed? Most people's understanding of the Pearl Harbor attack is based on popular portrayals such as the docudrama film *Tora, Tora, Tora*, which presents the attacks as a surprise. *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* by Rear Admiral Theobald, which examines the days immediately preceding the attack, shows that it was not a surprise. It shows instead that Washington authorities had ample foreknowledge of the time and place of the Japanese attack, and that the failure to warn General Short and Admiral Kimmel was due to Roosevelt's order that no warning be sent lest their preparations for defense might deter the Japanese from attacking. Theobald also shows that Pearl Harbor was denied a "Purple" decoding machine lest the commanders there might independently decode Japanese messages and take steps to ward off the attack.

Similar deceptions were used by the U.S. government in the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the bombing of Cambodia, and in military interventions in the Middle East, Central America and Grenada.

Some of Simon Wiesenthal's activities have likewise gone down the memory hole. His wartime collaboration with the Nazis was discussed by the former Chancellor of Austria, Bruno Kreisky, himself of Jewish origin, and others. Wiesenthal's criminal "Nazi hunter" role in persecuting innocent individuals such as Frank Walus and wrecking their lives has been amply documented but has received only minimal media coverage.

### **Down With Big Brother**

Control of the past, Big Brother surveillance, and the use of "doublethink" are much more extensive in Communist and many third world countries than in the United States, western Europe or Australia. People in the West can help combat Big Brother control in Communist and other quasi-totalitarian countries by supporting Amnesty International and by helping human rights groups in those countries. Unfortunately, effective human rights groups can be established only in countries where basic civil rights are already relatively secure. Individuals who attempt to establish such groups in repressive countries are often persecuted and imprisoned.

Although civil liberties are entrenched in the West, there are still some areas of concern. Control of the past, the central issue of Orwell's 1984, remains pervasive, especially with regard to World



War II history which is, to use Napoleon's phrase, "lies agreed upon by the victors." The lies are repeated to justify the carnage of the war and to explain the Allied policy of unconditional surrender in the war. The six million Holocaust allegation, the hoax of the twentieth century, is used as a propaganda weapon to promote support for Israel. Uncritical support for Israel, particularly by the United States, could contribute to starting World War III.

Challenging the official version of anything may be a civic responsibility and even great fun, but it is still difficult for those who dispute the establishment version of history to have their views heard. The best way to combat Big Brother control of the past is to ask questions and challenge the claims put out by the high priests of sanctioned history repeatedly. People should ask, for example, whose interests are served by the repetition of particular atrocity stories? What real evidence is there for various mass murder allegations? Who controls the media? And so forth.

Citizens should support bona fide civil liberties groups and actively oppose government measures restricting basic freedoms. Freedom of speech is a basic civil liberty and people should fight to retain it. They should defy group pressure, think for themselves and speak out. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

## Notes

1. See, for example: *New Society*, 12 May 1983; *Commentary*, May 1983; *New Republic*, December 1982; *Commentary*, March 1983; *Harper's* January 1983.
2. *New Society*, 5 October 1978.
3. Orwell, *Notes on Nationalism*.
4. Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*.
5. R.C. Majumdar, *Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom*.
6. *ibid.*
7. *The Spectator*, 29 September 1979.
8. *Quadrant*, (Australia), August 1983.
9. *Quadrant*, October 1981. See also: *New Statesman*, November 1979, and *Commentary*, December, 1980.

**A  
TRIAL  
ON  
TRIAL  
THE GREAT  
SEDITION  
TRIAL OF 1944**

**Lawrence Dennis  
Maximilian St. George**

**A  
TRIAL  
ON  
TRIAL** *A provocative analysis of the  
Second World War's most sen-  
sational domestic  
political trial and  
exposure of the sinister  
internationalist forces  
behind it.*  
**THE GREAT SEDITION  
TRIAL OF 1944**

**Lawrence Dennis • Maximilian St. George**

This book is about the Mass Sedition Trial of 1944, one of the worst fiascos in the annals of American jurisprudence. It is not about the defendants, their views or their activities. It explains the Trial. It tells why and how there was such a Trial; who was behind the Trial; what was behind the Trial; why the Trial lasted so long—breaking all duration records; why the Trial proved such a farce; and, why, at the time the first edition of this book was offered to the public, the courts still had not acted, as they should have done, over a period of eighteen months following the mistrial, either to dismiss or to set this political case for re-trial.

The explanation why this celebrated Trial lasted so long and proved such a farce can be briefly and simply stated as follows: the evidence did not fit the law or the charge; no law could have been found in this country which penalized the utterances, writings and propaganda activities of the accused.

To please political and minority pressure groups the people behind the Trial and the Roosevelt administration, making a bid for their votes and support, wanted a mass propaganda trial a la Moscow against a selected number of persons whose political ideas they wished to suppress. The big idea was, by means of such a trial to identify in the public mind Nazism and the Nazi regime with native American isolationism, with opposition to American entry into the war and with attacks on the internationalist policies which got America into two world wars in twenty-three years. According to the false and absurd identification, any one who was against American entry into the war, anyone who denounced communism and anyone who offended any substantial group of Jews is a Fascist or a Nazi.

The free speech issue made this Trial important. The defendants were not important. The Trial was significant as a threat to freedom and an example of Moscow methods of dealing with a political opposition. The totalitarian technique used in this case was of such a nature that it can only be adequately exposed in a full-length book analyzing the prosecution case. This is really a text-book on how to fight a free speech battle against Moscow methods in American courts.

In offering this book to the public, the authors are trying to vindicate the Constitution, not the defendants. They are championing the cause of freedom, not that of any defendant. They are not concerned with what the defendants believed, wrote or said. The authors do not share or endorse most of the opinions of most of the defendants, but they are prepared to fight and die for their right to hold and express those opinions. Freedom of speech was the only issue in this case.

**A TRIAL ON TRIAL: THE GREAT SEDITION TRIAL OF 1944**

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# The Great Sedition Trial of 1944: A Personal Memoir

DAVID BAXTER

*(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)*

I have the honor to discuss an historical event in which I played a personal role, the notorious Sedition Trial of 1944. As a Christian I have long since forgiven those who were responsible for instigating this persecution of American citizens and I have no axes to grind with anyone. Some of what I have to tell is merely personal recollection while some is indisputable fact. Historians must make these distinctions. I write here as a witness to history.

Before discussing the trial itself it is necessary to outline some background. I've always been idealistic and history was my favorite subject in school. Accordingly, in my youth I was greatly impressed by Edward Bellamy's book *Looking Backward*. I became an ardent socialist and joined the Socialist Party, which was then America's third largest party. Still, I was also nationalistic and supposed that socialism would be best for our country and its people. World government was not an issue and I'm sure that most of the socialist followers of Eugene V. Debs would have opposed it. We were concerned about America and its economic system, which was then about the most ruthless monopoly capitalism one can imagine.

Consequently, I was also very enamored of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. In the belief that the Roosevelt program fulfilled our hopes (but unaware of his world government philosophy), our California state Socialist leader, Upton Sinclair, joined the



Democratic party and ran for Governor. I was the last remaining registered Socialist in San Bernardino County but finally gave in and, following Sinclair's lead, joined the Democrats. For two years I served as president of the largest Democratic Club in California. While the great depression was at its worst, I worked for several years as a W.P.A. supervisor. I believe that Roosevelt did do some good in emergency legislation, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, banking reforms to protect citizens' savings, Social Security and the like.

My interest in political affairs never waned. I wanted to hear both sides of every issue. Accordingly, you might see me at a Communist rally, a Klu Klux Klan conclave, a Townsend old-age speech, a Jewish anti-Nazi gathering or a Silver Shirt meeting. Incidentally, the Silver Shirt leader, William Dudley Pelley, was one of my co-defendants in the Sedition Trial several years later, along with two Los Angeles German-American Bund leaders. Before the trial I had never met Pelley personally nor corresponded with him, and had only been introduced to the German-American Bunders at their open meeting. Yet I was later accused of conspiring with them. Actually, at that time I was simply a New Deal Democrat interested in what was going on in the country politically.

I've always been a little slow about jumping to conclusions, but as Chesterton once said, "The object of opening the mind is to close it again on something solid." Once thoroughly convinced of the rightness of a thing, I have jumped in on what I believe to be right with enthusiasm. It was after war broke out in Europe that I first began having doubts about Roosevelt's honesty. I had already become what is called a "middle of the roader" politically and economically, and I now found myself more and more sympathetic to those who stood for rugged individualism, disliked regimentation, and opposed Roosevelt's cleverly disguised efforts to get the United States involved in a foreign war that was none of our business. Because the President would say one thing to the people and do exactly the opposite, I frankly came to detest the ground he walked on. Moreover, I became convinced that there really was an international conspiracy that was using our nation as a pawn, as had been the case in World War I. Since I had no access to the press at that time, I began publishing a newsletter.

Politics indeed makes strange bedfellows. After Hitler and Stalin concluded a treaty, American Communists enthusiastically endorsed those of us who opposed getting into the European war between Germany and the British-French alliance. The Communists even stomachached the Jewish issue that some of us raised and many Jewish Communists, who wanted the United States to join the war against Hitler, left their party. All that changed over-

night, however, when war broke out between Germany and Russia. The Communists then turned against us with a vengeance and eagerly backed F.D.R. and American participation in the war to save the Soviets. Those of us who had been anti-war from the beginning were now even more set against such an adventure. England and France were now practically out of the conflict. Now let the Nazis and Russians slug each other while the United States remained neutral, we felt. When the smoke cleared neither of the big European powers would have much strength left, there probably wouldn't be any Soviet Union, and the United States would emerge unscathed with not a man lost. We could also resolve our own domestic problems without attention being diverted by war. I wrote one article after another and sometimes ghost-wrote speeches for visiting speakers of the American First Committee, of which I was a member. Apart from the Democratic and Socialist parties, it was the only political organization I ever joined. I also tried to organize a correspondence circle of anti-war people to be called the Social Republic Society, but it was never amounted to anything. Or so we thought.

After the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, which even then many of us claimed Roosevelt and Churchill had schemed to bring about (and which is now known fact), America Firsters found themselves in hot water. All of our political supporters in Congress and elsewhere disappeared as if by magic. Even Hamilton Fish, Robert Taft, Burton Wheeler and Claire Hoffman were misled and carried away by the Administration-created hysteria. They did not even suspect Roosevelt's skullduggery in bringing about the Pearl Harbor attack. They all jumped aboard the war bandwagon, except for a very few diehards, of whom I was one. To us, if a thing was wrong in principle before an official declaration of war by the President, it was just as wrong afterwards. Despite our limited numbers and political insignificance, some of us then took it upon ourselves to tackle one of the most improbable jobs imaginable—a Peace Offensive. We believed that although America had made a mistake in getting into the European inferno, we could still negotiate an honorable peace and save millions of lives. I then suddenly found myself thrust into national prominence and my name appeared in several major newspapers. I was actually proposed as a presidential candidate by Edward Price Bell, a retired editor of the *Chicago Daily News*. Although Bell was prominent in the Republican party, he was just as opposed to the GOP's Wendell Willkie as he was to the Democrat Roosevelt. He opposed American subservience to foreign interests as much as I did. His article in the *Saturday Spectator* brought me directly to Roosevelt's attention and triggered my speedy political demise.



I was quickly subpoenaed to appear before a California State Senate anti-subversion committee headed by Senator Jack Tenney, before which I testified and was labeled a "hostile witness." Years later, after he became enlightened, Tenney personally apologized to me. After that subpoena a U.S. marshal served me with a "Presidential Warrant" signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt which ordered me to appear before a grand jury in Washington D.C. I tore up the warrant and told the marshal to tell F.D.R. to go to hell, where he belonged. Roosevelt had no more authority to order me around than any other citizen. Accordingly, a few days later a marshal served me with a proper subpoena to appear and I promptly left for Washington. I had never been in the capital before.

At the same time, Walter Winchell, Drew Pearson and a raft of others went after me over the radio. Pearson called me a "fascist" and Winchell constantly demanded, "Why doesn't somebody do something about it?" When I arrived in the capital, the *Washington Post* kept up a page-one running attack against me as a "revolutionist." The other Washington papers were more restrained, although one headlined me as a "Jap apologist," probably because of some things I had written in defense of Japanese-American citizens who had been rounded up and sent to concentration camps without any semblance of legality. Being called a "Jap apologist" didn't make me any more popular with the average American. In those days most Americans were hysterical about anything Japanese after Pearl Harbor, not knowing that their own President was responsible for it. I was practically without friends. Anti-war members of Congress whom I had loyally supported pretended that they had never heard of me. People who had known me for years were afraid to be seen with me. Quite frankly, I felt depressed and disillusioned.

The Washington grand jury session was pretty fiery. A number of people I had heard of but had never met were there from all over the country, including Charles B. Hudson, Gerald B. Winrod (a minister and a spokesman for *Social Justice* and Father Charles Coughlin), Congressman Claire Hoffman of Michigan, and many others. When I got into a row with the federal prosecutor, William Power Maloney, and was cited by the grand jury for contempt, newspapers were full of it and my home town paper, the *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram*, ran a screaming headline: "Baxter Defies Federal Grand Jury."

An interesting feature of the grand jury investigation was when a bailiff entered the witness room and called out several times, "Jefferson Breem." Jefferson Breem was there, all right, but he didn't answer. That was because he was really a reporter for the *Washington Post* named Dillard Stokes. It was Stokes who wrote



the *Post* stories which referred to me as a "revolutionist" and smeared me and other witnesses from pillar to post. "Jefferson Breem" was one of many people who had written to me to ask for copies of my writings. After all, none of my work was secret and my writings were in some libraries. The Hoover Library of Stanford University, for example, had requested and received my literature. Anyway, when the grand jury later indicted about 30 of us who had been witnesses, accusing us of sedition, it was largely on the basis of literature we had sent to Stokes, alias Breem, in Washington. In order to try us in Washington as a group, it was necessary to establish that a crime had been committed in the District of Columbia, thus giving jurisdiction to the federal courts there. So the grand jury, which was obviously controlled by the prosecutor, charged us with the crime of sedition, and then established District of Columbia jurisdiction to try us on the grounds that a District of Columbia resident, "Jefferson Breem," had received the allegedly seditious literature. Thus was the alleged "crime" committed in the capital. The defendants were charged with having conspired in the District of Columbia, despite the fact that I had never been in Washington in my life until ordered there by the grand jury. Even then I was not allowed to have legal counsel.

After the grand jury hearing I returned to California and tried to rebuild my small outdoor advertising business, which the adverse publicity had almost ruined. Even my neighbors were suspicious of me. After the war a railroad union official told me that some union members had talked about tarring and feathering me. They were dissuaded when he told them, "I've known Dave Baxer for years. Let him have a fair trial and if he's guilty, I myself will apply the tar." As it was, two gunmen sneaked up to our house one night and tried to bushwhack me. It was only when I suddenly leaped out on to the front porch with a .38 caliber pistol in my hand that they fled. My wife remembers that incident very well. She jumped under the bed.

This may be hard to believe, but the fact is that although I had come to believe firmly that an international conspiracy of Jewish Sanhedrin-bankers existed and influenced the President and government, I had never heard of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I had never had the slightest animosity against anyone because of race or creed. I had many Jewish personal friends, whom I was convinced had no knowledge of an international Sanhedrin. Or at least they were my friends until I was smeared as "anti-Semitic." I first heard of the Anti-Defamation League when a cousin of my wife's, who worked in the office of a lawyer named Julius Novak in San Bernardino, one day came to our home greatly agitated. I had never had anything against

Novak, but our cousin said that she was in an adjoining room when a delegation she called the "Anti-Defamation League" conferred with Novak and she overheard him say, "We'll get Dave Baxter if it's the last thing we ever do." A few days later my close friend, the San Bernardino postmaster, quietly leaked to me that an Anti-Defamation League group had called on him and asked him to inspect my mail. I then began to suspect who was behind most of my troubles and started researching this organization.

Actually, the Anti-Defamation League was the catalyst behind the entire Sedition Trial. I couldn't prove it then but I can now. A few years ago I demanded, through the Freedom of Information Act, that the FBI turn over to me its investigation records of my activities during the early 1940s leading up to the Sedition Trial. I learned that the investigation had extended over several years and covered hundreds of pages, which I now have. The FBI blocked out the names of those who had given information about me, much of it as false as anything could be. I was never given a chance to face these people and make them prove their accusations. Yet everything they said went into the investigation records. Oddly enough, in a great many cases, it wasn't the FBI that conducted the investigation but the Anti-Defamation League, with the FBI merely receiving the reports of ADL investigators. One can hardly tell from the reports whether a given person was an FBI or an ADL agent. But at the time all this was so hush-hush that I didn't even suspect the web-spinning going on around me. I hadn't considered myself that important. Anyone who wishes to inspect my FBI file is welcome to do so. It's a masterpiece of intrigue, cunning and deception.

One day my wife, Bernice, our two youngsters and I were on a fishing trip in Newport Beach. A U.S. marshall came out from behind our rented cottage, arrested me and, without any explanation, whisked me off to the Los Angeles County jail. Three days later, FBI agents whom I knew well visited me there. They said that there had been a statewide manhunt for me and that I had been indicted along with 29 others before U.S. Commissioner David B. Head during which the charge against me was read. The federal prosecutor was Leo Silverstein, a character who looked like a recycled transsexual. Two American Civil Liberties Union attorneys, A.L. Wirin and Fred Okrand, visited me in jail. For some reason the ACLU had decided to defend me. Its paper announced that while it was unusual for the ACLU to defend "rightists," my case was a clear violation of civil liberties. So I did not obtain a private lawyer. My bail was originally so high that I couldn't make it, but even when it was reduced I still refused to post bond on general principles and spent several months in jail while legal proceedings dragged on. The Justice Department had



so far failed to extradite me to Washington. I finally agreed to go voluntarily, believing that since I wasn't guilty of anything, a jury would certainly acquit me. Talk about naivete! A lawyer warned me: "If they get you back there they'll railroad you for sure." But I still had abiding belief in impartial American justice and bull-headedly insisted in going to Washington for trial. Federal Judge Ralph Jenny finally ordered me released on my own recognizance and I returned home to San Bernardino to prepare for the trip to Washington. I was almost broke by then, so I asked the government to pay my railroad fare. Accordingly, I was told to report to the U.S. marshall in Los Angeles for transportation, which I did. Two marshalls reserved a drawing room on the Sante Fe railroad and accompanied me. We became quite friendly and called each other by our first names, but as we boarded the train one of the marshalls shame-facedly showed me a telegram he had received from Washington which ordered: "Bring the prisoner back in chains and handcuffs." The marshall said, "Forget it, Dave. You're no dangerous criminal." "Right," I replied, "but you aren't going to lose your job for refusing to obey orders. You're going to do as ordered." So that was that. I never missed an opportunity, when passing through a crowd in a railroad station, to call out, "I'm a guest of your President, who is also your enemy, as you will someday find out."

An interesting sidelight at this time was when my dearly beloved wife tried to find employment to support herself and the children after I was jailed. She was from an old San Bernardino County pioneer family and well thought of. She had worked in the court house before marrying me. She was hired at the San Bernardino Air Depot and was praised for her efficiency. But shortly thereafter, Col. Adrian Cote, who commanded the depot, learned who she was and dismissed her on the ground that she was the wife of David Baxter. He then told her in a letter, which I still have, that if she wished to divorce me she could have her job back. When she refused he wrote another letter telling her that she was discharged with prejudice so that she could not get another job. All that happened before I had been tried or been convicted of anything. (As it turned out, I never was convicted of anything.) Yet even the school kids taunted our youngsters, "You're daddy's in jail."

After my arrival in Washington I was not permitted freedom on my own word, as I had been in Los Angeles, so that I couldn't find a job to support my wife and kids. I was hustled off to the District jail without counsel or the opportunity to obtain a lawyer. The jail admission officer was a big, sloppy-appearing guy who, after asking my name, said to me, "What's your address? Where do you want your body shipped?" Sedition defendants in the jail



nicknamed him "Anus" (Annas was a high priest at Jesus' trial.) He was an ornery rascal who liked to gloatingly mention the execution chamber in the facility.

My cell was cold. My hearing was already bad and it became worse, with earaches and no medical attention. The food was terrible, consisting mostly of plain bread and heavily-peppered soup, with one cup of weak coffee. When fellow defendant Leon de Aryan once looked out the barred window of the window of the dining room and remarked, "It looks like rain," I glanced at my cup and replied, "Yeah, but it smells a little like coffee." We were finally allowed a dish of chocolate pudding as a special diet. The U.S. Marshall's bullpen in the District Court House basement was even worse. Defendants George Viereck, Ralph Townsend, Bill Lyman, Edward James Smythe and I were thrown into one large room with a galaxy of criminals and suspects of all kinds. The single toilet without a lid was covered with excrement and cigarette butts, and a leaky old faucet was our only drinking supply. Our "dinner" consisted of one piece of bread, one slice of baloney, and coffee. Talk about punishment before trial—and in our own American capital!

Bill Lyman was in England when the indictment was issued. Instead of fleeing, he immediately booked passage home and surrendered himself to the authorities. But rather than allowing him freedom to earn a living while awaiting trial, he was handcuffed and put in leg irons in the District jail. After several months in jail, Howard S. Le Roy learned that I was there and called on me. At first he was frankly skeptical of my description of jail conditions, but after investigating on his own he said that he had never known anything like it. Political prisoners were usually treated more leniently and, if wealthy, were generally put under mere "house arrest." Thanks to an old friend, Henry G. Reinsch of Tacoma, Washington, who had never disowned me despite extreme pressure, I was released on \$1,000 bond. I still didn't like the bond idea, but it was better than spending a lifetime in jail without trial.

Now this may seem absurd, but to this day I am thankful that my enemies were successful in their persecution. The reason is that while in the Washington jail I became a convert to Jesus Christ. You can bet your bottom dollar that wasn't in the enemy's plans. Yet, thank God, they were actually instrumental in bringing about that very thing. For years I had been a confirmed agnostic, although my wife was a Christian. It was while reading a Gideon Bible left in my cell that this miraculous event occurred. As I was making notes on alleged biblical contradictions, expecting to someday write an article about this, I found myself more and more drawn to Christ. What He said and His apostles wrote made more sense than I had ever imagined. He had the same enemies I had,

but He certainly suffered infinitely more than I ever did. What's more, I had to admit that I was a sinner and needed spiritual salvation, which Jesus alone of all the prophets that ever lived provided. The shedding of His blood now really meant something to me. Whatever happened to my mortal body, His enemies and mine would never be able to conquer my soul. I was so happy about my salvation that it wasn't long before we even had a sizable Bible class among the prisoners during the occasional recreation periods. A Washington missionary named Harvey Prentice, in charge of the Gospel Mission, was a big help during this period, bless his soul. So I returned to California a Christian, much to the joy of Bernice and the kids, who ran out to meet me on the porch late one night upon my arrival home.

In the meantime the federal courts in Washington threw out the indictment and I wound up on Los Angeles's Skid Row trying in vain to find a job. Every prospective employer was warned against hiring me. Nevertheless, back in San Bernardino I started painting signs for people, was welcomed by city officials who by now had their own ideas about the cause of my trouble, spoke in churches, and soon ran a thriving sign shop. The enemy arranged for another indictment in 1943 but the courts scuttled it. Despite that, a third indictment was issued after Roosevelt appointed a New York lawyer named O. John Rogge to the Justice Department as an assistant attorney general specially in charge of the Sedition Case. Roosevelt also appointed a former Iowa Congressman, Edward C. Eicher, as Chief Justice of the federal court in Washington with direct orders to try the Sedition Case. Rogge was a protege of Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, who had planted his "hot dog boys" in sensitive government positions.

Columnist Drew Pearson testified that Attorney General Francis Biddle had advised against the whole Mass Sedition venture from the beginning, but Roosevelt ordered him to proceed anyway, adding, "I will appoint the judge." With Eicher now in place as Chief Justice of the U.S. District Court, the trial began on 17 April 1944 with Eicher presiding. There were some 30 defendants, including some of those originally indicted. I well remember Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Joseph Dilling, Joseph McWilliams, Lawrence Dennis, Robert Edmondson, Col. Eugene Sanctuary, Robert Noble, Ellis Jones, German-American Bunders Herman Schwinn and Hans Diebel, Garland Alderman, Prescott Dennett, Lois de Lafayette Washburn, August Klapprott, Elmer J. Garner, George Deathage, William Dudley Pelley, James True, and others. My name had appeared on all three indictments, so it seemed that someone had a special interest in wanting to railroad me into prison. Even though several of the German-American Bundists had already been convicted in other trials, they were added to our group in an



effort to collectively discredit all the defendants as alien and "un-American." Actually, those who arranged our trial did not consider us the ultimate targets. Our trial was meant to intimidate others and set an important precedent. After disposing of us the people behind the venture planned to put the leading opponents of Roosevelt's war policy on trial, including American First Committee spokesman Charles A. Lindbergh, General Robert Wood of Sears Roebuck, several senators and congressmen, and possibly Father Charles E. Coughlin and Henry Ford. Our trial was intended to be a "warm up" for trials of really prominent Americans who dared oppose Roosevelt's policies.

As one paper wrote, "all hell broke loose" when the trial opened. It was covered in every American daily newspaper. Along with the Communist sheets, Marshall Field's leftist New York paper *PM* bombarded us on page one day after day. The liberal press was somewhat more restrained, including the *Washington Post*, which had helped to instigate the case. For some reason, though, their former star reporter, Dillard Stokes, alias "Jefferson Breem," was missing from the courtroom. Most conservative papers assumed a wait-and-see attitude, although the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News* forthrightly opposed the Justice Department and gave decent, unbiased coverage of the defendants. A United Press report published in those papers in 1943 even went so far as to state:

Under pressure from Jewish organizations, to judge from articles appearing in publications put out by Jews for Jews, the new indictment even more than the first was drawn to include criticisms of Jews as "sedition." It appeared that a main purpose of the whole procedure, along with outlawing unfavorable comments on the administration, was to set a legal precedent of judicial interpretations and severe penalties which would serve to exempt Jews in America from all public mention except praise, in contrast to the traditional American viewpoint which holds that all who take part in public affairs must be ready to accept full free public discussion, either pro or con.

I took Bernice and our children with me on this trip to Washington. After prosecutor Rogge tried unsuccessfully to revoke my bond, we found what passed for an apartment in a tenement. Because I was short of funds, I had a court-appointed lawyer, Hobart Little, who was a fraternity brother of Chief Justice Eicher. During the trial Hobart roomed with Joseph McWilliams' lawyer, Maximilian St. George, and after he learned the whole story about the case he took a really active interest in defending me. That happened in the case of other defendants as well, much to the consternation of the judge and prosecutor, who had obviously intended to make short work of the Sedition Trial. Far



from letting their clients be sacrificed, court-appointed lawyers like James McLaughlin stormed into court and in just a few days had the proceedings in an uproar. Mr. Little and I, however, remained calm and were careful to show respect for an American court—even this one. The trial got almost completely out of hand and Eicher spent a lot of time banging his gavel. After at least a dozen attorneys were found in contempt, they came into court wearing buttons bearing the insignia “E.C.C.” When the judge asked about the buttons, McLaughlin informed him that the initials stood for “Eicher Contempt Club.” The attorneys eventually named Eicher a defendant in a suit they brought during the trial accusing him of holding office illegally. He was not a resident of the District of Columbia, as the law required. The judge once had to recess the trial to defend himself against our lawyers in another court. As I recall, his case had still not been settled when he died.

The trial caused such a scandal that even the staid District Bar Association found itself in an uproar about it. Lawyers not connected with the Sedition Trial demanded an investigation and called the case a “judicial farce.” The Bar Association finally appointed a committee of observers to sit in on the trial. A good example of the trial’s legal high jinks occurred when our little boy, David, came down sick and his doctor reported that he suspected diphtheria. After spending several hours with David, I returned to the courtroom. Attorney McLaughlin then immediately jumped up and said to the judge, “I move that the defendant Baxter be seated next to Prosecutor Rogge.” That made Rogge furious, but the unrelenting pressure on him from some 30 lawyers kept him angry most of the time anyway. He was losing his case and knew it. Even the jury sometimes laughed when a defense lawyer needled the prosecutor. Rogge spent much of his time reading from literature written by the defendants. I could see from the jurors’ faces that they were more bored than impressed, waiting for him to present some direct evidence that the accused were actually guilty of the charges he accused them of. He never did that. Indeed, the thing became so loose that before long I was even on friendly terms with the male jurors I often met in the restroom, although we didn’t discuss the trial. After about a month, when Bernice and I entered the cafeteria, some of the jurors who were having lunch called out, “Hey Dave, you and your wife bring your trays over and eat with us.” If they had voted, I doubt that a single one of them would have convicted me.

Washington’s a broiler in the summer. Our tenement was as hot as a furnace, and Bernice and the kids really suffered. I found a job working evenings after court sessions doing art work and lettering, but it only lasted a couple of months. As usual, someone called on the boss and told him who I was. We received a little in-

come from my California business but the fellow I had left in charge was a poor manager and even that source finally trickled out. The defense lawyers were unpaid but they managed to collect a few small donations now and then which they shared with us. Mrs. Dilling, Dr. Winrod and a few other co-defendants were more affluent and they collected about \$100 each from their followers for our family and others. I've never forgotten those two \$100 gifts.

Fellow defendant Elmer J. "Pop" Garner was 82 years old and very deaf. He had headlined me in his little Kansas paper, *Publicity*. Garner could barely afford a cheap boarding room and during the noon recess all he could afford for lunch was a doughnut and cup of coffee. I wasn't in much better shape, but "Pop" and I stuck it out and even joked during our talks. "Pop" Garner was an old Kansas pioneer and one of the finest men I've ever known. He couldn't hear a word of his trial and died after a few months. Prosecutor Rogge had his body sent back to his widow stark naked in a plain pine box. That really enraged not only the defendants but even several newspapers and many people with common decency. After his death, whenever Rogge mentioned old "Pop" before the jury he referred to him as "the conspirator Garner." He never prefixed the term "conspirator" to any of us still living, for we were there with our lawyers. At least "Pop" Garner no longer had to endure the trial or the Washington heat.

One torrid day I came home from court and said to Bernice and our youngsters, "Let's get out of here for a while, board a streetcar and go somewhere, anywhere, to cool off." So we boarded the first trolley that came along, marked "Cabin John." We didn't know where Cabin John was, or care, just so we could sit in the breeze as the car rolled along. The streetcar eventually left the city itself and followed the track through beautiful, cool woods along the Potomac River. Bernice had an inspiration and suggested that we get off at a stop and walk along the river bank. We hiked along, admiring the woods and river, when we came to an abandoned cruiser high up on the bank. It was a really nice little ship and equipped for living. Even the engine was still in place. We played Robinson Crusoe on it for a while and then continued our walk, coming to a fishing camp a short distance away. We talked with the owner of the camp, a man named Crampton. When we mentioned the boat, he said that it had belonged to a Swedish mariner who had moored it to the river bank, left and never returned. A flood had left it high and dry, and it was now in receivership. Thinking that we might manage a small down payment on the boat or rent it for the duration of the trial, we had Crampton call up the receiver, who lived across the river. A short time later he came over in a boat.

As it turned out, the receiver was anxious to settle the estate and, after some haggling, told us we could have the cruiser for less than \$200 cash. That was most of the money we had left, but to this day I've never heard of such a bargain. We bought it on the spot. Crampton and some other men brought over some equipment and got the boat into the water. It was in perfect condition and so, a few days later, we left the tenement apartment and moved aboard our new home. During the remaining months of the trial we lived in cool comfort on the river under a big shade tree that hung out over the water. The kids went back and forth on a gangplank and played in the woods. The fishing was excellent. I rode to court each morning on the street car. Of course, the other defendants and their lawyers were always welcome aboard when they could visit us and we were glad to be able to show them a good time. It was at least a diversion from the bad time the Justice Department was giving us in court.

After the first few months of excitement, the trial settled down to a humdrum presentation of the government's case, which consisted of a perpetual reading aloud of defendant literature by Rogge. The jurors were getting fidgety and finally asked how long the case would last. They had had to neglect their business and family affairs and were obviously bored stiff. On one occasion, while Rogge was heatedly denouncing a defendant as an "anti-Semite," one of them glanced at me and yawned. Later, in the wash room, he didn't say a word to me, but shook his head, gave me a slight smile, and managed a little wink. I don't think that Justice Eicher ever realized what he was getting into when Roosevelt decided to use him. Eicher was a professing Christian—an Iowa Mennonite—and the case was obviously getting on his nerves. He became more testy as the trial droned on and finally asked Rogge when he was going to start presenting solid evidence. The fact was that Rogge didn't have any, as was later proved. The case might have gone on for years.

Then suddenly one day Judge Eicher asked me to stand up and announced that he was severing me from the case on the ground that I wasn't able to hear my own trial. That was true. My hearing had declined from the time of my imprisonment so that I was now 85 percent deaf. I wore a hearing aid but the devices were far from their present-day level of near-perfection. I couldn't hear a single witness on the stand some fifty feet away and my lawyer had to translate for me. What caused Eicher to make his decision is conjectural. Several times attorney Little had moved for a severance for me because I was deaf, but Eicher had overruled him. And yet, after several months, he ordered me to see a specialist for a hearing examination. After receiving the specialist's report he severed me without even a motion from Mr. Little to do so. Later that day



Judge Eicher asked to see me privately in his chamber. When we met he smiled, held out his hand, and said: "Go back to California and forget about it, Dave." Frankly, I was glad to be through with the whole ordeal, as were Bernice and Mr. Little, who were there with me. So I replied, "Well, your honor, forgetting it won't be easy, but as a Christian I'm glad to forgive." We immediately sold the cruiser and were preparing to take a train to California when Eicher again asked to talk to me. This time he said that if we wanted to buy an automobile and drive back he would help, and actually handed me a whole roll of gasoline coupons. (During the war every motorist had to have those coupons to buy gasoline, which was severely rationed.) All the same, we returned by train, but back in California we had a car and those coupons certainly came in handy.

Judge Eicher then began severing other defendants, even though Rogge was far from resting his case. The *Washington Post* (16 July 1944) commented editorially:

The severance of three cases from Washington's mass sedition trial is the best news that has come out of this dreary affair in Justice Eicher's court. It clearly suggests belated recognition of the mistake that was made in bringing 30 individuals of widely varying temperaments and backgrounds to trial at the same time and place for a series of alleged offenses classified as sedition.

One defendant recently died. Another is too ill to attend court sessions regularly. A third found it difficult to follow the proceedings because of limited hearing. A fourth proved to be so obstreperous as seriously to interfere with the progress of the trial. In other words, the exigencies of human life are such as to defeat most any attempt to dispose of complicated criminal charges en masse with both fairness and dispatch. It is a pity that the Department of Justice did not foresee this elementary objection to mass trials before embarking on such an adventure.

The fact that four cases have been eliminated from the trial is overshadowed, therefore, by the larger fact that 26 cases remain before the court. We hope that better progress can be made but no end to even the presentation of evidence by the prosecution is in sight after 13 weeks. How can the jurymen be expected to remember testimony given many weeks before their verdict will be rendered? How can they, in these circumstances, distinguish the varying degrees of guilt, if any, among the 26 remaining defendants? We fear that whatever may be the outcome of this trial it will stand as a black mark against American justice for many years to come.

Such were the remarkable words of the very paper whose own reporter had plotted with the original prosecutor to entrap the defendants and bring them to trial in Washington. "Oh what tangled webs we weave, when first we practice to deceive." As if to add insult to injury, the *Post* issued another blistering editorial

some two weeks later headed "Courtroom Farce." (28 July 1944). The lengthy editorial included these remarks:

We think the time has come to recognize the unlikelihood of securing any fair approximation of justice from this unhappy experiment. The end of the Government's testimony is nowhere in sight. Prosecutors have 4000 exhibits to offer in evidence and only about one-eighth of them are in the record at present. At its present rate of progress, therefore, the trial may run on for several years after the war is over. Meanwhile it is gravely undermining confidence in American justice.

The editorial concluded:

After all, this is a trial of men and women accused of sedition, not a contest in befuddlement. In our opinion the trial can continue its present course only at the cost of serious impairment of our judicial system and the reputation of those responsible for this travesty.

Apparently the *Post* didn't consider itself among those responsible for what it now called "this travesty." In any case, the paper indignantly withdrew its reporter, James Chinn, from the courtroom. *Post* Managing editor A.F. Jones told a PM reporter: "I'm not going to keep a man tied up on a lot of baloney." Seeing the way the trial was going, it's clear that the *Washington Post* was now anxious to obscure its own role in bringing it about. The paper was now calling the case a "black mark against American justice for many years to come" and a "travesty."

What remained of the ill-fated Sedition Trial ended abruptly when Justice Eicher died suddenly of a heart attack on 30 November 1944. That trial could have killed any judge with a Christian conscience and any semblance of fairness. I felt genuinely sorry about Justice Eicher's death. Although Rogge was still reluctant to end the business, he now had a new judge to contend with. Justice Bolitha Laws, a veteran federal judge in the District of Columbia, took over and promptly made it clear that he was a no-nonsense jurist who wanted definite and purposeful action. After Roosevelt died suddenly and mysteriously in April 1945, Rogge admitted to Justice Laws that he had a weak case, but with the European part of the war over, he asked for time to visit Germany to interview Nazi officials and get evidence. After all, he had accused the defendants of having conspired with Adolf Hitler and German officials in the indictment. Laws granted Rogge's request for a continuance in order to question former high Nazis in Germany. Several months later Rogge again appeared before his honor. He was empty-handed. None of the Nazi officials had ever heard of me. They knew that one defendant, George Sylvester Viereck, had been a registered American agent for the German



government before the war, when such representation was (and is) quite legal. Most foreign governments retain respected Americans who are registered to represent their interests.

Justice Laws repeatedly asked Rogge if he wanted a new trial. When the prosecutor kept hesitating and even expressed doubt about the government's chances of winning, Laws blasted the Justice Department for its "lack of diligence," (in his exact words), and dismissed Rogge for good. The new President, Harry Truman, then fired Rogge. It later turned out that Rogge had been a good friend of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, was involved in numerous Communist front groups, and had visited Russia where he spoke in the Kremlin and laid a wreath at the grave of American Communist Party co-founder John Reed in Red Square. His wreath was inscribed, "In loving memory from grateful Americans." Along with movie actor Charlie Chaplin, Rogge was an American delegate to a world Communist "peace conference" in Paris and was a lawyer for many Communists in trouble with the law. He was the attorney for David Greenglass, the atomic spy who saved his own life by turning state's evidence against his sister and brother-in-law, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs went to the electric chair for turning over U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets. John Rogge, Roosevelt's choice to prosecute the Sedition Trial and Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter's right-hand man, was thus eventually exposed for what he was. No wonder he was so fanatical in his hatred against the Sedition Trial defendants, all of whom were anti-Communists. After Justice Eicher severed me from the case, Rogge met me in the deserted courtroom and called me a "fascist" to my face. "Fascist" is a favorite term Communists apply to their enemies.

With Rogge out, an assistant attorney general who had helped him named T. Lamar Caudle took over. Probably prompted by the same people who had been behind Rogge, Caudle tried to continue the persecution and appealed Justice Laws' decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals. But that court turned him down, using strong language. Caudle was himself later convicted of "fixing" the income tax of a St. Louis merchant named Wolfe and he received five years in the federal penitentiary.

It should be noted that during those five years and three indictments, the public was continuously propagandized against us in radio broadcasts and best-selling books. I was attacked in at least five books. One was the famous best seller *Under Cover* by John Roy Carlson. It turned out that "Carlson" was one Avedis Derounian, a writer for the Communist *Daily Worker* newspaper. Radio propagandist Walter Winchell had collaborated with him on the book and then advertised it over nationwide radio. Derounian, alias "Carlson," was later found guilty of libel in United States

District Court in Chicago. Trial judge Barnes commented in sentencing that Derounian would "write anything for a dollar" and that, after hearing the evidence, he would not "believe anything Derounian said under oath." A similar best-selling book of the time, warmly promoted by Winchell, Drew Pearson and then U.S. Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, was *Sabotage: The Secret War Against America*. The authors were Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, later reported by congressional investigators to be members of the Communist Party. But at the time the public was given to understand that all these propagandists were just good American patriots exposing America's enemies.

Well, five years of this was enough for me. I went to work, paid off all our bills, worked for the Santa Ana (California) *Register* for a couple of years, wrote a syndicated column, studied theology, and thought I was through with politics. But not the real conspirators who had all but ruined our family life and seen their court case blown to smithereens. A couple of years after the trial, one of the Congressional spokesmen, Adolph Sabath of Illinois, began beating the drum to start a whole new Sedition proceeding and started pressuring the Justice Department.

So now I'll tell you why I'm not made of the stuff of heroes. I gave up. My nerves were half shot from the five-year persecution. At that time a "friend" visited to tell me that if I wished to make my peace with Mr. Sabath and avoid further molestation, I could write Sabath a letter apologizing for my alleged "anti-Semitism" and assuring him that because I had become a Christian and was confining myself to religious affairs, I would not return to political activity. At first I strongly rejected this "offer." Furthermore, I really wasn't anti-Jewish as such, and felt that that point should be clarified. (Of course, the Anti-Defamation League was quite another matter.)

I was concerned about my children and my wife, Bernice, who begged me to ask Sabath's mercy. She pleaded, "Dave, we can't stand any more. We don't want to die. For my sake and our children's, please don't let us go through this again."

I caved in and wrote the required letter to the Congressman. I received a cordial reply. The pressure on the Justice Department stopped as suddenly as it had begun. The incident demonstrated the terrifying power to manipulate the United States government wielded by hidden forces. I was now out of the game, broken and disillusioned. I had given my all to be a solid American but there's a limit to every person's endurance. I recovered enough to become a well-known newspaper editor, theologian and writer for many Christian magazines. And I sometimes became involved in issues requiring that I take a firm stand one way or another. Thank God, I still have some of that spirit at 76 years of age. I have no regrets



about the Sedition Trial. Bernice and I celebrated our golden wedding anniversary in 1983. Our children are now middle-aged and successful. We are still firmly dedicated to our Christian faith and American nationalism, with charity toward all and malice toward none.

For the sake of the historical record I would still like to see the U.S. Congress acknowledge that an injustice was done against 30 American citizens in the Sedition Case. Not one of us ever received a penny in compensation for our mistreatment and expenses, much less any official acknowledgement that our government made a serious mistake. Only Congressional committees have made such admissions. Yes, I would like to see our Congress vindicate itself before history by at least partially erasing what the *Washington Post* called "a black mark against American justice" and the federal courts declared "a travesty upon justice." I believe that God will one day bring this about.

## Reflections on German and American Foreign Policy, 1933–1945

KARL OTTO BRAUN

*(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)*

During my career as a German diplomat, I had three superiors. The first was Alfred Rosenberg, head of the Foreign Political Office of the National Socialist Party. The next was Foreign Minister Freiherr Konstantin von Neurath, an "old school" conservative. The last was Joachim von Ribbentrop. After the war these men were condemned as criminals by the Allied Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Rosenberg and von Ribbentrop were sentenced to "death by hanging." I doubt if many Americans have had a similarly tragic experience with their superiors. The words "death by hanging" still resound in my ears and dreams since the moment I first heard them pronounced over the radio in late 1946 while I myself was an "automatic arrest" inmate in the Dachau concentration camp, then under U.S. Military Government control.

All former German officials with university degrees were subject to "automatic arrest" according to Morgenthau's punitive directive JCS 1067, regardless of whether or not they had been members of the National Socialist Party. The infamous Morgenthau Plan was originally drawn up by Harry Dexter White, the right-hand man of U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau. White had been born in eastern Poland with the name Weis. White died in suspicious circumstances in 1948 after it was discovered by the U.S.A. government that he'd been a Soviet agent. Morgenthau's program was thus indirectly drafted by Stalin!



Directive JCS 1067, which determined the main lines of U.S. policy in occupied Germany until July 1947, was itself a violation of the Hague Convention of 1907 which prohibited the automatic arrest of people in occupied territories. When I made this point to my American interrogators, I received the reply that the Germans had already violated the Hague Convention much earlier. Those American officers did not know that the Nuremberg International Tribunal had expressly acknowledged the Hague Convention (and especially section 6b) as the basis of its judgement against the German defendants!

All the same, a bitter fate always has a purifying effect in life. A man who, like Hamlet, suffers "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" is forced to weigh his words carefully, must maintain a sense of balance and, above all, must stick to the facts. Revisionism has a mission. It is to find facts. Historical fact-finding likewise has a purifying effect because it embodies the struggle for truth. History is reborn memory. Men with a rich memory have a superior power. Consequently, nations should promote a regard for history, thereby strengthening their memory and their power. It's true that the history of the United States is still comparatively young, but two hundred years of memory are enough upon which to build a respect for traditional values. Recalling the values of your forefathers, of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Cleveland and others, you have no reason to despair or be timid. The dawn of another Renaissance is approaching! Believe me: Moral values have a more enduring life than shrewd tactics! If we stoop to the level of Marxist lies and self-deception, as Franklin Roosevelt did, we fall into the hands of our more cunning enemies; whereas if we keep ourselves on a morally elevated plane, we will emerge victorious. When all is said and done, our blue shining planet, our universe, is in the hands of God—contrary to the erroneous denials of Marxism.<sup>1</sup>

The great German historian Leopold von Ranke worked on the principle of trying to describe historical events truthfully, just as they actually happened. I try to work in keeping with Ranke's principle. All the same, I must admit that I see everything through the eyes of my own experience. Please consider and accept this limitation.

On that fateful 30th day of January 1933—ironically, Roosevelt's 51st birthday—I was reading Dutch books about Mount Kloet, a volcano in Java which mixed its lava with the water of a lake, thus creating the terrible "lahars" which ultimately created fertile fields. Late that evening I left the Geographical Institute of the University of Berlin and stepped out into the crowded streets. Newspaper boys were shouting that President von Hindenburg had appointed Adolf Hitler as Reich Chancellor and that the SA stormtroopers would soon be holding a torchlight parade.

I was myself a simple stormtrooper but my uniform was at home, too far away. Therefore I decided to climb onto a linden tree at the corner of the Unter den Linden boulevard and the Wilhelmstrasse in central Berlin. All the trees were packed with sightseers and the Unter den Linden was crowded with thousands of people. The torchlight procession soon passed through the Brandenburg Gate, nowadays walled off by concrete by Communist tyranny, thus ridiculing its purpose as a gate. When the stormtroopers passed by the darkened French Embassy, I wondered what the French Ambassador, Francois-Poncet, might be feeling about all this. I can remember being vividly struck by this thought.

The torchlight parade turned right into the Wilhelmstrasse, just under my tree, and headed towards the Reich Chancellery. There were 16 men marching shoulder to shoulder in each row. Hitler saluted the men from a window in the Chancellery building. As the first rows passed by him, the words "Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles" echoed through the crowd like an organ. It seemed to be the outcry of a nation humiliated by foreign oppression, occupation, inflation and a scandalous treaty imbued with revenge and contempt. The torchlight procession seemed to me like the glowing, fertilizing lava of Mount Kloeit! Then, 22 years of age, I wrote an enthusiastic report about all this to my parents. They kept it until it was burned with their belongings by British bombs in 1944.

The moral outcry of a humiliated nation proved that Hitler's real historical birthplace was Versailles. The punitive economic clauses of that imposed treaty had been drafted by Bernard Baruch, who later wrote: "President Wilson called me to Paris to serve as one of his advisers on the economic section of the treaty."<sup>2</sup> Already in 1920 Baruch published *The Making of the Reparation and the Economic Sections of the Treaty*, in which he wrote: "I was intimately concerned with the creation of these (economic) sections . . . Serbia, Rumania and Poland had been victims of merciless German aggression."<sup>3</sup> Baruch intentionally ignored the murder at Sarajevo and the fact that Austria and Germany had re-established Poland in November 1916 as a constitutional monarchy. Baruch supported the popular slogan of the time, "Let Germany pay first," and admitted in his 1920 book that "Many of the (Versailles conference) participants preferred war with all its horrors to any peace short of that which they demanded." He conceded, "It is true that the (Versailles) treaty is a severe treaty."<sup>4</sup> It is thus not an exaggeration to say that Baruch significantly helped Hitler to power. History is full of such irony. Already in 1919 we can recognize the genesis of a terrible confrontation, for it was precisely the economic demands of the Ver-



sailles conference that brought about the punitive Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, Black Friday, seven million German unemployed and six million German Communist votes. When he came to power, Hitler was thus confronted with a country in economic ruin. Again ironically, Franklin Roosevelt faced a very similar economic catastrophe as he assumed the presidency of one of the victor nations that same year. It is worth noting that after six years of Roosevelt's New Deal, there were still ten million unemployed Americans, whereas Hitler's "New Deal" was able to absorb all seven million unemployed Germans without war. Roosevelt achieved the same result only after the world had burst into flames. This contrast is one of the main sources of Roosevelt's personal jealousy and enmity towards his great adversary.

According to a May 1939 report to Berlin by the German diplomatic representative in Washington, Hans Thomsen, Roosevelt told the Senate Military Committee that "It would be a good thing if Hitler and Mussolini were murdered."<sup>5</sup> To make this situation more clear, consider these passages from Hitler's important address of 28 April 1939 (four months before the outbreak of war in Europe) which were directed personally to President Roosevelt:

I have taken no step that violated foreign rights, but I have restored the rights which had been violated twenty years ago (at Versailles). Within the territory of the present Greater German Reich there is no part which did not belong to it since ancient times or was not subject to its sovereignty. Long before the American continent was discovered by the White Man, this Reich existed.

President Roosevelt believes that the leaders of the great nations have it in their power to protect the nations from the imminent disaster of war. If this is correct, it is criminal rashness if the leaders of nations who wield great power do not curb their newspapers which agitate continuously for war. It would be an honorable achievement if President Roosevelt were to redeem the lofty promises of President Wilson. That would certainly be a practical contribution to the moral consolidation of the world. . . .

President Roosevelt, Hitler continued, I understand that the vastness of your realm and the immeasurable wealth of your resources make you feel yourself responsible for the destiny of the entire world. My scope, however, is much more modest. I have assumed power in a country with 140 inhabitants per square kilometer, not 15. Billions of German savings in gold and foreign exchange were taken from us. We lost all our colonies. In 1933 we had seven million unemployed, as well as several million part-time employed, and we faced ruin. In the past six and half years I have devoted all of my effort to mobilizing the energy of my people, who have been outlawed and abandoned by the rest of the world. Furthermore I have tried to remove, page by page, that (Versailles) treaty which, with its 448 articles, represents the crudest violation ever imposed on nations and individuals.

Anyone can easily check Hitler's statements about U.S. press agitation for war by looking through leading American newspapers, particularly from the years 1938 to 1941. I was told by Germans returning from visits to the U.S. in 1934 that anti-German defamation was already running high even then. The Zionists were clever enough to establish an "Anti-Defamation League" in 1913 when Wilson became President and their influence first reached the highest level of government. They feared growing opposition. In contrast, Americans of German descent neglected to take any similar defensive measures. As a result, the image of the brutal, militant German still haunts American movies to this day. The question arises whether a pro-German American group should not establish its own "Anti-Defamation League" for the sake of a free America.

### My Turn to East Asia

In 1932 I was in England preparing my dissertation on Shakespeare in the library of the British Museum. I continued my studies of English, history, and geography at the University of Berlin in 1933. At the same time I attended lectures at the Hochschule fuer Politik (Higher School for Political Studies) located across from the Imperial Palace, which was torn down in 1945 by German Bolsheviks. I was occupied with lectures on international law by Professor Friedrich Berber and geopolitics by Professor Albrecht Haushofer, and I participated in a seminar on the British press by Professor Karl Boemer. I wrote a study on background forces behind leading English papers for the seminar. Professor Boemer took it with him when he accompanied Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels on his September 1933 trip to the League of Nations in Geneva. Boemer later told me that my survey helped the Minister in his appearance before the League.

The following year I received a postcard from Professor Boemer asking me to visit him at his office in the Foreign Political Office of the National Socialist Party (Aussenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP). To my great astonishment, Boemer immediately introduced me to Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg, a pre-eminent party official and chief editor of the main party paper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, since 1922. As a second surprise Rosenberg asked me if I would join his office in the recently planned East Asia Section. I replied that although I knew Britain well, I knew East Asia only geographically. Rosenberg, a Baltic German from Riga, replied: "You are young enough to be trained." We arrived at a compromise. I offered to work afternoons in his office while learning Japanese mornings at the Institute of Oriental Languages, which had been founded by Bismarck. Rosenberg accepted my proposal.



I found him a noble, broad-minded and modest superior. His modesty was crowned with some shyness or restraint. He had the gift of being able to present his views convincingly. In practical conflicts, however, he was much too soft. I considered him more of a philosopher than a politician.

When I began my first job in August 1934 I found an unfinished manuscript on my desk entitled "The Amau Declaration and Its Echo in the World Press." I was asked to add up-to-date observations and comment on it. Amau was the speaker of the Japanese Foreign Office, the Gaimusho. He had announced that Japan considered China as a sphere of her special interest. Already in 1917 Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, Ambassador in Washington, had concluded an agreement with the American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, which conceded Japan's special relationship with neighboring China. But this liberal trend changed under Secretary of State Henry Stimson to the inflexible "Open Door Policy" of unrestricted international trade with China. This policy was first introduced by Britain during the last century as part of her imperialistic design based on her world naval supremacy. British political imports have often proved disadvantageous to the United States! There have sometimes been great contrasts between the declared independence of the United States and an American foreign policy still directed by the former "mother country."

In 1931 Japan proclaimed the formation of the state of Manchukuo from the three ancient Manchurian provinces of northern China. Japan was condemned by the League of Nations for this act and Japan consequently left the League. Then Secretary of State Stimson was an advocate of war against Japan but this view was rejected by President Herbert Hoover, a statesman of German-Swiss descent. In this respect Hoover was a forerunner of General Douglas MacArthur, who warned his country against participation in any land war on the Asian continent. The Amau study returned to my desk a few weeks later with the words stamped on it in green "Hat dem Fuehrer vorgelegen," showing that Hitler had read it. I felt then that my decision to learn the awesomely difficult Japanese language had not been a false step.

The following year we had a minor success. The first public short wave radio telephone service between Germany and Japan was inaugurated by Alfred Rosenberg. It was followed by a setback. Rosenberg's internal political adversary, Joachim von Ribbentrop (then Ambassador in London and a close advisor to Hitler) moved ahead of Rosenberg by concluding the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan on 25 November 1936. The Pact was a response to the new policies of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) of 25 July to 21 August 1935 in Moscow. Ribbentrop declared: "The Comintern intends to estab-

lish a new Soviet Republic in Spain in order to extend its subversive activity in Europe. Who will be the next victim?" Don't those words sound very up to date? Between 1936 and 1939 a fierce civil war raged in Spain until Stalin was defeated by Francisco Franco with military aid from Germany and Italy. Stalin's defeat was costly for Spain because he had arranged for the entire Spanish gold reserve to be shipped to Moscow!

The signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact had several remarkable features:

1. Ribbentrop had initiated it without the knowledge of the Wilhelmstrasse (the German Foreign Office). In this respect Hitler's tactics resembled those of Roosevelt, who always relied on intimate advisers such as Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau and the pro-Soviet Harry Hopkins rather than on his State Department. The negotiations for the Pact were carried out by Herr von Raumer of the "Bureau Ribbentrop" and the Japanese Military. The Japanese liaison officer was the Military Attache Hiroshi Oshima. The Japanese Foreign Office and the Wilhelmstrasse were informed only at the last minute. This was the internal feature, so to speak.

2. Hitler's move was a blow to Great Britain which then aided the Red government in Spain on the grounds that it was the only legal government. Britain was legally correct but politically wrong. If Britain had fought Communism in Spain with Franco, Soviet influence would not reign today in Aden, Ethiopia and elsewhere. Japan had been England's ally in the First World War. The Pact had now blocked this road to partnership.

3. There were other reasons for Hitler's approach to Japan. In *Mein Kampf* he wrote: "When I was 16 years old I followed the Russian-Japanese war (of 1905) with great interest. For national reasons I immediately sided with Japan. A Russian defeat automatically meant a defeat of the Slavs within the Austrian Empire."<sup>6</sup> Even more revealing, Hitler observed that Great Britain was reluctant to weaken her alliance with Japan after the war because that would have weakened her position vis a vis the United States or, in Hitler's words, "the gigantic colossus of the United States with her enormous resources." Nevertheless, the entire Jewish press had definitely turned against Japan. Hitler argued: "How is it possible that the Jewish Anglo-Saxon papers which had faithfully backed England's war against Imperial Germany suddenly committed a breach of faith and pursued different aims? The annihilation of Germany was not so much a British interest as a Jewish one, just as the annihilation of Japan does not serve the interests of Britain, but rather the long range goals of the advocates of Jewish world domination. England exerts every effort to maintain her predominant position in this world, whereas



the Jews are organizing to attack her.”<sup>7</sup> A few lines later Hitler wrote: “A stable national monarchy like Japan is a thorn in Israel’s eye. Japan will suffer the fate of Imperial Germany.” In short, the 1936 German pact with Japan was less anti-British than it was anti-Jewish. Do not forget that Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* was written sixty years ago—sixty years in a rapidly changing century. I suggest that you draw your own conclusions from this fact and consider that since the Second World War America has become the heir of the outworn British Empire. Could America not face the same fate? Are you really convinced that your country is run only by your President and an *independent* Congress? Hitler certainly cannot be considered a statesman like Bismarck, who was far superior. Like Napoleon, Hitler ultimately failed as a statesman and military leader. But Hitler was a prophet—a political prophet with a logical outlook.

4. Hitler’s policy towards Japan resembled his approach to the Poland of Marshal Josef Pilsudski when he concluded a ten-year Non-Agression Pact with Poland on 26 January 1934. A new phase in German-Polish relations was opened. Hitler sought an effective German-Polish bloc against the Soviet Union in Europe and a similar alliance with Japan against the USSR in Asia. Hitler considered the detachment of Pilsudski’s Poland from the Anglo-French alliance as a personal triumph over the German Foreign Office which still stubbornly clung to Gustav Stresemann’s anti-Polish and pro-Soviet policy. I can assure you that if Pilsudski had not died in 1935, Britain would never have succeeded in trapping Poland into the unilateral anti-German alliance which forced Hitler to cancel the German-Polish pact on 28 April 1939. Polish-French Freemasonry played an important role in this.<sup>8</sup> This was the beginning of Poland’s demise—a twilight which, thanks to Roosevelt and Churchill, has lasted until today.

In 1937 my Japanese study course was coming to an end. From the outset I had told Rosenberg that I intended to enter the Foreign Office by passing all the required examinations. When the time arrived, Rosenberg begged me to stay on with his party office, promising me a higher career in the Foreign Office later on. But I insisted on my idealistic intention to start right at the bottom in order to avoid any criticism of party favoritism. I now know that I was mistaken because I fell into the net of a hidden anti-Hitler conspiracy. In your State Department at least three different gangs of pro-Soviet agents flourished, culminating in Alger Hiss.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Staatssekretär (Under Secretary) Ernst von Weizsäcker headed the secret opposition within the German Foreign Office. Under the tutelage of Harry Hopkins, atomic material and designs were shipped from the U.S. to the Soviet Union during the war. Colonel Curtis B. Dall considered Hopkins a creature of Ber-

nard Baruch.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, Under Secretary von Weizsaecker, aided by Wilhelm Canaris, frustrated Hitler's effort for a joint German-Spanish action against Gibraltar in 1940 by telling Franco that Germany would ultimately lose the war. If Franco had decided to join with Germany, an American landing in North Africa would have been prevented. These two examples prove that the faithful officials in both Berlin and Washington might well complain of "the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes." (*Hamlet*, Act III, Scene I)

I was fortunate to be assigned to the East Asia Section of the Foreign Office's Political Department. It was headed by Herr von Schmieden who did not belong to any gang. Thanks to his recommendation I was allowed to accompany the professional diplomatic courier to Tokyo at Christmas-time 1937. The courier spoke Russian and I could assist him with Japanese. The journey via Siberia took two weeks, then the quickest route. It was a unique experience which made me realize that German propaganda about Soviet Russia did not exaggerate. On the contrary, what I observed was worse than I had expected. When we deposited our diplomatic luggage at the German Embassy in Moscow, we saw a revolver on the desk of an official who told us that an attempt had been made to break into the code room the previous night. The intruders did not know that it was guarded round the clock and they had to flee. While escaping over the garden wall, one of the NKVD (Soviet secret police) men lost his revolver, which would now serve as evidence for an official protest. Another surprise came when the Military Attache, General Koestring, confessed that he did not specifically know whether or not the second track of the trans-Siberian rail line had been completed. We later found that, except for five bridges, it had been. On the longest bridge, which spanned the Yenisei River, men worked even at three o'clock in the morning in a temperature of minus 35 degrees Celsius. We passed by numerous freight trains loaded with prisoners—Soviet prisoners in peace time. Stalin was then waging an internal war against the supposed conspiracy of the Chief of the General Staff, Marshal Michael Tukhachevsky. The German General Consul in Novosibirsk told us that thousands were arrested every morning, between three and five o'clock, who had never even heard of his name. Terror reigned at its height. The front page of *Pravda* was packed with names of high ranking "traitors" who had been liquidated. Many brownish icicles dripped from drains in the rail cars, indicating that the poor prisoners had been locked up for weeks. With a sigh of relief we passed beneath a wooden, red-flagged border gate with the slogan "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!" We were then kindly received by Manchurian-Japanese border guards. We enjoyed the clean Manchurian train and



celebrated the last night of 1937 with a hospitable Sino-Japanese dining car crew. It was my good fate indeed to go to East Asia for the first time *after* experiencing something of the Soviet nightmare. Arriving at Manchuli I had the feeling of being welcomed again by an ancient civilization after a period of complete lawlessness. My conviction that Germany must work together with Japan as a factor for stabilization was reinforced.

There is no denying the fact that the Marxist revolution of Lenin and Stalin was the belated child of the French Revolution of 1789. The cry for unrestricted liberty in Paris had similarly ended in Robespierre's terrorism. However, it was superseded by a new European order under Napoleon. The Soviets, in contrast, enforced their rule by perpetuating institutionalized terror. Despite the stigma of terroristic rule, the Soviets were remarkably successful at exporting their ideology, not so much through sheer power but more because of the whitewashing policy of the ultraliberal western press. The distorting journalists of the *New York Times* and other leading papers bear an enormous historical guilt. It is remarkable that U.S. Ambassador William Bullitt's reports from Moscow to Franklin Roosevelt which compared Stalin with Tsar Ivan the Terrible had been sent as secret dispatches while the controlled German press openly reported on the Soviet terror. Communism cannot exist without terror, just as the teachings of Karl Marx cannot prosper without cultivating hatred and envy.

In 1938 I was assigned to the cultural section of the German Embassy in Tokyo. This time I traveled to Asia by ship from Genoa to Yokohama by way of Ceylon, Singapore and Hong Kong. This journey was not a nightmare, but a sunny tropical dream. Unfortunately, the old-style but patriotic ambassador, Herbert von Dirksen, was no longer in Tokyo. The Military Attache, General Eugen Ott, was chosen as his successor. In my view, this was one of Hitler's far-reaching mistakes. Ott had been the adjutant of General Kurt Schleicher for at least a decade. Schleicher had been involved in a conspiracy against Hitler and was executed without trial in the SA revolt of June 1934. It was only natural that Ott remained an adversary, regardless of whatever assurances he may have given to Hitler to obtain the appointment as ambassador to Tokyo. From the very beginning Ott considered me a National Socialist supervisor, particularly since my career had begun with Alfred Rosenberg. I can assure you that this was not the case, but Ott's bad conscience nourished this suspicion. After 18 months I was transferred to the German Consulate in Kobe-Osaka. I did not regret the move because my new superior, Consul General August Balser, was a loyal official and an expert in Chinese affairs who spoke Chinese and Russian. I vividly remember when he invited

me to our first breakfast together on 4 September 1939. Two declarations of war—by Britain and France—lay on our table. Have you ever had morning coffee with two war declarations?

The Ott problem was a very delicate one. As an old line military conservative he constantly had to hide his anti-Hitler leanings. But his negative attitude fatefully meshed with that of the infamous Richard Sorge, which came from the opposite ideological side. Officially Sorge was a correspondent for the liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*, but he was actually an agent of the Chief of the Soviet General Staff, Marshal B.M. Shaposhnikov. Sorge portrayed himself as an upright democrat who opposed the Japanese monarchy, which he considered "antiquated." He always had a ready supply of good Goering and Goebbels jokes. I often saw him drunk at Lohmeyer's, a German restaurant, something quite unusual for a secret agent. His Bohemian behavior completely disarmed our suspicions. Despite his hard drinking, he was on a very familiar basis with our Ambassador and furnished him with valuable details on Japanese domestic policy. This friendship made him a permanent guest of our three military attaches. I am still proud that I never invited him to my house. It remained a "Sans Souchi" house, "Ohne Sorge" in German, or "without worry" in English!

In spite of these unfavorable conditions, we in the cultural section succeeded in concluding a bilateral cultural agreement with Japan on 25 November 1938. We chose that date because it was the second anniversary of the Anti-Comintern Pact, an achievement, as already mentioned, of von Ribbentrop, who had become our Foreign Minister the year before. Our efforts were decisively helped by Hitler's spectacular success in Munich in solving the Bohemian Sudetenland problem. The new agreement with Japan was designed to gradually weaken the still formidable pro-British and pro-American sentiments in the Japanese Foreign Office, and even more so, in the Navy. Meanwhile, the so-called "China Incident" of 1937 had grown into a major war. It brought about greater economic difficulties and sacrifices. Many urns, wooden boxes wrapped in silk containing the ashes of fallen soldiers, were delivered to the mourning relatives. I often saw them at railway stations bowing reverently to the flag and the accompanying officers. Not a tear fell. It was a moving sight!

Prince Fumimaro Konoe resigned as Prime Minister on 4 January 1939 because he could not fulfill his promise to end the war in China. His successor was Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, but Konoe's Anglophile Foreign Minister, Hachiro Arita, remained in office. We Germans did not have much confidence in him. Many years after the war I read that Arita had sent a note to President Roosevelt in May 1939 pleading for "a closer cooperation between



Japan and America." Arita was, so to speak, a forerunner of President Reagan! At the time this offer was concealed from the American people, but it leaked out in 1943. Hiranuma felt that with American help Japanese moderates might prevent a world war, with its dangerous consequences for Japan. However, Roosevelt demanded that Japan must first withdraw entirely from China, and he added more fuel to the fire by giving six months notice that the United States was terminating the Commercial Treaty of 1911 with Japan. In contrast to Roosevelt's cold shoulder, the Axis offered an alliance at that time. Japan was on the brink of joining the Axis. Percy L. Greaves Jr. deals with this in greater detail in his excellent essay, "Was Pearl Harbor Unavoidable?"<sup>11</sup>

And then something unexpected happened: The British "blank check" guarantee to Poland in March 1939 suddenly forced Hitler to seek a way to break out of the threatening encirclement of Germany on the East and West. Dark clouds arose on all sides. A cunning Stalin offered temporary relief in return for half of Poland, the Baltic states and Bessarabia. British and French delegations were negotiating in Moscow at the same time under rather humiliating circumstances. For example, they had to take notes on their knees because Molotov denied them tables! Two years later, when Hitler attacked Stalin, the Allies voluntarily humiliated themselves by giving the Kremlin everything it wanted without any conditions. Unbelievable! Was this due to a lack of intelligence or a lack of character? And by whom: Roosevelt, Hariman, or the "Brain Trust"?

But to return to 1939. Only after desperate resistance by Poland did the British and French concede—too late—to Molotov that the Red Army could march through Poland against Germany. Hitler was the highest bidder in the "Fourth Partition" of Poland. He thus signed a Ten Year Non-Aggression Pact with Japan's traditional enemy, Soviet Russia. When the news of the agreement reached our embassy in Tokyo, it was as if a bomb had exploded. Secrecy had been a top priority. Ambassador Ott was informed only at the last minute, thereby deeply offending the Japanese. Our Japanese friends, who supported close collaboration with Germany, were especially upset. Serious border clashes with the Red Army had been going on since May at the Mongolian frontier. General Grigorii Zhukov, who would later conquer Berlin, was victorious against the Japanese because of a superiority in tanks and heavy artillery.

It is easy to imagine the opportunities that Washington could have had if it had not cancelled the U.S.-Japanese Commercial Treaty during that critical August of 1939—a month crammed with fateful events! But as a result the Hiranuma cabinet fell only

three days later. Under the two succeeding cabinets Japan followed an independent course between the Great Powers. On 15 September 1939 she signed an armistice with Moscow. Japan's bad experience with the USSR had a long-range deterring effect.

Alfred Rosenberg wrote these significant sentences in his diary on 25 August 1939:

I have the feeling that this Pact with Moscow will one day turn out to be a tragedy for National Socialism. It was not a step of free decision, but was rather an action taken in an emergency. The National Socialist Revolution had to beg for help from the head of another revolution which it has been our ideal to fight for the last twenty years. How can we speak in the future of the rescue and renaissance of Europe when we had to plead for help from the destroyer of Europe?

Hamilton Fish was perfectly correct when he observed that Hitler wanted to move East, but Roosevelt and the British war party forced him to turn against the West.<sup>12</sup> So it happened that while Hitler carried out his 18-day victory over Poland, he had already lost half of the country to his one-time and future enemy! American author Benjamin Colby gave his analysis of Roosevelt's foreign policy the ironic title *'Twas a Famous Victory*.<sup>13</sup> We should also ask: Was Hitler's victory over Poland so famous? Stalin reaped his harvest without any noteworthy loss, and deported the resisting Poles along with many thousands of "Holocaust" Jews into the vast interior of his empire. "Vae Victis!" Remember Katyn! We honor the memory of twelve Polish Generals, 58 Colonels, 72 Lieutenant Colonels and 9, 217 officers.<sup>14</sup>

It took more than a year to repair our damaged relations with Japan. Hitler's amazing and convincing victories over Norway, Holland, Belgium and France helped our ongoing efforts. Ribbentrop was intelligent enough to send an envoy to Tokyo whom he trusted and respected, Ambassador Heinrich Stahmer, to assist Ott. Within 18 days Stahmer successfully worked out the Tripartite Pact. It was officially signed in Berlin on 27 September 1940. The negotiations were conducted under Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka of Prince Konoe's second cabinet. The Pact had two main goals: (1) We hoped that it would help to deter Roosevelt's provocative policy, but it turned out that we were in error about this. (2) The door was left open for a fourth partner. Our Foreign Office hoped that Soviet Russia might ultimately also join with us.

At my urging I was called back to Berlin at the end of 1940. The only route left open was through Siberia. At Otpor the Soviets had established a strict quarantine zone on the pretext of a single case of pestilence in a dentist's practice in Hsinking, the capital of Manchuria, more than one thousand kilometers from the border. We were interned for eight days in badly heated third-class sleep-



ing cars and had to turn over all our clothing and belongings to the Soviets for disinfection. Disinfection is a marvelous excuse for people to humiliate others. An NKVD agent interned together with us distributed anti-German books in violation of the existing agreements on propaganda. I realized right there that the hope by the Wilhelmstrasse of winning the USSR as a fourth partner for the Tripartite Pact was an idle dream. In Berlin I reported to Foreign Office Assistant Secretary (Unterstaatssekretär) Ernst Woermann, a loyal official. He told me: "We have decided to transfer you to the East Asia Section of the Political Department, but, frankly speaking, the important political decisions are taken outside of the Foreign Office in the Fuehrer's and Ribbentrop's headquarters." I suppose that if I had been an American diplomat returning to Washington, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles might well have explained to me that the important U.S. political decisions were made exclusively by Roosevelt and his "Brain Trust" of Frankfurter, Morgenthau, Baruch, and so forth, but not by the State Department. The fate of a diplomat in a distorted democracy such as Roosevelt's is not unlike the fate of a diplomat in a dictatorship.

The next major event was the visit of Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka to Berlin, Rome and Moscow. I accompanied Matsuoka in Hitler's special train from Berlin to the Italian border. We had dinner together. Matsuoka was deeply impressed by his conversation with Hitler and spoke enthusiastically of "the Fuehrer." Hitler had urged Matsuoka to attack Singapore while strictly avoiding any steps against the United States. Matsuoka was unable to give any military assurances, but he hinted that Japan would be ready for action in May.<sup>15</sup> The Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, Hiroshi Oshima, traveled with Matsuoka on his return journey to Malkinia, the new German-Soviet border crossing. Confidentially I learned from Oshima that Hitler had not mentioned the strained relations with Stalin to Matsuoka, but he (Oshima) had warned his superior not to sign a neutrality agreement with the USSR, as Molotov had been urging. Through the train window Oshima pointed out the long German trains at Posen transporting weapons. But Matsuoka had his instructions and Hitler, whom he had informed about the forthcoming agreement, avoided contradicting him. And so the Soviet-Japanese neutrality agreement was signed. The Soviets promised 100,000 tons of crude oil from North Sakhalin as an added inducement. Matsuoka had been Americanized from his youth and was a talkative character. Hitler was also understandably fearful of revealing his secret plan to attack the USSR. And yet, long after the war I learned, to my great embarrassment, that Hitler had revealed—four weeks before Matsuoka's visit—to Prince Paul of

Yugoslavia that he would attack the Soviet Union in early summer.<sup>16</sup> Paul was Anglophile and had a Russian mother. The American Ambassador in Belgrade, Arthur Bliss Lane, immediately reported the news of Hitler's plan to Washington. Washington informed Moscow at once! This contrast proves that the German-Japanese Pact was in reality not a functioning alliance. Poisonous *sacro egoismo* prevailed on both sides. In this respect Roosevelt treated his allies much better. Morgenthau was very generous to Britain with American taxpayers' money because he was always afraid that Britain might be seduced by German peace proposals or that Stalin might change sides again.

Even today most Germans are convinced that Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 was a serious blunder. I do not share that view. In his memoirs, *Malaya Zemlya*, Leonid Brezhnev openly admitted Soviet intentions to attack a weakened Germany.<sup>17</sup> But apart from that, the best proof of Soviet intentions is the fact that the attacking German armies encountered an enormous concentration of Soviet forces being mobilized against the West. That's the reason for the enormous numbers of Soviet prisoners taken in the summer of 1941.<sup>18</sup> It is ironic that Hitler's armies crossed the Soviet border exactly 129 years after Napoleon began his campaign against Russia. The overthrow of the pro-German government in Belgrade, which was well organized by Roosevelt and Donovan with Stalin's help, delayed Hitler's original timetable against the USSR for five weeks. This was perhaps Roosevelt's greatest triumph during the war. He saved Stalin!

Hitler failed in Russia primarily because he waged war only militarily and not politically. In Norway, Holland, Belgium and France he had carefully observed the golden rule of Alexander the Great in Asia and Egypt—magnanimity towards the vanquished. However, against the Bolsheviks Hitler was blind with a rage that resembled Roosevelt's hatred of him. It was Hitler's error to occupy the Soviet Embassy in Berlin instead of having it put under the protection of a neutral power. It was Hitler's error not to have formed national Russian and Ukrainian governments. It was Hitler's error not to have abolished collectivized agriculture and given land to the peasants. If he had done these things, a fire of popular insurrection would have swept away Stalin's tyranny. Russian armies shoulder to shoulder with the German forces would have smashed Bolshevism forever.

In 1983 I discovered a lengthy report by Felix Frankfurter in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Roosevelt sent Frankfurter to the USSR in 1941. He visited the retreating Soviet front near Rostov in October 1941 and, along with Allied military specialists, speculated that Hitler's armies might reach the Ural



mountains, leaving only Vladivostok as the last American supply line to the Reds. Therefore he considered Japan a "stumbling block" between California and Siberia. Frankfurter argued for an American war of aggression against Japan. He wrote: "In Japan we have a 'dagger in the back' type of enemy waiting and anxious only for the place and moment when it can sink that dagger to the best advantage. In this show-down war, reasons multiply for annihilating this kind of enemy."<sup>19</sup> Annihilating a whole nation is genocide. Remember Hitler's prophesies regarding Japan and about whom her annihilation would serve best. If the standards applied to the defeated Axis leaders at Nuremberg and Tokyo had been applied to Frankfurter, I doubt if he would have escaped death by hanging.

Another "bomb" exploded when a top secret telegram from Ambassador Ott landed on my desk in October 1941. It reported that Richard Sorge had been arrested for espionage on behalf of the Soviet government. Further Japanese investigation in the following days revealed that Sorge had been the editor of a Communist paper published near Cologne in 1924, that he had participated in Comintern congresses, and that he had collaborated with *Asahi* newspaper correspondent Hotsumi Ozaki, who was close to Prince Konoe. Sorge's mother was a Russian. His great-uncle, Friedrich Albert Sorge, had been General Secretary of the Marxist First International and a friend of Karl Marx. And we had to learn all of this from the Japanese! I felt ashamed. The dreaded Gestapo, the German FBI, suddenly bustled with activity. They finally found a dusty file in the records of the old Prussian democratic police which they had acquired in 1933, but never read. The file label read "Richard Sorge." The agent was so bold that he didn't even change his name. To make matters worse, Sorge had transmitted two fateful messages to Vladivostok shortly before his arrest. The first reported a Japanese cabinet decision to refrain from any attack against the Soviet Union. As a result of that information, 200,000 fresh Siberian troops were quickly transferred westwards to the German advance front. On 5 December 1941 the Tenth Motorized Infantry Division leading a pincer movement around Moscow under General Heinz Guderian was forced to retreat for the first time.<sup>20</sup> Hitler's "blitz" came to an end. This was the consequence of Sorge's treason and the five summer weeks lost in Yugoslavia. Sorge's second message informed Stalin that Pearl Harbor might be attacked within the next 60 days if war should break out between Japan and the U.S. The Soviets thanked Sorge, replying that "they had informed Roosevelt, Marshall, Admiral Stark, et al."<sup>21</sup> In this way Stalin returned his thanks for the priceless "Prince Paul message" of spring. "For Brutus is an honorable man. So are they all, all honorable men." (*Julius Caesar*, Act III, Scene II)

A few weeks later Under Secretary von Weizsaecker reached me by telephone while I was away visiting in Nuremberg. He asked me about relations between Ott and Sorge. I replied: "They were extremely intimate. Unfortunately, the Japanese knew this. Therefore the Ambassador should be recalled immediately." Von Weizsaecker replied: "He should stay on there." Along with the Japanese, I was very disturbed. A few months later they tactfully demanded his recall. After the war I learned the context. I was taught that because Weizsaecker was an honorable man who resisted a dictator, his oath of allegiance did not count. At the end of the war America discovered that the Sorge connection was only half of the story. Major General C.A. Willoughby, who served under MacArthur, found out that the head of Soviet espionage was based in Shanghai from where the eager American Marxist, Agnes Smedley, organized her footholds in high-level positions in Washington.<sup>22</sup> The Sorge-Smedley ring was thus a threat to the United States as well as to Germany.

It is significant that Matsuoka's negotiations in Europe were not coordinated with the Japanese negotiations being conducted in Washington at the same time. There was considerable disagreement about policy in Tokyo. Although Prince Konoe was fully aware of Hiranuma's failure, he thought that the Tripartite Pact had strengthened his position and would allow him to take a chance on the United States. He even sacrificed the pro-German Matsuoka in July in favor of retiring Vice Admiral Teijiro Toyoda, who was opposed to any attack against the United States. The Japanese Ambassador in Washington, Nomura, met forty times with Secretary of State Cordell Hull and nine times with President Roosevelt. But Roosevelt's attitude was so uncompromising that it was he who saved the Tripartite Pact. To be quite clear, I must confess that it was not German diplomatic skill, but rather Roosevelt who alone forced the reluctant Japanese to stick to the alliance with Germany. At virtually the last minute Tokyo asked if we would join them in case of war with America. On 5 December 1941 Hitler gave the Japanese this assurance and, following the Pearl Harbor attack, he complied with it, even though Germany was not legally bound to do so because it was the Japanese who had struck first. On 11 December 1941, long after Roosevelt had issued shooting orders against German warships, Germany declared war against the United States.<sup>23</sup> Hitler delivered an epochal speech on that occasion. After reading it one has to admit that Hitler, citing documents found in Prague and Warsaw, indicted Roosevelt in such a way that he may be called a pioneer of historical revisionism. I personally witnessed this speech and will never forget the experience. "The American President has labeled our three nations as 'have nots'," Hitler declared. "That is correct!



But the 'have nots' also wish to live and they will keep from being robbed of even their modest share by the 'haves'."<sup>24</sup>

There is no need to dwell here on the background to the Pearl Harbor attack. This subject is dealt with in detail in Admiral Theobald's *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, John Toland's *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*, and Hamilton Fish's latest book *Tragic Deception*. It's worth recalling Thomas Dewey's remark of 26 September 1944 to General George Marshall's messenger, Col. Carter W. Clarke. In reply to Clarke's plea to suppress the whole issue during the election campaign, Dewey said: "From what I know of Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt, instead of being re-elected, ought to be impeached."<sup>25</sup> This is also not the place to discuss the Pacific War. The history of that conflict has to be re-written. In his top secret letter to then Republican presidential nominee Dewey, George Marshall credited the U.S. victories at Midway and in the Coral Sea to the intelligence ability to eavesdrop on Japanese High Command communications. It took nearly forty years for these documents to be declassified. Many years of painstaking research will be needed to properly evaluate this library of some 700,000 pages!<sup>26</sup> They will open new horizons.

The question arises: If there was so much suspicion and selfish distrust between Germany and Japan, when was the alliance productive? Here are two cases: One fruitful result was Hitler's presentation of two German submarines together with all patent papers and technical information to the Japanese Navy. This proved to be of great help in rebuilding Japanese industry after the war. But there is another and more important achievement of the German-Japanese alliance. This was the contribution to the Indian National Liberation movement headed by Subhas Chandra Bose. (I delivered a lecture on this remarkable man and his place in history at American University in Washington, D.C. in late 1983.) Bose was President of the All-India Congress and a major figure in the struggle for Indian independence. Shortly after the outbreak of war in Europe he was imprisoned by the British in Calcutta, but he escaped and made his way to Germany via Kabul and Moscow. After a period of speaking to his country over the short wave radio station "Azid Hind" ("Free India") from Germany, Bose wanted to go to East Asia to organize an Indian National Army. The Foreign Office appreciated his goal and we arranged a submarine voyage in coordination with the Japanese Navy. The remarkable journey was successful and Bose was well received in Tokyo by Prime Minister Hideki Tojo. Bose raised an Indian army in Singapore and Malaya which fought with Japanese forces against the British at the India-Burma border area. Years after the war the British Prime Minister Clement Atlee confessed to the Indian Chief Justice in Calcutta that it was Bose's Indian National Army

which had shattered the loyalty of the British colonial troops. The British could no longer rely on them and were forced to quit India forever.<sup>27</sup> Bose perished in an air accident in Taiwan at the end of the war and did not live to see Indian independence. But his struggle survived his death! History is a human affair. It is therefore not barren Marxist materialism but the human spirit that is decisive. Bose, a remarkable orator, had appealed to patriotic spirit. The German-Japanese alliance could not prevent the military defeat of their own countries, but their support for Bose and his movement contributed substantially to the fall of the mighty British empire.

### **Retrospect and Conclusion**

In politics nothing happens by accident. If something happens, you can be sure that it was planned that way.

—Franklin D. Roosevelt<sup>28</sup>

The Second World War turned the world into a slaughterhouse. Altogether some 55 million died and two atomic bombs were dropped in order to force some 90 million Japanese and 75 million Germans to submit to the "unconditional surrender" proclaimed by Roosevelt at Casablanca in January 1943.<sup>29</sup>

William C. Bullitt, who was later Roosevelt's first Ambassador to Moscow, broke with President Wilson in 1919. He considered the Versailles Peace Treaty a disaster which would ultimately bring on another war. Ironically, twenty years later, Bullitt, by order of Roosevelt, did everything possible to incite the Poles to war. He had become an eager supporter of war against Germany! This policy ended in catastrophe for his own country because Roosevelt gave away all his cards to Stalin without demanding anything in return. Stalin received considerable Lend-Lease aid amounting to more than \$11 billion.<sup>30</sup> Roosevelt delivered twice as many tanks to Stalin as Hitler employed at the outset of his invasion. In May 1943 even atomic materials (black uranium oxide and uranium nitrate) and secret technical information were loaded on to Soviet planes in Canada. The orders for this astonishing transfer came from the White House!<sup>31</sup> In the final analysis, Yalta and Potsdam meant catastrophe for Germany and Japan, as well as tragedy for the United States, Korea, China and the rest of the Western world. Only two powers emerged triumphant from the conflagration, one old and one new: the Soviet Union and the Zionists.

The First World War was concluded with the Versailles Treaty which, as unjust and fragile as it was, was still a signed treaty. In contrast, there has not been any European peace treaty to conclude the Second World War. Europe's central power, Germany, was beheaded and, as a result, her two primary wartime enemies,



the U.S. and the USSR, still confront each other on the territory of divided Germany under the conditions of a precarious armistice. Western access to divided Berlin remains literally "in the air." After forty years, this is the longest standing armistice in world history. American sons and grandsons have inherited from their fathers the need to keep watch across Soviet mines at the fortified border through Central Europe. They must also guard the last German prisoner, Rudolf Hess, who spends his 90th birthday in Spandau. The high cost of vengeance, it seems, will never end. As the English poet Alexander Pope put it: "Now Europe's balanced, neither side prevails. For nothing's left in either of the scales." The nervous military build-up on both sides of the Iron Curtain (a term first popularized by Dr. Goebbels) entails the deadly risk that one of the opposing superpowers may act out of fear that the military balance has been broken. The British "balance of power" was destroyed and has been replaced by a "balance of terror."

Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo have long since disappeared, but the injustices they opposed and the problems they sought to overcome, which caused their emergence, remain unresolved to this day. Nearly one quarter of Weimar Germany was placed under Polish Communist administration. Twelve million Germans were driven from their homes, of whom more than two million were slain in an orgy of hatred.<sup>32</sup> Genghis Khan seemed to come to life. For this reason the explosive charge of unresolved problems has become more dangerous than ever. New, explosively dangerous borderlines were created: Korea and Vietnam were divided by Stalin, India was torn asunder, Germany was cut up, Austria was again amputated from her, Poland was doomed, three Baltic states were sentenced to death, Japan was mutilated. . . . The Middle East has been engulfed in turmoil. This conflict was fostered at Versailles in 1919 when the British and French violated numerous solemn pledges and betrayed the Arabs. The last great British defender of the Arabs, T.E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia") was killed in a motorcycle accident in 1935 shortly before a planned meeting with Hitler. The evidence strongly suggests that Lawrence was murdered by British officials.<sup>33</sup> The Anglo-American partition of Palestine provoked a new Islamic fervor which bears the spark of a Third World War. The American officials who were taken hostage in their own Embassy in Teheran dramatically experienced this Islamic renaissance. There is an imminent danger that the Middle Eastern conflict may erupt into a third world conflagration. This must be avoided at all costs! The NATO and Warsaw Pact armies should therefore be withdrawn from German soil. In addition to sound long-range political considerations by both Washington and Moscow, the development of new long-range weapons can facilitate such a move. America

should take the lead in this. The two artificially created states on German soil have no weight.

People in America and Europe, often misled by sinister forces, shout for peace. Nobody shouts for the prerequisite of real peace: A European Peace Treaty. A consistent and conscientious effort by the super powers leading to a European Peace Treaty must have priority over new armaments. With the implacability of the classical Roman statesman Cato, all Germans should demand ("Ceterum censeo") that the "enemy clause" in the United Nations Charter must be abolished. Above all, the White House should earnestly work for such a peace treaty, which would be more effective and less costly than any armaments race. An active peace policy should have priority over Secretary Weinberger's purely military campaign. Today we seem to be witnessing the squaring of the circle, but in politics nothing is as permanent as change. A bold and courageous step by the United States may one day overcome Roosevelt's fatal decision, expressed to Francis Cardinal Spellman in 1943 that "there will be no peace treaty."<sup>34</sup> As history has shown, no peace treaty means perpetual danger.

Historians have the duty to ask: What was behind the catastrophe of Yalta and Potsdam? Colonel Curtis B. Dall wisely entitled his book *FDR, My Exploited Father-in-Law*. Exploited by whom? We Germans found the answer in captured Polish documents. In January 1939, scarcely four months after the Munich Agreement, Polish Ambassador Jerzy Potocki reported from Washington to Warsaw:

The feeling now prevailing in the United States is marked by a growing hatred of Fascism and, above all, of Chancellor Hitler and everything connected with Nazism. Propaganda is mostly in the hands of the Jews who control almost 100 percent radio, film, daily and periodical press.

In this action various Jewish intellectuals participated: for instance, Bernard Baruch; the Governor of New York State, Lehman; the newly appointed judge of the Supreme Court, Felix Frankfurter; Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau; and others who are personal friends of President Roosevelt . . . These groups of people who occupy the highest positions in the American government and want to pose as representatives of "true Americanism" and "defenders of democracy" are, in the last analysis, connected by unbreakable ties with international Jewry.

. . . They have created a dangerous hotbed for hatred and hostility in this hemisphere and divided the world into two hostile camps. The entire issue is worked out in masterly manner. Roosevelt has been given the foundation for activating American foreign policy, and simultaneously has been procuring enormous military stocks for the coming war, for which the Jews are striving very consciously.

It is the decided opinion of the President that France and Britain



must put an end to any sort of compromise with the totalitarian countries. They must not get into any discussions aiming at any kind of territorial changes.

They have the moral assurance that the United States will abandon the policy of isolation and be prepared to intervene actively on the side of Britain and France in case of war. America is ready to place its whole wealth of money and raw materials at their disposal.<sup>35</sup>

The father of this international "Brain Trust" cabal was Wilson. Under blackmail pressure, he was forced to appoint Louis Brandeis, an ardent Zionist, as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1916.<sup>36</sup> Along with President Wilson, Brandeis bears a major responsibility for pushing America to join Britain's war in order to obtain from her the fateful Balfour Declaration of 1917. In 1939, a year just as crucial as 1916, Roosevelt nominated Felix Frankfurter, Brandeis' intimate friend, as his successor on the Supreme Court. A secret state within a state was gradually developing. University of Pennsylvania Professor Bruce Allen Murphy is the author of the 1982 work, *The Brandeis-Frankfurter Connection*, which is significantly subtitled "The Secret Political Activities of Two Supreme Court Justices."<sup>37</sup> Based on 300 previously unpublished letters from Brandeis to Frankfurter, Murphy reveals that these men clannishly placed their sympathizers in influential positions throughout the U.S. government. As Murphy put it, this made it possible for them to "pull the invisible wires."<sup>38</sup> Among Frankfurter's "extrajudicial successes," Murphy noted that "he (Frankfurter) had helped to prepare the nation for its entry into the (Second World) war and had secured assistance, both material and monetary, for Great Britain."<sup>39</sup> This was, of course, a blatant violation of the U.S. Neutrality Law of 1935. A Supreme Court Justice thus subverted the law.

Worst of all, however, was the ideological influence of these men, which differed radically from the Western tradition of the Founding Fathers. Zionism is an Oriental nationalism based on the spirit of the Old Testament, the pre-Christian Torah and the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>40</sup> It has nothing in common with our civilization, which is rooted in Occidental Hellenic and Roman thinking. Recall what I wrote about the magnanimous treatment of the vanquished by Alexander the Great. His teacher was Aristotle, a disciple of Plato. In a way, Alexander's policy resembled Wilson's slogan, "a war to end all war." However, the President unfortunately abandoned this path by entrusting Bernard Baruch with the preparation of the Versailles conference. It is no accident that it was the Zionists who introduced the spirit of hatred and revenge into Anglo-American foreign policy. Montague Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, called the Versailles settlement

"economic lunacy."<sup>41</sup> In 1944 Morgenthau issued his devastating plan for Germany's ruin.

The "unconditional surrender" concept grew from the same spiritual root. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, proudly claimed for himself and his Congress the honor of first expounding the idea of a tribunal to punish Nazi war criminals.<sup>42</sup> Robert Oppenheimer, the famous Communist-inclined physicist, nearly succeeded in having the first atomic bomb dropped on Kyoto, the cultural heart of Japan. An atomic attack on Kyoto, which is surrounded on three sides by high hills, would have cost many more lives than the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, which faces the open sea. Secretary of War Henry Stimson had to use all of his authority to frustrate two attempts by Oppenheimer to have Kyoto selected as the target for the first atomic bombing.<sup>43</sup> Satanic hatred also manifested itself in books. In *Germany Must Perish*, Theodore Nathan Kaufman proposed the compulsory sterilization of all German men and women after victory.<sup>44</sup> Germany was to disappear completely and would be totally partitioned off among neighboring countries. Holland would absorb Hamburg, Poland would acquire Berlin, and Munich would become part of France. Goebbels arranged for widespread distribution of a German translation of Kaufman's book. You can imagine the effect this had on the public! In a 1942 issue of a prominent British magazine, a Jewish emigree who wrote under the pen name of Sebastian Haffner urged the summary killing of at least 500,000 young SS men.<sup>45</sup> This murderous proposal surpassed even Stalin's suggestion at the 1943 Teheran conference that 50,000 German officers should be murdered.<sup>46</sup> Finally, at a mass meeting with New York Mayor La Guardia in 1945, Jewish newspaper mogul Joseph Pulitzer called for the killing of one and a half million Nazis, the German General Staff, industrialists and bankers "with army bullets through their heads." The *New York Times* of 23 May 1945 reported at length on this rally and Pulitzer's proposal without any criticism whatsoever. The contemptible *Times* editors had completely abandoned George Washington's noble sentiment, expressed in his *Farewell Address*: "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great Nation, to give mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

One of America's greatest generals, George Patton, declared: "We fought the war of 1776 for independence. We fought the Civil War to free the slaves. We fought the war of 1812 to make the world safe for democracy. We fought this war to lose everything we had gained from the other three."<sup>47</sup> Did Patton die for making this critical but accurate statement, in circumstances very similar



to those surrounding the death of Lawrence of Arabia? Dr. James J. Martin once stated that the policy of the Allied "Big Three" is "unequaled in the history of devious statecraft." This policy has led the super powers into a maze. There is no way out, unless they abandon Roosevelt's road to Yalta, a road paved by subversives.

Between 1871 and 1918 the French kept a ribbon of mourning on the statue of "lost" Alsace-Lorraine at the Place de la Concorde in Paris. In the same spirit, should not the Statue of Liberty veil her head to mourn the mockery that Roosevelt had made of this noble, proud and venerated symbol? In the search for new horizons of honesty, devotion and love of country, we must courageously oppose those who preach hatred, Marxist class struggle or hollow internationalism. Hope is dawning . . . Let us not forget that although Anglo-American bombers killed many hopeful specialists at the German rocket center of Peenemuende, fruitful German-American collaboration since the war at Cape Canaveral has brought us to the moon! Columbus would envy us!

## Notes

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5. *Akten zur deutschen und auswaertigen Politik*, (Baden Baden: 1956), Serie D (1937-1945), Band VI, Dokument 403 (17 May 1939), p. 441. Cited in: David L. Hoggan, *Der erzwungene Krieg* (Tuebingen: 1974), p. 520.
6. A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (German edition of 1930), p. 173.
7. Hitler, pp. 722-724.
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11. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 4, (Winter 1983-84), pp. 391-395.
12. H. Fish, *Tragic Deception* (Old Greenwich, CN: Devin Adair, 1983), p. 94.
13. New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1974 and 1979.
14. This listing of prisoners was published in the Moscow army daily *Krasnaya Zvezda* ("Red Star") of 17 Sept. 1940. All correspondence

- between the Polish prisoners and their relatives was cut off in the spring of 1940. General Sikorski was unable to get any information about their whereabouts from Stalin on 3 Dec. 1940. See also: Louis FitzGibbon, *Katyn*.
15. Helmut Suendermann, *Tagesparolen: Deutsche Presseweisungen 1939-1945*, (Leoni: Druffel Verlag, 1973), pp. 186, 209ff.
  16. Konstantin Fotitch, *Yugoslavia's Tragedy and the Failure of the West* (New York: 1948). Fotitch, a Serb, was the Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington. See the record of his conversation with Prince Paul of 1 March 1941.
  17. Moscow: 1978. (Russian edition, pp. 6-7?)
  18. Erich Helmdach, *Ueberfall?*, (Neckargemuend: 1975).
  19. F. Frankfurter to William J. Donovan, 20 October 1941, p. 14. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Container 243, File 004234 Miscellany.
  20. Personal information by eyewitness Dr. Josef Jindrich, Munich. See also: Paul Carell, *Unternehmen Barbarossa*, (Berlin: Ullstein, 1968), Vol. 1, p. 167, Map 9, and Vol. 2, p. 284.
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  22. C.A. Willoughby, *Sorge: Soviet Master Spy* (London: Wm. Kimber, 1952). Published in the U.S. by Dutton as *Shanghai Conspiracy*. See also: Freda Utey, *Last Chance in China* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1947).
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  24. Friedrich Berber, *Die Amerikanische Neutralitaet im Kriege, 1939-1941*, (Essen: 1943) Dokumentenanhang, pp. 163-190.
  25. Congressional Investigation, Pearl Harbor Attack, Part 3, pp. 1132-1133.
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  29. Meyers Enzyklopaedisches Lexikon (Mannheim: 1979), Vol. 25, p. 215.
  30. *Twenty-Second Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations* [for period ending 31 December 1945] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 17, 26.
  31. The dealer was "Raznoimport," USSR. Sent by "Amtorg," New York. Order No. 21-73/043058. Facsimile in: Peter Kleist, *Die europaeische Tragodie* (Pr. Oldendorf: K.W. Schuetz, 1971), p. 65. See also: George R. Jordan, *From Major Jordan's Diaries* (Boston: Western Islands, 1965).
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  33. Desmond Hansen, "The Enigma of Lawrence," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 286-287.



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37. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 473pp.
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39. B.A. Murphy, p. 302.
40. M. Schloessinger, *Rashi: His Life and His Work* (Baltimore: 1905). Rashi, which means "learning," was the most authoritative interpreter of the Talmud.
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43. Martin J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed* (New York: A Knopf, 1975), pp. 230-231.
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## Plato's Dialectic v. Hegel and Marx: An Evaluation of Five Revolutions

DAVID L. HOGGAN

*(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)*

The main source of Plato's dialectic was of course the legendary Socrates, who, because he left no literary written legacy, has become a largely legendary figure like Jesus. For a record of Socrates the popular soldier one reads Xenophon. An insight into Socrates the sophist, who believed in the old Sumerian pedagogical adage that a teacher is good in proportion to the extent that he can make his students cantankerous, perpetually argumentative, and incurably neurotic, one reads in Aristophanes. And for Socrates the serious philosopher, which of course is the aspect of his reputation that made him justifiably famous, one reads Plato, the most famous disciple of Socrates who later on was also the principal teacher of the great Aristotle, who, like Socrates, was hounded to a disgraceful death. Socrates was punished for corrupting the aristocratic youth of Athens, and Aristotle was punished for developing the brains and leverage of Alexander the Great, and hence he was hunted down and died less than one year after the death of his illustrious and still very youthful Macedonian pupil. Just as William Joyce was condemned to death in England in 1945 for treason despite the fact that he was a U.S.A. citizen and an Irish nationalist, the Athenians pursuing Aristotle seemed unmindful of the fact that, like Alexander, he too was of Macedonian origin. Plato, on the other hand, had gone to Socrates as one of the aristocratic and golden blond Athenian



youths through and through, and, beloved by his democratic polis regardless of the fact that he always hated democracy as an insane leveling system and always fought against it, he died a very pleasant death during his sleep one night in Athens at the ripe age of eighty.

Unlike the writings of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Euripedes, with part of their extant works destroyed due to their concentration in the main Hellenistic University at Alexandria/Egypt when the Jews in one of their nihilistic and blood-thirsty perennial revolutions burned what was the largest library the world was ever to see until the emergence of modern printing in 15th-century Germany, the many dialogues of the fortunate golden Athenian Plato have been preserved for posterity, including Plato's famous allegory of the cave in his most famous and portentous dialogue, *The Republic*. Except for a few of the Sumerian classics, this allegory alone explains to modern mankind what the nature and the purpose of civilization have become.

According to Plato in his allegory of the cave, barbarian peoples, whether Viking-like marauders from the Atlantis region of the North Sea described by Plato who tried to loot and destroy Egyptian civilization around 1200 B.C., the same time that the paleolithic barbarian Hebrew people tried to occupy South Palestine as nomad invaders from the Arabian desert, or the Semitic Amorite invaders who only became semi-civilized and developed Babylon after genociding the nineteen republics of the magnificent Sumerians, with the latter, so far as we know today, being the originators of all existing civilization due to their three magnificent innovations of written records, urbanization, and free enterprise, these barbarian peoples being by stipulative definition unfree because of their slavish subjection in the Spenglerian sense to *totem* and *taboo*, just as the pre-Greek Mycenaean barbarians were the unfree slaves of superstition as described by Homer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were in Plato's magnificent allegory like prisoners in a dark cave staring at shadowy reflections on the walls that were only dimly related to the real world that they reflected, until Socrates came and freed them all and led them upward from darkness into the light. Especially from Plato onward the Greek academy, or university, saw in Greek *paideia*, or education, an obligation, whenever possible, to follow the original Sumerian tradition, and we now have transliterated enough hundreds of thousands of clay tablets in Sumerian cuneiform to comprehend the incredible vitality and eloquence of those original Sumerian schools, and to lead all peoples upward into the light. That is why Plato's pupil Aristotle made a special effort to civilize the wild barbarian youth Alex-

ander, an effort which failed, as witness Alexander's drunken murder of his best friend, Black Cleitus, who had saved his life in the Battle of the Granicus, of his murder of Aristotle's own nephew, who was the official historian of Alexander's marauding expedition against Persia, and, above all, his insanely barbarian kill-or-be-killed vendetta against Darius III, the brave but urbane Iranian benevolent despot. By the same token the able and brilliant Polybius, a hostage in Rome from the Hellenic Achaean League, flattered the Romans by giving them more credit than justly was their due in the realm of politics, but he could neither civilize them nor prevent their incredibly brutal genociding of the great Carthaginian mercantile civilization. It was not until Lucretius and the spread of Greek Epicureanism that Rome became civilized.

Now Plato's dialectical method, as everyone knows, begins in its basic form with the deductive reasoning of the classical Hellenic syllogism, where one formulates an adequate major premise, confronts it with a contrary and qualifying minor premise, and from this artificially induced confrontation derives a synthesis or conclusion. This play of 1) thesis, 2) antithesis, and 3) synthesis is at the root of all twenty of Plato's dialogues, and, knowing as we do that the greatest Greek historian Thucydides was merely paraphrasing when he offered to his readers the verbatim speeches of contemporary rival Dorian and Ionian politicians and military leaders in his epic narrative of the monumental Peloponnesian War, we would be naive indeed if we believed that we could accept literally the facts that Plato offers us about Socrates. Take the case of the magnificent *Republic* with which we are concerned in this context. The discussion takes place against the background of events that existed when Plato was only seven years old. Now although it is a fact that Plato in the bosom of his own family already had met Socrates by the time that Plato himself was only aged seven, surely nobody would believe seriously that in the *Republic* Plato wrote at the age of sixty he was recording accurately philosophical discussions that he had perhaps listened to fifty-three years earlier, particularly when those talks were the most subtle and sophisticated ones that the world had ever known down to that time, and certainly, *cela va sans dire*, no U.S.A. university graduate seminar in philosophy could equal them today.

Nobody could have been more of a revisionist than Plato. Just as we know today that England wantonly unleashed both World War I in 1914 and World War II in 1939 against a Germany that on each occasion was trying its best to be friendly with her, so Plato, born during the Peloponnesian War which resulted, as Oswald Spengler correctly pointed out in his epochal *The Decline of the*



West, in the permanent divorce in the Ancient World between the source of political power and the source of culture, a development always fatal in any civilization if it is not corrected, so Plato knew that Athens, not the Dorian Spartans, caused that horrible internecine war which buried the freedom of Greece, firstly, because democratic Athenian demagogues wantonly destroyed the traditional alliance between Athens and Sparta in 462 B.C., and secondly, because the worst of those demagogues, the depraved and arrogant Pericles, seized on an issue at distant Corfu in Western Greece to unleash that fatal and unnecessary war.

The Peloponnesian War that began in 431 B.C. buried classical Greece historically speaking, although it is only fair to add that contemporaries could not have understood that in the same final sense that we do. Plato came closer than anybody to suspecting right at the time that the late 5th century B.C. blow struck against Greece by the Greeks themselves was in fact mortal. That explains the pessimism that pervades the writings of this otherwise exuberant blond Athenian. One has the feeling reading Plato that was cogently expressed by Prussian Foreign Minister Radowitz on the eve of the 1850 humiliation inflicted on Hohenzollern Prussia, namely, the unilateral Prussian repudiation of the Erfurt German Unity Plan, by Habsburg Austria and Romanov Russia: Radowitz complained that he was experiencing exactly the same feeling of the soldier entering a globally decisive battle with the absolute certainty that he would be defeated. But there is the same devotion to duty in Plato that there was later in Radowitz and still later in the NSDAP as expressed by the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe in his magnificently sensitive book, *Verdammte Pflicht und Schuldigkeit* (Damned Duty and Responsibility.) He symbolizes it by quoting from a popular SA song about a small cadre of SA men marching into a large town at sundown and restoring order. To Schaumburg-Lippe the sundown theme expresses the heroic last ditch effort that in the long run could very possibly fail. I can only speak for myself, but I hope to God the day will never come when I allow the threat of failure to compromise my idealism. Bob LaFollette in his 1911 autobiography put it another way: "In politics it is always better to take no loaf than half a loaf." Or as Henrik Ibsen put it in his Alpine epic *Brand*: "The Devil is compromise!" For instance, I consider that Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Hitler were extremely great men in both the affective and cognitive domains. All three were kind and considerate, and all three were brilliant leaders of the German people against all odds. The fact that Bismarck made a success whereas the Kaiser and Hitler did not has nothing to do with my attitude because I am not a superficial pragmatist in the tradition of Peirce, James, and Dewey, and because I do not worship what William James called

the "bitch-goddess success." If I believe that those three great leaders were correct and that their goals were valid, which is in fact my definitive and mature opinion, I will continue to proclaim that truth regardless of the money and power brought against me by any deluded so-called "chosen people."

Plato's revisionism was by no means limited to war origins. He believed that the downward turn in Athenian politics began with the so-called democratic reform of Cleisthenes in 508 B.C. Indeed, such disastrous wars as the Peloponnesian War, the Thirty Years War, World War I or World War II are in and of themselves no more than the symptoms of the disease. For instance, no nation has exercised a more dire influence on 20th-century global forces than the U.S.A., although certainly no sane person would argue that the same thing was true of the U.S.A. in the 18th or 19th centuries. What is the source of this remarkable *malaise*? The *B'nai B'rith* (Brothers of the Faith) were founded at Philadelphia in 1843 with the express purpose of seizing control of the U.S.A. public media, a goal which they had largely achieved fifty years later by 1893. Thus in pluralistic America one small minority seized a commanding position, and even the great Henry Ford, Sr., was challenged when he attempted to challenge the Jewish U.S.A. power monopoly during the 1920's. Meanwhile, *B'nai B'rith* established a main European headquarters at Berlin/Germany in 1880. The purpose of that move, of course, was the destruction of Tsarist Christian Russia, the homeland at that time of a majority of all the Jews on earth, just as today, one century later, the U.S.A. enjoys that same dubious distinction. France had been the main target of Jewish subversion down to the failure of the largely Jewish Paris Commune of 1871; for instance, Napoleon I, after vainly appealing for patriotism instead of selfishness to the Paris Sanhedrin (Great Jewish Council) in 1807 (the Jews for the first time had received full French citizenship in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, which Napoleon never revoked), exclaimed: "These Jewish locusts are devouring my beloved France!" As everyone knows, the Jewish destruction of Russia in 1917 was successful, with supreme power over the wretched Russian masses going to Lenin's first *Politburo* (the Soviet Executive Committee) of whose original eighteen members no less than thirteen were Jews. Now the traditionally free enterprise U.S.A., albeit with Jewish monopoly control over the public media for the past ninety years, is locked, due to FDR's initial action, into a permanent global alliance with the USSR behind the phoney camouflage screen of the Cold War declared by Harry Truman on March 12, 1947, in a public speech to the U.S.A. Congress at the behest of the English imperialists, who hoped to replace U.S.A. in the middle of the global diplomatic teeter-totter. However, English crimes had rendered them too feeble to do that effectively.



It is clear that of the six supremely great rational philosophers of classical Hellas, namely, Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno (the latter founder of Stoicism was originally an Arab resident of Cyprus who was Hellenized there and who became great as a philosopher only after moving to Athens, where Plato's Academy, or university, functioned continuously until it was closed by the last Latin-speaking Byzantine Emperor Justinian, and, above all, by the real power behind the throne, Empress Theodora, who, until her death from cancer, had become the supreme commercial prostitute of Byzantium, a career described for us eloquently by the great Byzantine historian Procopius), that of all these great Hellenic philosophers, only Plato was a thoroughgoing revisionist in the modern sense understood by us, namely, the capacity of civilized man for independent thought. Despite the sterling objectivity of the great Athenian historian Thucydides, who, despite his own historical role as a patriotic Athenian combat general, was willing and able to prove that it was the Athenian democratic demagogues, not the proud militaristic Spartans, who alone caused the ruinous Peloponnesian War, it cannot be contended in any meaningful sense that Thucydides was a revisionist in the same modern sense that is applicable to Plato. As everyone knows, the traditional concept of "court history," namely, historians bribed to tell eloquent lies about their country like Livy, originates only with the scoundrel Emperor Augustus, who, along with his great-uncle Julius Caesar, was one of the two main perpetrators of the assassination of the original aristocratic Roman Republic described for us by Polybius. Indeed, his minister Maecenas made a regular policy of bribing poets like Vergil as well as historians like Livy. Although the great Tacitus was an independent Roman historian who refused to be bought by the Roman court, and, indeed, Tacitus is in fact the supreme Latin-language historian of all time in exactly the same way that Thucydides is the number one Greek-language historian of all time, Tacitus simply ignored the Roman court historians rather than presuming to attack them, and of course Thucydides, in Athens the one and only supreme chronicler of the great Peloponnesian War, had no court historians to attack. Beyond all that, Plato had developed a complete *Weltbild* in a way that Thucydides never did, and in a way that Tacitus never understood. Would anyone deny that the three German great ones, namely, Bismarck, Kaiser Bill II, and Hitler, each had such a complete individual *Weltbild*? Certainly not. Would any competent person claim that any of the three main opponents of Hitler in World War II, namely, the drunken plagiarist Churchill, the pornographic mama's boy FDR, or the lover of crime and murder for its own sake, Stalin, had an individually independent *Weltbild*?

Again the answer would have to be: certainly not. That the three German great ones were millions of light years in intellectual quality beyond the standards of leadership traditionally acceptable and even admired in England, U.S.A., and USSR simply goes without saying, and this is particularly true when we recall that in Plato's allegory of the cave it was precisely the possession of this individual and independent *Weltbild* that gave Socrates the powerful leverage to lead mankind out of the dark and shadowy realm of merely shadows into the bright and golden civilized light of true manliness and substance. If one had to identify succinctly the intellectual power of Sumer to create and to sustain a first universal civilization, thus cutting short by millions of years the wallowing of mankind in superstitious and mindless barbarism, would not one have to concede that it was in fact this ability of many, many individual Sumerians to develop independent *Weltbilder* in the context of a literate, free-enterprise, and extremely sophisticated society that gave them the Archimedean point of leverage to establish the glory of a permanent civilization on this glorious and beautiful globe of ours? For instance, the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, although composed several millennia before the Hebrew Old Testament, is incomparably more humane, urbane, literary, and sensible than the latter with its hideous nonsense about Jehovah creating the sun on the so-called fourth day. How in the hell could those first three days have transpired without a sun? As a matter of fact, it was precisely the achievement of Socrates and Plato to restore civilization back to the high standards that had prevailed thirteen hundred years earlier before the savage Semitic Amorites of Hammurabi genocided all of Sumer at a moment of military advantage in the same way that FDR, who had three separate plans of sterilization, atomic destruction, and starvation, very nearly genocided Germany during the years from 1941 to 1945. Fortunately for all mankind, the supremely Satanic FDR died in the arms of one of his many whores on April 12, 1945, and, albeit ten percent of Germans due to FDR had died by that time, the other 90% were spread in several small and truncated territories.

It should be seen in retrospect that the Athenian imperialistic warmonger, Pericles, who, unlike FDR with less than five years of college and a low "C" average, was something of an intellectual, was almost angelic compared to FDR, the greatest war criminal of all time and the American Antichrist. What a horrifying commentary it is on the unspeakably abysmal standards of U.S.A. public life after more than ninety years of the tyrannical Jewish monopoly of the public media that only the *epigoni* of FDR are considered eligible by that same media to hold presidential office, and that all U.S.A. presidents since the death of FDR the tyrant in 1945



have in fact been his *epigoni*. With the exception of Ronald Reagan, who simply adores FDR and has never made any secret of that fact, all of the other successors, including Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter either disliked or utterly detested FDR personally, much like the *epigoni* of the scoundrel Augustus and his court historians in Rome, but the fact remains that all of them have found it necessary to praise FDR to the skies in their public messages. One is reminded of the official memoirs of Augustus, the *Res Gestae* (Things Accomplished), and his last recorded words as he lay dying at Nola in 14 A.D.: "Have I not been a good actor?" The worst crimes of Augustus, including the murder of the great Cicero in 43 B.C. when the latter was at the peak of his productive power, and the senseless dispossession and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people on alleged grounds of mere suspicion, took place during the fifteen years after sixty Roman senators successfully conspired to assassinate the tyrant Julius Caesar with his hypocritical and phoney *clementia*, yet the Augustus official memoirs, in typical court historical fashion, only commence after the passage of those fifteen bloody years. The same is true when FDR's *epigoni* present him as a goody-goody two-shoes humanitarian while ignoring his bloody effort to genocide eighty million Germans along with his myriad other crimes. Although Pericles was not as bad as Augustus, and not nearly so bad as FDR, Plato makes it unmistakably clear in his dialogues that Socrates was the indispensable advisor of the counter-revolutionaries who sought at Athens by both suasion and force to overturn the Cleisthenes-Periclean system which had failed politically, ethically, and socially, and which was in the process of destroying Greece. Can any imperialistic crime be more brutal than the slaughter of the good Dorians of Melos merely because they aspired to preserve their benevolent neutrality toward all combatant parties? Does that not remind one of the role of FDR and his OSS chief Wild Bill Donovan in cooperation with the English secret service and the Soviet NKVD in overthrowing the legitimate government of Yugoslavia merely because that unfortunate country wished to preserve its benevolent neutrality in the latest Anglo-German War, with the English, as usual, being both the initial aggressors and the ones who hoped to perpetuate a senseless and horrible war indefinitely? Did not the fact that the U.S.A. was still officially and legally neutral in April 1941 add to the horrid crime of FDR a special ingredient of iniquity? All sources agree that it was FDR's ploy that converted Yugoslav Air Force Minister Simovic, the chief of the revolutionaries, to the *putsch* plan and especially since FDR, supposedly neutral, threatened to treat the Yugoslavs as a permanent enemy of the U.S.A. unless they complied. Have any

FDR epigoni ever expressed regret that as a result of the dastardly Simovic-Nincic coup more than two million civilian Roman Catholic Croats and Pravoslaven Greek Orthodox Serbs perished in senseless internecine slaughter, and that out of this chaos the Stalin agent and bloody butcher Josip Broz, known to history as Tito (Stalin always called him by his World War I Bolshevik alias Walther), climbed to power and built fifty concentration camps in which hundreds of thousands of Christian Serbs and Croats, Islamic Bosniaks, minority Albanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Germans perished? There was a time when the official Beograd Tito newspaper *Borba* took special pride in the efficiency of these camps, where on certain days children witnessed the public execution of their parents and on other days parents witnessed the public execution of their children. Can anyone deny that from 1941 onward the U.S.A.-Jewish public media have given Tito a favorable press, whereas the brilliant book, *Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse*, by Slobdan Drashkovich, one of the sons of the anti-Communist Yugoslav Prime Minister Drashkovich, who was murdered from ambush by the Communists, has sold less than three thousand copies albeit in print for several decades?

The reason that Plato's revisionism extended from immediate war causes to the entire host of iniquities in the prevailing system was because Plato knew that the war in question was merely the symptom of the disease. Important as it is to analyze carefully the crime of unleashing deliberately the unnecessary war, it is equally important, like Plato in *The Republic*, to endeavor to reform the rotten society that produced the crime. For instance, if the U.S.A. Progressive movement, under Fighting Bob LaFollette during the era of its heyday from 1900 to 1925, had ever succeeded in bringing honest and responsible government at the national level to the U.S.A. for the first time, the imperialistic crimes of Bill McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt could have been speedily and neatly undone, and the unspeakable and gargantuan crimes of Woody Wilson could have been prevented. Without the precedent of Wilson, the crime program of FDR could never have taken off and a deadly and serious effort to annihilate the entire German people could never have been made. It is because Plato saw this, namely, that without the corruption of the Athenian system by Cleisthenes a criminal career like that of Pericles would have been impossible, that the main thrust of *The Republic* is to reform society in precisely the same way that modern revisionists confront that same problem. The details of Plato's reforms need not concern us here beyond the general assertion that they were a giant step in the right direction. Furthermore, Plato's dialectic described earlier made it possible to present instrumental objectives and ultimate goals in a fair, lucid, and rational manner.



How different the situation is when we turn to Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831) and Karl Marx (1818-1883). These two rascals, superficially opposite numbers with Hegel advocating idealism and Marx advocating materialism, were in reality like twin peas in a pod with both addicted to a barbarian worship of power for its own sake. Both were supreme cynics and hypocrites, adept at disguising their wolf plans in sheep's clothing. Hegel, even more than Marx, was also a supreme weather-vane without any ordinary integrity who claimed that it was all right to change fashions in opinions like fashions in clothes, with consistency becoming the virtue of small minds. Hegel as a young man was a fanatical advocate for Frederician Prussia, but no sooner had the guns cooled on the battlefields of Jena and Auerstedt in 1806 than he became a Bonapartist and proclaimed Napoleon I to be the so-called *Zeitgeist*. After the Congress of Vienna concluded its labors in 1815, Hegel suddenly discovered in the feeble and utterly corrupt Metternichean stooge Prussian monarch Frederick William III the perfect guardian of German liberties, although that same monarch had proclaimed publicly that he would rather roast in Hell than accept any of the sane and moderate political reform plans of Arndt, Hardenberg, and Stein.

Unfortunately, even more than Arndt, Fichte, and Kant, this same Hegel was a genius in formulating magnificent abstract conceptions and in clothing them in almost irresistibly seductive language. It was due partly to Hegel that the Machiavellian cynicism of the end justifying the means, whereas Plato had understood clearly enough that the end is determined by the means, became a temporarily dominant force in Central European ideology and political theory down through the 1830's until a new Prussian monarch, Frederick William IV, who also happened to be an intellectual, revived the supremacy of philosophical idealism after he came to the throne in 1840, and of course it was during the 1830's that the impressionable Marx entered the German university system as a freshman student. Essentially, Hegel was a materialistic utilitarian like Jeremy Bentham in England, and his lip service to the idealism of freedom, like that of Marx to the so-called eventual withering away of the state, was just a pose. Influenced as he was by the great 17th-century Italian historian, Giambattista Vico, and by the great 18th-century German historian Johann Gottfried Herder, Hegel imagined human history moving in spirals toward an explicit goal of perfection, and to Hegel that goal was the perfect omniscient and omnipotent state, which he camouflaged in the quaint notion that perfect human freedom could only then be attained when every libertarian individual identified his own will with that of the state. Like Marx, Hegel in reality was eager to move as far and as fast as he could

away from any real liberty. Karl Marx, of course, was the typical Jew copycat in politics that wealthy Felix Mendelssohn with his unlimited appetite for plagiarism was in music, and it is safe to say that the Karl Marx-Vladimir Lenin ideology of supreme totalitarian Communism could never have emerged in the world as the monstrosity that it is without the Hegelian adaptation of Plato's dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Hegel himself was the indispensable *deus ex machina*, and although the primitive Lenin complained in letters in 1916 from his room next to the sausage factory in Zuerich/Switzerland that after six months of diligent effort he was simply intellectually incapable of understanding Hegel, that did not matter because young Marx had understood Hegel clearly enough and Lenin was capable of understanding the more crude and simplistic philosophy of Karl Marx. In their worship of absolutism, Hegel, Marx, and Lenin were unmistakable disciples of Voltaire just as Bismarck, Kaiser Bill II, and Hitler were the disciples of Rousseau who put his faith in people.

We can move now to the five so-called modern revolutions in England (1688), U.S.A. (1776), France (1789), Russia (1917), and Germany (1933). It is my thesis, and I have no doubt that Plato would have agreed with me, that the most promising of these five revolutions was the German one, with the French one following in second place. It is possible to proceed succinctly because we have established a context with a specific standard for evaluating revolutions, and, for that matter, any other political developments, based squarely as that standard is on the norms of a successful civilization as invented and demonstrated by Sumer and as revived and restored in Hellas by Socrates and Plato.

Now it goes without saying that in terms of historical prestige in society at large the Great French Revolution of 1789 continues to be the modern revolution number one. Consider that when professional historians divide the 5500 years of recorded civilization like Caesar's ancient Gaul into three parts, with Ancient History 4,000 years from the origins in Sumer to the fall of Classical Rome, with Medieval History from that point to the Age of Global Discovery in 1500 A.D., a span of one thousand years, and with Modern History the 500 years since the Age of Discovery, there is only one generally recognized sub-division employing a precise date, namely, the dividing line between Early Modern History and Recent Modern History based upon the advent of the Great French Revolution in 1789. Although the Han Chinese have written more history than the historians of all the other nations of the world combined, the revolution in world history about which the most had been written by historians is still the Great French Revolution, and certainly in my opinion that great theme deserves the full extent of its historical treatment down to the present time.



The so-called English Glorious Revolution of 1688 presents a very different picture, and although in American textbook ballyhoo its importance is blown out of all proportion because of the 1689 adoption of the so-called English Bill of Rights, it was actually a charter of privilege for the less than 3% of adult males who received the suffrage under the settlement terms of that revolution. The coalition of Whig landowners and merchants who carried through that *putsch* under their anti-French puppet, William of Orange, were actually the victorious leaders of a counter-revolution which purged the libertarian English political parties of *Levelers* and *Diggers* with their aspirations for universal human rights, and permanently disenfranchised the Catholics, who had still been the English majority one century earlier, plus the Methodists, Quakers, Jews, and, except for Scotland under the 1707 settlement, Presbyterians. At the same time, everyone was liable for taxes to the Church of England alone, the so-called hybrid Anglican Church, although at no time in subsequent English history did it come close to becoming the church and faith of the English majority. At the same time, the tolerant policy in Ireland of the legitimate Stuart sovereign James II came speedily to an end, and after the Stuart cause met with defeat on the River Boyne in 1690, an era of fierce persecution followed which culminated in the deliberate attempt to genocide the Irish by applying the so-called Corn Laws against them throughout the entire duration of the potato famine of 1846-49. Consider what the late Herbert Hoover would have called a powerful statistic. In 1800, the population of Ireland was eight million and the population of England was eleven million. In 1900, the population of Ireland was four million and the population of England was forty million. It is true that Puritan Dictator Cromwell had deliberately genocided 1.5 million Irish during the Irish national uprising of the 1640's in retaliation for the Irish assassination of a score of English landlords, but statistically the deliberate Whig genociding of the Irish during the mid-19th century was even more impressive.

The suffrage was kept under 3% in England throughout the entire six generations from 1688 to 1832. Then, in response to the July 1830 Louis Philipe revolution in France which expanded the French suffrage by 1,000% although it by no means restored the universal suffrage of the Jacobin Constitution of 1793, Lord Russell and the English Whigs put through the so-called Victorian Compromise, which led to an English suffrage expanded from less than 3% to less than 5% for the subsequent 1½ generations down to 1867, the year that Bismarck established universal suffrage in the North German Federation. John Locke, who, unlike Rousseau, was interested in money and titles rather than people, white-

washed the 1688 coup, although he had been a devoted disciple of Thomas Hobbes and his absolutism down to the death of the latter in 1677. The Doublespeak language of the Whigs in calling their reactionary plot a glorious revolution should deceive nobody, because it was like the earlier Vikings calling their largest frozen island Greenland to attract unwary settlers.

The U.S.A. Revolution of 1776 is a classic example of a revolution that might have become a truly great one, but that instead became a petty and debased one because it went wrong in its concluding phase. When one considers the impudence of U.S.A. savants during the 1980's in teaching young minds in what the all-time greatest U.S.A. educational philosopher, Porter Edward Sargent (1874-1951), called "the continuing struggle for the control over the minds of American youth" (a concept that would have been especially dear to Plato, author of *The Republic*), namely, that merely because the 1776 U.S.A. Revolution preceded the 1789 French Revolution chronologically by a few years, *ergo ipso facto*: the U.S.A. Revolution was the principal cause of the French Revolution, we are surely encountering the all-time leading example of the tail attempting to wag the dog. Hegel once remarked jokingly that shredding learned books and mixing them with the food of your dog will not increase the intelligence of your dog just even one iota, and by the same token the German *Spiessbuerger* (complacent bourgeois) *Biedermeierzeit* after 1815, which Hegel experienced late in life and which can be compared only to the post-1919 U.S.A. atmosphere described by Sinclair Lewis in *Main Street*, and which in both cases included the smug habit of exhibiting in den bookcases popular learned books never really read but exhibited only for show (like Harry Truman telling Richard Current, the historian who authored *Henry Stimson*, at the Truman Library in Independence, Missouri: "Oh, yes, I have read your latest book on that bookshelf behind my desk, a truly excellent book!," which was scarcely conceivable in view of the fact that Current in that same book described Truman, the political gangster of Kansas City, Missouri, as the worst president that the U.S.A. had ever had although he had been FDR's voluntary choice from among all of the available candidates); in short, Hegel was correct in his assertion that the learned book displayed in the den does not educate the Booboisie (favorite H.L. Mencken term for the U.S.A. bourgeoisie) any more than mixing books with your dog's diet will educate your dog. By the same token, when U.S.A. court historians assert repeatedly that the U.S.A. Revolution was the main factor in bringing on the French Revolution, this stupid propaganda lie can in no way guarantee that such actually was the case. In reality, it was the other way around, namely, the ideas of the great French Enlightenment thinkers—after all, 90% of the



Enlightenment was in fact French, just as 90% of the Reformation according to the great second-generation French religious reformer Jean Calvin was in fact German—these great 18th-century French ideas of geniuses like Quesny and Rousseau were what sparked the American revolutionary movement against England when the English mercantilist-imperialists began to put the economic screws on their colonies after the elimination of French imperial competition at the Peace of Paris in 1763, and on the specious and utterly dishonest pretext that the Americans had to be punished for their illicit smuggling trade with the French West Indies during the French and Indian War of 1754 to 1763. In reality, illicit English smuggling trade with France across the English Channel during that same war was one hundred times greater than similar American trade while at the same time the average American carried a much greater burden in combat during that war than did the average Englishman. There was no serious shortage of gold and silver in England during the 18th century of English mercantilism in which the state steered the economy rather than allowing genuine free enterprise, but there was indeed a catastrophic shortage of gold and silver in the American colonies during that same period. Also, the official English attitude toward the Americans was that of the outstanding English Enlightenment figure, Dr. Samuel Johnson: "Sir, hanging is too good for them!"

There were some excellent American grassroots revolutionary leaders during the early phase of the movement after 1763 such as Sam Adams in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia, patriots, incidentally, who are almost always debunked by contemporary U.S.A. court historians, but with the propaganda success of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* early in 1776 and the joining of the cause by wealthy or ambitious men who were essentially Tories such as George Washington, Ben Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton, the American counter-revolution against the original revolutionary ideals was already in full swing and the triumph of this same counter-revolution made hash of the initial revolutionary movement by concluding the shameful separate peace with England early in 1783, although in the freely negotiated Franco-American alliance of 1778 the U.S.A. had promised that they would not do this, and, above all, after the 1787 secret and illegal convention presided over by George Washington at Philadelphia, in the creation in 1789, despite a majority of votes to the contrary, of the plutocratic and anti-democratic reactionary regime that has continued without fundamental changes down to the present day.

The English plutocratic oligarchs and imperialists who in 1789 were continuing to profit from the so-called Glorious Revolution of one century earlier were delighted with the 1783 separate peace

and, above all, with the pro-English Tory regime that came into power under the aegis of George Washington in 1789. During 48 of the first 60 years under the new system, and that is 80% of the time, U.S.A. presidents were human slaveowners personally using the leather slave whip on their recalcitrant slaves. The cruel English landlord in Ireland, Edmund Burke, was delighted with U.S.A. developments after 1776 because politically he was a Whig, not a Tory, and he favored the pristine 1688 oligarch system over the Lord Bolingbroke and general Tory attempt to restore some actual power to a patriot king, but he had nothing but horror as early as 1790 to express in condemning events in France in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* because that movement, instead of being led by reactionary Voltaire disciples like Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, was led by the disciples of Rousseau, who cared more for people than for money and titles, like Max Robespierre. Does not the fact that the English oligarchs, with their cynical and unbridled contempt for humanity, were complacent and even satisfied with the results of the U.S.A. revolution show that, at least temporarily, the U.S.A. revolution had failed, and does not their horror and dread of the French revolution suggest that the latter held real promise in challenging their own corrupt imperialistic system?

That the Great French Revolution of 1789 ended temporarily in a fiasco was first and foremost the result of the typical aggressive policies and war crimes of the English imperialists, a policy fully supported by the reactionary U.S.A. Federalist leaders during the Federalist Era which covered the decisive twelve years from 1789 to 1801. Had it not been for such ceaseless English aggression, there is a more than fair chance that a modern free enterprise regime based upon capitalism and political universal manhood suffrage along the lines provided in the Jacobin Constitution of 1793 could have been firmly established and could have co-existed successfully as a kind of showcase to such monarchical mercantilistic regimes as those of 18th-century England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. That no such development resulted attests to the spoiling success of the English imperialists and of their reactionary American stooges. However, for France the ultimate importance of 1789 was the push toward a more modern society.

The worst of the five revolutions discussed in this context was clearly the Russian Soviet Revolution of November 1917, a development in civilization so horribly regressive that its full implications still are not grasped down to the present day by ordinary people. A California expert on the evils of Communism, when told by a friend that he was tired of hearing the same old record, asked that friend to compute the additive sum total of two plus two, and when the response was the correct "four!" the expert on Communism commented wearily: "Same old record!"



Karl Marx, like Hegel, was a blind worshipper of power for its own sake, and although Marx lacked the original conceptual brilliance of Hegel, he more than made up for that in his unprecedented mendacity. Richard Wagner's friend from the Dresden revolutionary barricades of the May 1849 Saxon defense of the Frankfurt Parliament and the concept of a united German Reich, the Russian philosophical anarchist, Mikhail Bakunin, succeeded by his brilliance, eloquence, and indefatigable hostility in destroying the infamous Karl Marx First Revolutionary International after the failure of the 1871 Commune. Marx, although at that time only fifty-four, drifted away into mindless alcoholism, becoming what the Londoners call a "pub-crawler." August Bebel, who succeeded Wilhelm Liebknecht as the leader of the Marxist German Social Democracy after the death in a duel in 1863 of Ferdinand Lassalle, the conservative Jewish leader of the first German Socialist Party and the nationalist supporter of Bismarck's program for a united German Reich, visited Marx in London a few years before the death in voluntary exile of the latter and inquired from Marx in eager anticipation when the unfinished torso of *Das Kapital*, with all of its glaring inconsistencies and economic fallacies, would be completed, only to have Marx scream at him in helpless alcoholic irritation: "Nobody could possibly want that more than I do!" Of course, in addition to the permanent shock of Bakunin's "operation demolition," Marx had never really recovered from an event a few years earlier, namely, that terrible occasion when his illiterate Hessian maid servant gave birth to his illegitimate son on the same day that his high-born Prussian wife, Jenny von Westphalen-Marx, gave birth to his legitimate daughter. The illegitimate son, incidentally, became a revisionist Marxist and was active in the English trade union movement until the time of his death in 1929.

The revolutionary party led by Marx until his death in 1883 was hopelessly nihilistic and terroristic, but cooler counsel among his disciples prevailed during the decades that followed, so that what had finally emerged, before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, namely, Marxist revisionism, was actually a safe and sane evolutionary approach to socialist ultimate goals along the same lines as the Fabian socialist movement of George Bernard Shaw and of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Marxist revisionism was also the slogan of the Russian Social Democratic Party formally called into existence by Georgi Plekhanov in 1892, although Marx himself, who as a Jew had always hated the Russian anti-Jewish tradition and who had said that Russia was the last country on earth where Marxist ideas would prevail, had always discouraged the idea of organizing a Russian Marxist party down to the time of his death in 1883. There was, however, a reincarnation of Marx-the-beast in

should take the lead in this. The two artificially created states on German soil have no weight.

People in America and Europe, often misled by sinister forces, shout for peace. Nobody shouts for the prerequisite of real peace: A European Peace Treaty. A consistent and conscientious effort by the super powers leading to a European Peace Treaty must have priority over new armaments. With the implacability of the classical Roman statesman Cato, all Germans should demand ("Ceterum censeo") that the "enemy clause" in the United Nations Charter must be abolished. Above all, the White House should earnestly work for such a peace treaty, which would be more effective and less costly than any armaments race. An active peace policy should have priority over Secretary Weinberger's purely military campaign. Today we seem to be witnessing the squaring of the circle, but in politics nothing is as permanent as change. A bold and courageous step by the United States may one day overcome Roosevelt's fatal decision, expressed to Francis Cardinal Spellman in 1943 that "there will be no peace treaty."<sup>34</sup> As history has shown, no peace treaty means perpetual danger.

Historians have the duty to ask: What was behind the catastrophe of Yalta and Potsdam? Colonel Curtis B. Dall wisely entitled his book *FDR, My Exploited Father-in-Law*. Exploited by whom? We Germans found the answer in captured Polish documents. In January 1939, scarcely four months after the Munich Agreement, Polish Ambassador Jerzy Potocki reported from Washington to Warsaw:

The feeling now prevailing in the United States is marked by a growing hatred of Fascism and, above all, of Chancellor Hitler and everything connected with Nazism. Propaganda is mostly in the hands of the Jews who control almost 100 percent radio, film, daily and periodical press.

In this action various Jewish intellectuals participated: for instance, Bernard Baruch; the Governor of New York State, Lehman; the newly appointed judge of the Supreme Court, Felix Frankfurter; Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau; and others who are personal friends of President Roosevelt . . . These groups of people who occupy the highest positions in the American government and want to pose as representatives of "true Americanism" and "defenders of democracy" are, in the last analysis, connected by unbreakable ties with international Jewry.

. . . They have created a dangerous hotbed for hatred and hostility in this hemisphere and divided the world into two hostile camps. The entire issue is worked out in masterly manner. Roosevelt has been given the foundation for activating American foreign policy, and simultaneously has been procuring enormous military stocks for the coming war, for which the Jews are striving very consciously.

It is the decided opinion of the President that France and Britain



must put an end to any sort of compromise with the totalitarian countries. They must not get into any discussions aiming at any kind of territorial changes.

They have the moral assurance that the United States will abandon the policy of isolation and be prepared to intervene actively on the side of Britain and France in case of war. America is ready to place its whole wealth of money and raw materials at their disposal.<sup>35</sup>

The father of this international "Brain Trust" cabal was Wilson. Under blackmail pressure, he was forced to appoint Louis Brandeis, an ardent Zionist, as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1916.<sup>36</sup> Along with President Wilson, Brandeis bears a major responsibility for pushing America to join Britain's war in order to obtain from her the fateful Balfour Declaration of 1917. In 1939, a year just as crucial as 1916, Roosevelt nominated Felix Frankfurter, Brandeis' intimate friend, as his successor on the Supreme Court. A secret state within a state was gradually developing. University of Pennsylvania Professor Bruce Allen Murphy is the author of the 1982 work, *The Brandeis-Frankfurter Connection*, which is significantly subtitled "The Secret Political Activities of Two Supreme Court Justices."<sup>37</sup> Based on 300 previously unpublished letters from Brandeis to Frankfurter, Murphy reveals that these men clannishly placed their sympathizers in influential positions throughout the U.S. government. As Murphy put it, this made it possible for them to "pull the invisible wires."<sup>38</sup> Among Frankfurter's "extrajudicial successes," Murphy noted that "he (Frankfurter) had helped to prepare the nation for its entry into the (Second World) war and had secured assistance, both material and monetary, for Great Britain."<sup>39</sup> This was, of course, a blatant violation of the U.S. Neutrality Law of 1935. A Supreme Court Justice thus subverted the law.

Worst of all, however, was the ideological influence of these men, which differed radically from the Western tradition of the Founding Fathers. Zionism is an Oriental nationalism based on the spirit of the Old Testament, the pre-Christian Torah and the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>40</sup> It has nothing in common with our civilization, which is rooted in Occidental Hellenic and Roman thinking. Recall what I wrote about the magnanimous treatment of the vanquished by Alexander the Great. His teacher was Aristotle, a disciple of Plato. In a way, Alexander's policy resembled Wilson's slogan, "a war to end all war." However, the President unfortunately abandoned this path by entrusting Bernard Baruch with the preparation of the Versailles conference. It is no accident that it was the Zionists who introduced the spirit of hatred and revenge into Anglo-American foreign policy. Montague Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, called the Versailles settlement

"economic lunacy."<sup>41</sup> In 1944 Morgenthau issued his devastating plan for Germany's ruin.

The "unconditional surrender" concept grew from the same spiritual root. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, proudly claimed for himself and his Congress the honor of first expounding the idea of a tribunal to punish Nazi war criminals.<sup>42</sup> Robert Oppenheimer, the famous Communist-inclined physicist, nearly succeeded in having the first atomic bomb dropped on Kyoto, the cultural heart of Japan. An atomic attack on Kyoto, which is surrounded on three sides by high hills, would have cost many more lives than the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, which faces the open sea. Secretary of War Henry Stimson had to use all of his authority to frustrate two attempts by Oppenheimer to have Kyoto selected as the target for the first atomic bombing.<sup>43</sup> Satanic hatred also manifested itself in books. In *Germany Must Perish*, Theodore Nathan Kaufman proposed the compulsory sterilization of all German men and women after victory.<sup>44</sup> Germany was to disappear completely and would be totally partitioned off among neighboring countries. Holland would absorb Hamburg, Poland would acquire Berlin, and Munich would become part of France. Goebbels arranged for widespread distribution of a German translation of Kaufman's book. You can imagine the effect this had on the public! In a 1942 issue of a prominent British magazine, a Jewish emigree who wrote under the pen name of Sebastian Haffner urged the summary killing of at least 500,000 young SS men.<sup>45</sup> This murderous proposal surpassed even Stalin's suggestion at the 1943 Teheran conference that 50,000 German officers should be murdered.<sup>46</sup> Finally, at a mass meeting with New York Mayor La Guardia in 1945, Jewish newspaper mogul Joseph Pulitzer called for the killing of one and a half million Nazis, the German General Staff, industrialists and bankers "with army bullets through their heads." The *New York Times* of 23 May 1945 reported at length on this rally and Pulitzer's proposal without any criticism whatsoever. The contemptible *Times* editors had completely abandoned George Washington's noble sentiment, expressed in his *Farewell Address*: "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great Nation, to give mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

One of America's greatest generals, George Patton, declared: "We fought the war of 1776 for independence. We fought the Civil War to free the slaves. We fought the war of 1812 to make the world safe for democracy. We fought this war to lose everything we had gained from the other three."<sup>47</sup> Did Patton die for making this critical but accurate statement, in circumstances very similar



to those surrounding the death of Lawrence of Arabia? Dr. James J. Martin once stated that the policy of the Allied "Big Three" is "unequaled in the history of devious statecraft." This policy has led the super powers into a maze. There is no way out, unless they abandon Roosevelt's road to Yalta, a road paved by subversives.

Between 1871 and 1918 the French kept a ribbon of mourning on the statue of "lost" Alsace-Lorraine at the Place de la Concorde in Paris. In the same spirit, should not the Statue of Liberty veil her head to mourn the mockery that Roosevelt had made of this noble, proud and venerated symbol? In the search for new horizons of honesty, devotion and love of country, we must courageously oppose those who preach hatred, Marxist class struggle or hollow internationalism. Hope is dawning . . . Let us not forget that although Anglo-American bombers killed many hopeful specialists at the German rocket center of Peenemuende, fruitful German-American collaboration since the war at Cape Canaveral has brought us to the moon! Columbus would envy us!

## Notes

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12. H. Fish, *Tragic Deception* (Old Greenwich, CN: Devin Adair, 1983), p. 94.
13. New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1974 and 1979.
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15. Helmut Suendermann, *Tagesparolen: Deutsche Presseweisungen 1939-1945*, (Leoni: Druffel Verlag, 1973), pp. 186, 209ff.
  16. Konstantin Fotitch, *Yugoslavia's Tragedy and the Failure of the West* (New York: 1948). Fotitch, a Serb, was the Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington. See the record of his conversation with Prince Paul of 1 March 1941.
  17. Moscow: 1978. (Russian edition, pp. 6-7?)
  18. Erich Helmdach, *Ueberfall?*, (Neckargemuend: 1975).
  19. F. Frankfurter to William J. Donovan, 20 October 1941, p. 14. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Container 243, File 004234 Miscellany.
  20. Personal information by eyewitness Dr. Josef Jindrich, Munich. See also: Paul Carell, *Unternehmen Barbarossa*, (Berlin: Ullstein, 1968), Vol. 1, p. 167, Map 9, and Vol. 2, p. 284.
  21. Sorge Jiken ("The Sorge Case"), (Tokyo: 1962).
  22. C.A. Willoughby, *Sorge: Soviet Master Spy* (London: Wm. Kimber, 1952). Published in the U.S. by Dutton as *Shanghai Conspiracy*. See also: Freda Utey, *Last Chance in China* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1947).
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  29. *Meyers Enzyklopaedisches Lexikon* (Mannheim: 1979), Vol. 25, p. 215.
  30. *Twenty-Second Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations* [for period ending 31 December 1945] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 17, 26.
  31. The dealer was "Raznoimport," USSR. Sent by "Amtorg," New York. Order No. 21-73/043058. Facsimile in: Peter Kleist, *Die europaeische Tragodie* (Pr. Oldendorf: K.W. Schuetz, 1971), p. 65. See also: George R. Jordan, *From Major Jordan's Diaries* (Boston: Western Islands, 1965).
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36. Conrad Grieb, *American Manifest Destiny and the Holocausts*, (New York: Examiner Books, 1979), pp. 39-40.
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39. B.A. Murphy, p. 302.
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## Plato's Dialectic v. Hegel and Marx: An Evaluation of Five Revolutions

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*(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)*

The main source of Plato's dialectic was of course the legendary Socrates, who, because he left no literary written legacy, has become a largely legendary figure like Jesus. For a record of Socrates the popular soldier one reads Xenophon. An insight into Socrates the sophist, who believed in the old Sumerian pedagogical adage that a teacher is good in proportion to the extent that he can make his students cantankerous, perpetually argumentative, and incurably neurotic, one reads in Aristophanes. And for Socrates the serious philosopher, which of course is the aspect of his reputation that made him justifiably famous, one reads Plato, the most famous disciple of Socrates who later on was also the principal teacher of the great Aristotle, who, like Socrates, was hounded to a disgraceful death. Socrates was punished for corrupting the aristocratic youth of Athens, and Aristotle was punished for developing the brains and leverage of Alexander the Great, and hence he was hunted down and died less than one year after the death of his illustrious and still very youthful Macedonian pupil. Just as William Joyce was condemned to death in England in 1945 for treason despite the fact that he was a U.S.A. citizen and an Irish nationalist, the Athenians pursuing Aristotle seemed unmindful of the fact that, like Alexander, he too was of Macedonian origin. Plato, on the other hand, had gone to Socrates as one of the aristocratic and golden blond Athenian



youths through and through, and, beloved by his democratic polis regardless of the fact that he always hated democracy as an insane leveling system and always fought against it, he died a very pleasant death during his sleep one night in Athens at the ripe age of eighty.

Unlike the writings of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Euripedes, with part of their extant works destroyed due to their concentration in the main Hellenistic University at Alexandria/Egypt when the Jews in one of their nihilistic and blood-thirsty perennial revolutions burned what was the largest library the world was ever to see until the emergence of modern printing in 15th-century Germany, the many dialogues of the fortunate golden Athenian Plato have been preserved for posterity, including Plato's famous allegory of the cave in his most famous and portentous dialogue, *The Republic*. Except for a few of the Sumerian classics, this allegory alone explains to modern mankind what the nature and the purpose of civilization have become.

According to Plato in his allegory of the cave, barbarian peoples, whether Viking-like marauders from the Atlantis region of the North Sea described by Plato who tried to loot and destroy Egyptian civilization around 1200 B.C., the same time that the paleolithic barbarian Hebrew people tried to occupy South Palestine as nomad invaders from the Arabian desert, or the Semitic Amorite invaders who only became semi-civilized and developed Babylon after genociding the nineteen republics of the magnificent Sumerians, with the latter, so far as we know today, being the originators of all existing civilization due to their three magnificent innovations of written records, urbanization, and free enterprise, these barbarian peoples being by stipulative definition unfree because of their slavish subjection in the Spenglerian sense to *totem* and *taboo*, just as the pre-Greek Mycenaean barbarians were the unfree slaves of superstition as described by Homer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were in Plato's magnificent allegory like prisoners in a dark cave staring at shadowy reflections on the walls that were only dimly related to the real world that they reflected, until Socrates came and freed them all and led them upward from darkness into the light. Especially from Plato onward the Greek academy, or university, saw in Greek *paideia*, or education, an obligation, whenever possible, to follow the original Sumerian tradition, and we now have transliterated enough hundreds of thousands of clay tablets in Sumerian cuneiform to comprehend the incredible vitality and eloquence of those original Sumerian schools, and to lead all peoples upward into the light. That is why Plato's pupil Aristotle made a special effort to civilize the wild barbarian youth Alex-

ander, an effort which failed, as witness Alexander's drunken murder of his best friend, Black Cleitus, who had saved his life in the Battle of the Granicus, of his murder of Aristotle's own nephew, who was the official historian of Alexander's marauding expedition against Persia, and, above all, his insanely barbarian kill-or-be-killed vendetta against Darius III, the brave but urbane Iranian benevolent despot. By the same token the able and brilliant Polybius, a hostage in Rome from the Hellenic Achaean League, flattered the Romans by giving them more credit than justly was their due in the realm of politics, but he could neither civilize them nor prevent their incredibly brutal genociding of the great Carthaginian mercantile civilization. It was not until Lucretius and the spread of Greek Epicureanism that Rome became civilized.

Now Plato's dialectical method, as everyone knows, begins in its basic form with the deductive reasoning of the classical Hellenic syllogism, where one formulates an adequate major premise, confronts it with a contrary and qualifying minor premise, and from this artificially induced confrontation derives a synthesis or conclusion. This play of 1) thesis, 2) antithesis, and 3) synthesis is at the root of all twenty of Plato's dialogues, and, knowing as we do that the greatest Greek historian Thucydides was merely paraphrasing when he offered to his readers the verbatim speeches of contemporary rival Dorian and Ionian politicians and military leaders in his epic narrative of the monumental Peloponnesian War, we would be naive indeed if we believed that we could accept literally the facts that Plato offers us about Socrates. Take the case of the magnificent *Republic* with which we are concerned in this context. The discussion takes place against the background of events that existed when Plato was only seven years old. Now although it is a fact that Plato in the bosom of his own family already had met Socrates by the time that Plato himself was only aged seven, surely nobody would believe seriously that in the *Republic* Plato wrote at the age of sixty he was recording accurately philosophical discussions that he had perhaps listened to fifty-three years earlier, particularly when those talks were the most subtle and sophisticated ones that the world had ever known down to that time, and certainly, *cela va sans dire*, no U.S.A. university graduate seminar in philosophy could equal them today.

Nobody could have been more of a revisionist than Plato. Just as we know today that England wantonly unleashed both World War I in 1914 and World War II in 1939 against a Germany that on each occasion was trying its best to be friendly with her, so Plato, born during the Peloponnesian War which resulted, as Oswald Spengler correctly pointed out in his epochal *The Decline of the*



West, in the permanent divorce in the Ancient World between the source of political power and the source of culture, a development always fatal in any civilization if it is not corrected, so Plato knew that Athens, not the Dorian Spartans, caused that horrible internecine war which buried the freedom of Greece, firstly, because democratic Athenian demagogues wantonly destroyed the traditional alliance between Athens and Sparta in 462 B.C., and secondly, because the worst of those demagogues, the depraved and arrogant Pericles, seized on an issue at distant Corfu in Western Greece to unleash that fatal and unnecessary war.

The Peloponnesian War that began in 431 B.C. buried classical Greece historically speaking, although it is only fair to add that contemporaries could not have understood that in the same final sense that we do. Plato came closer than anybody to suspecting right at the time that the late 5th century B.C. blow struck against Greece by the Greeks themselves was in fact mortal. That explains the pessimism that pervades the writings of this otherwise exuberant blond Athenian. One has the feeling reading Plato that was cogently expressed by Prussian Foreign Minister Radowitz on the eve of the 1850 humiliation inflicted on Hohenzollern Prussia, namely, the unilateral Prussian repudiation of the Erfurt German Unity Plan, by Habsburg Austria and Romanov Russia: Radowitz complained that he was experiencing exactly the same feeling of the soldier entering a globally decisive battle with the absolute certainty that he would be defeated. But there is the same devotion to duty in Plato that there was later in Radowitz and still later in the NSDAP as expressed by the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe in his magnificently sensitive book, *Verdammte Pflicht und Schuldigkeit* (Damned Duty and Responsibility.) He symbolizes it by quoting from a popular SA song about a small cadre of SA men marching into a large town at sundown and restoring order. To Schaumburg-Lippe the sundown theme expresses the heroic last ditch effort that in the long run could very possibly fail. I can only speak for myself, but I hope to God the day will never come when I allow the threat of failure to compromise my idealism. Bob LaFollette in his 1911 autobiography put it another way: "In politics it is always better to take no loaf than half a loaf." Or as Henrik Ibsen put it in his Alpine epic *Brand*: "The Devil is compromise!" For instance, I consider that Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Hitler were extremely great men in both the affective and cognitive domains. All three were kind and considerate, and all three were brilliant leaders of the German people against all odds. The fact that Bismarck made a success whereas the Kaiser and Hitler did not has nothing to do with my attitude because I am not a superficial pragmatist in the tradition of Peirce, James, and Dewey, and because I do not worship what William James called

the "bitch-goddess success." If I believe that those three great leaders were correct and that their goals were valid, which is in fact my definitive and mature opinion, I will continue to proclaim that truth regardless of the money and power brought against me by any deluded so-called "chosen people."

Plato's revisionism was by no means limited to war origins. He believed that the downward turn in Athenian politics began with the so-called democratic reform of Cleisthenes in 508 B.C. Indeed, such disastrous wars as the Peloponnesian War, the Thirty Years War, World War I or World War II are in and of themselves no more than the symptoms of the disease. For instance, no nation has exercised a more dire influence on 20th-century global forces than the U.S.A., although certainly no sane person would argue that the same thing was true of the U.S.A. in the 18th or 19th centuries. What is the source of this remarkable *malaise*? The *B'nai B'rith* (Brothers of the Faith) were founded at Philadelphia in 1843 with the express purpose of seizing control of the U.S.A. public media, a goal which they had largely achieved fifty years later by 1893. Thus in pluralistic America one small minority seized a commanding position, and even the great Henry Ford, Sr., was challenged when he attempted to challenge the Jewish U.S.A. power monopoly during the 1920's. Meanwhile, *B'nai B'rith* established a main European headquarters at Berlin/Germany in 1880. The purpose of that move, of course, was the destruction of Tsarist Christian Russia, the homeland at that time of a majority of all the Jews on earth, just as today, one century later, the U.S.A. enjoys that same dubious distinction. France had been the main target of Jewish subversion down to the failure of the largely Jewish Paris Commune of 1871; for instance, Napoleon I, after vainly appealing for patriotism instead of selfishness to the Paris Sanhedrin (Great Jewish Council) in 1807 (the Jews for the first time had received full French citizenship in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, which Napoleon never revoked), exclaimed: "These Jewish locusts are devouring my beloved France!" As everyone knows, the Jewish destruction of Russia in 1917 was successful, with supreme power over the wretched Russian masses going to Lenin's first *Politburo* (the Soviet Executive Committee) of whose original eighteen members no less than thirteen were Jews. Now the traditionally free enterprise U.S.A., albeit with Jewish monopoly control over the public media for the past ninety years, is locked, due to FDR's initial action, into a permanent global alliance with the USSR behind the phoney camouflage screen of the Cold War declared by Harry Truman on March 12, 1947, in a public speech to the U.S.A. Congress at the behest of the English imperialists, who hoped to replace U.S.A. in the middle of the global diplomatic teeter-totter. However, English crimes had rendered them too feeble to do that effectively.



It is clear that of the six supremely great rational philosophers of classical Hellas, namely, Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno (the latter founder of Stoicism was originally an Arab resident of Cyprus who was Hellenized there and who became great as a philosopher only after moving to Athens, where Plato's Academy, or university, functioned continuously until it was closed by the last Latin-speaking Byzantine Emperor Justinian, and, above all, by the real power behind the throne, Empress Theodora, who, until her death from cancer, had become the supreme commercial prostitute of Byzantium, a career described for us eloquently by the great Byzantine historian Procopius), that of all these great Hellenic philosophers, only Plato was a thoroughgoing revisionist in the modern sense understood by us, namely, the capacity of civilized man for independent thought. Despite the sterling objectivity of the great Athenian historian Thucydides, who, despite his own historical role as a patriotic Athenian combat general, was willing and able to prove that it was the Athenian democratic demagogues, not the proud militaristic Spartans, who alone caused the ruinous Peloponnesian War, it cannot be contended in any meaningful sense that Thucydides was a revisionist in the same modern sense that is applicable to Plato. As everyone knows, the traditional concept of "court history," namely, historians bribed to tell eloquent lies about their country like Livy, originates only with the scoundrel Emperor Augustus, who, along with his great-uncle Julius Caesar, was one of the two main perpetrators of the assassination of the original aristocratic Roman Republic described for us by Polybius. Indeed, his minister Maecenas made a regular policy of bribing poets like Vergil as well as historians like Livy. Although the great Tacitus was an independent Roman historian who refused to be bought by the Roman court, and, indeed, Tacitus is in fact the supreme Latin-language historian of all time in exactly the same way that Thucydides is the number one Greek-language historian of all time, Tacitus simply ignored the Roman court historians rather than presuming to attack them, and of course Thucydides, in Athens the one and only supreme chronicler of the great Peloponnesian War, had no court historians to attack. Beyond all that, Plato had developed a complete *Weltbild* in a way that Thucydides never did, and in a way that Tacitus never understood. Would anyone deny that the three German great ones, namely, Bismarck, Kaiser Bill II, and Hitler, each had such a complete individual *Weltbild*? Certainly not. Would any competent person claim that any of the three main opponents of Hitler in World War II, namely, the drunken plagiarist Churchill, the pornographic mama's boy FDR, or the lover of crime and murder for its own sake, Stalin, had an individually independent *Weltbild*?

Again the answer would have to be: certainly not. That the three German great ones were millions of light years in intellectual quality beyond the standards of leadership traditionally acceptable and even admired in England, U.S.A., and USSR simply goes without saying, and this is particularly true when we recall that in Plato's allegory of the cave it was precisely the possession of this individual and independent *Weltbild* that gave Socrates the powerful leverage to lead mankind out of the dark and shadowy realm of merely shadows into the bright and golden civilized light of true manliness and substance. If one had to identify succinctly the intellectual power of Sumer to create and to sustain a first universal civilization, thus cutting short by millions of years the wallowing of mankind in superstitious and mindless barbarism, would not one have to concede that it was in fact this ability of many, many individual Sumerians to develop independent *Weltbilder* in the context of a literate, free-enterprise, and extremely sophisticated society that gave them the Archimedean point of leverage to establish the glory of a permanent civilization on this glorious and beautiful globe of ours? For instance, the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, although composed several millennia before the Hebrew Old Testament, is incomparably more humane, urbane, literary, and sensible than the latter with its hideous nonsense about Jehovah creating the sun on the so-called fourth day. How in the hell could those first three days have transpired without a sun? As a matter of fact, it was precisely the achievement of Socrates and Plato to restore civilization back to the high standards that had prevailed thirteen hundred years earlier before the savage Semitic Amorites of Hammurabi genocided all of Sumer at a moment of military advantage in the same way that FDR, who had three separate plans of sterilization, atomic destruction, and starvation, very nearly genocided Germany during the years from 1941 to 1945. Fortunately for all mankind, the supremely Satanic FDR died in the arms of one of his many whores on April 12, 1945, and, albeit ten percent of Germans due to FDR had died by that time, the other 90% were spread in several small and truncated territories.

It should be seen in retrospect that the Athenian imperialistic warmonger, Pericles, who, unlike FDR with less than five years of college and a low "C" average, was something of an intellectual, was almost angelic compared to FDR, the greatest war criminal of all time and the American Antichrist. What a horrifying commentary it is on the unspeakably abysmal standards of U.S.A. public life after more than ninety years of the tyrannical Jewish monopoly of the public media that only the *epigoni* of FDR are considered eligible by that same media to hold presidential office, and that all U.S.A. presidents since the death of FDR the tyrant in 1945



have in fact been his *epigoni*. With the exception of Ronald Reagan, who simply adores FDR and has never made any secret of that fact, all of the other successors, including Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter either disliked or utterly detested FDR personally, much like the *epigoni* of the scoundrel Augustus and his court historians in Rome, but the fact remains that all of them have found it necessary to praise FDR to the skies in their public messages. One is reminded of the official memoirs of Augustus, the *Res Gestae* (Things Accomplished), and his last recorded words as he lay dying at Nola in 14 A.D.: "Have I not been a good actor?" The worst crimes of Augustus, including the murder of the great Cicero in 43 B.C. when the latter was at the peak of his productive power, and the senseless dispossession and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people on alleged grounds of mere suspicion, took place during the fifteen years after sixty Roman senators successfully conspired to assassinate the tyrant Julius Caesar with his hypocritical and phoney *clementia*, yet the Augustus official memoirs, in typical court historical fashion, only commence after the passage of those fifteen bloody years. The same is true when FDR's *epigoni* present him as a goody-goody two-shoes humanitarian while ignoring his bloody effort to genocide eighty million Germans along with his myriad other crimes. Although Pericles was not as bad as Augustus, and not nearly so bad as FDR, Plato makes it unmistakably clear in his dialogues that Socrates was the indispensable advisor of the counter-revolutionaries who sought at Athens by both suasion and force to overturn the Cleisthenes-Periclean system which had failed politically, ethically, and socially, and which was in the process of destroying Greece. Can any imperialistic crime be more brutal than the slaughter of the good Dorians of Melos merely because they aspired to preserve their benevolent neutrality toward all combatant parties? Does that not remind one of the role of FDR and his OSS chief Wild Bill Donovan in cooperation with the English secret service and the Soviet NKVD in overthrowing the legitimate government of Yugoslavia merely because that unfortunate country wished to preserve its benevolent neutrality in the latest Anglo-German War, with the English, as usual, being both the initial aggressors and the ones who hoped to perpetuate a senseless and horrible war indefinitely? Did not the fact that the U.S.A. was still officially and legally neutral in April 1941 add to the horrid crime of FDR a special ingredient of iniquity? All sources agree that it was FDR's ploy that converted Yugoslav Air Force Minister Simovic, the chief of the revolutionaries, to the putsch plan and especially since FDR, supposedly neutral, threatened to treat the Yugoslavs as a permanent enemy of the U.S.A. unless they complied. Have any

FDR epigoni ever expressed regret that as a result of the dastardly Simovic-Nincic coup more than two million civilian Roman Catholic Croats and Pravoslaven Greek Orthodox Serbs perished in senseless internecine slaughter, and that out of this chaos the Stalin agent and bloody butcher Josip Broz, known to history as Tito (Stalin always called him by his World War I Bolshevik alias Walther), climbed to power and built fifty concentration camps in which hundreds of thousands of Christian Serbs and Croats, Islamic Bosniaks, minority Albanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Germans perished? There was a time when the official Beograd Tito newspaper *Borba* took special pride in the efficiency of these camps, where on certain days children witnessed the public execution of their parents and on other days parents witnessed the public execution of their children. Can anyone deny that from 1941 onward the U.S.A.-Jewish public media have given Tito a favorable press, whereas the brilliant book, *Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse*, by Slobdan Drashkovich, one of the sons of the anti-Communist Yugoslav Prime Minister Drashkovich, who was murdered from ambush by the Communists, has sold less than three thousand copies albeit in print for several decades?

The reason that Plato's revisionism extended from immediate war causes to the entire host of iniquities in the prevailing system was because Plato knew that the war in question was merely the symptom of the disease. Important as it is to analyze carefully the crime of unleashing deliberately the unnecessary war, it is equally important, like Plato in *The Republic*, to endeavor to reform the rotten society that produced the crime. For instance, if the U.S.A. Progressive movement, under Fighting Bob LaFollette during the era of its heyday from 1900 to 1925, had ever succeeded in bringing honest and responsible government at the national level to the U.S.A. for the first time, the imperialistic crimes of Bill McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt could have been speedily and neatly undone, and the unspeakable and gargantuan crimes of Woody Wilson could have been prevented. Without the precedent of Wilson, the crime program of FDR could never have taken off and a deadly and serious effort to annihilate the entire German people could never have been made. It is because Plato saw this, namely, that without the corruption of the Athenian system by Cleisthenes a criminal career like that of Pericles would have been impossible, that the main thrust of *The Republic* is to reform society in precisely the same way that modern revisionists confront that same problem. The details of Plato's reforms need not concern us here beyond the general assertion that they were a giant step in the right direction. Furthermore, Plato's dialectic described earlier made it possible to present instrumental objectives and ultimate goals in a fair, lucid, and rational manner.



How different the situation is when we turn to Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831) and Karl Marx (1818-1883). These two rascals, superficially opposite numbers with Hegel advocating idealism and Marx advocating materialism, were in reality like twin peas in a pod with both addicted to a barbarian worship of power for its own sake. Both were supreme cynics and hypocrites, adept at disguising their wolf plans in sheep's clothing. Hegel, even more than Marx, was also a supreme weather-vane without any ordinary integrity who claimed that it was all right to change fashions in opinions like fashions in clothes, with consistency becoming the virtue of small minds. Hegel as a young man was a fanatical advocate for Frederician Prussia, but no sooner had the guns cooled on the battlefields of Jena and Auerstedt in 1806 than he became a Bonapartist and proclaimed Napoleon I to be the so-called *Zeitgeist*. After the Congress of Vienna concluded its labors in 1815, Hegel suddenly discovered in the feeble and utterly corrupt Metternichian stooge Prussian monarch Frederick William III the perfect guardian of German liberties, although that same monarch had proclaimed publicly that he would rather roast in Hell than accept any of the sane and moderate political reform plans of Arndt, Hardenberg, and Stein.

Unfortunately, even more than Arndt, Fichte, and Kant, this same Hegel was a genius in formulating magnificent abstract conceptions and in clothing them in almost irresistibly seductive language. It was due partly to Hegel that the Machiavellian cynicism of the end justifying the means, whereas Plato had understood clearly enough that the end is determined by the means, became a temporarily dominant force in Central European ideology and political theory down through the 1830's until a new Prussian monarch, Frederick William IV, who also happened to be an intellectual, revived the supremacy of philosophical idealism after he came to the throne in 1840, and of course it was during the 1830's that the impressionable Marx entered the German university system as a freshman student. Essentially, Hegel was a materialistic utilitarian like Jeremy Bentham in England, and his lip service to the idealism of freedom, like that of Marx to the so-called eventual withering away of the state, was just a pose. Influenced as he was by the great 17th-century Italian historian, Giambattista Vico, and by the great 18th-century German historian Johann Gottfried Herder, Hegel imagined human history moving in spirals toward an explicit goal of perfection, and to Hegel that goal was the perfect omniscient and omnipotent state, which he camouflaged in the quaint notion that perfect human freedom could only then be attained when every libertarian individual identified his own will with that of the state. Like Marx, Hegel in reality was eager to move as far and as fast as he could

away from any real liberty. Karl Marx, of course, was the typical Jew copycat in politics that wealthy Felix Mendelssohn with his unlimited appetite for plagiarism was in music, and it is safe to say that the Karl Marx-Vladimir Lenin ideology of supreme totalitarian Communism could never have emerged in the world as the monstrosity that it is without the Hegelian adaptation of Plato's dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Hegel himself was the indispensable *deus ex machina*, and although the primitive Lenin complained in letters in 1916 from his room next to the sausage factory in Zuerich/Switzerland that after six months of diligent effort he was simply intellectually incapable of understanding Hegel, that did not matter because young Marx had understood Hegel clearly enough and Lenin was capable of understanding the more crude and simplistic philosophy of Karl Marx. In their worship of absolutism, Hegel, Marx, and Lenin were unmistakable disciples of Voltaire just as Bismarck, Kaiser Bill II, and Hitler were the disciples of Rousseau who put his faith in people.

We can move now to the five so-called modern revolutions in England (1688), U.S.A. (1776), France (1789), Russia (1917), and Germany (1933). It is my thesis, and I have no doubt that Plato would have agreed with me, that the most promising of these five revolutions was the German one, with the French one following in second place. It is possible to proceed succinctly because we have established a context with a specific standard for evaluating revolutions, and, for that matter, any other political developments, based squarely as that standard is on the norms of a successful civilization as invented and demonstrated by Sumer and as revived and restored in Hellas by Socrates and Plato.

Now it goes without saying that in terms of historical prestige in society at large the Great French Revolution of 1789 continues to be the modern revolution number one. Consider that when professional historians divide the 5500 years of recorded civilization like Caesar's ancient Gaul into three parts, with Ancient History 4,000 years from the origins in Sumer to the fall of Classical Rome, with Medieval History from that point to the Age of Global Discovery in 1500 A.D., a span of one thousand years, and with Modern History the 500 years since the Age of Discovery, there is only one generally recognized sub-division employing a precise date, namely, the dividing line between Early Modern History and Recent Modern History based upon the advent of the Great French Revolution in 1789. Although the Han Chinese have written more history than the historians of all the other nations of the world combined, the revolution in world history about which the most had been written by historians is still the Great French Revolution, and certainly in my opinion that great theme deserves the full extent of its historical treatment down to the present time.



The so-called English Glorious Revolution of 1688 presents a very different picture, and although in American textbook ballyhoo its importance is blown out of all proportion because of the 1689 adoption of the so-called English Bill of Rights, it was actually a charter of privilege for the less than 3% of adult males who received the suffrage under the settlement terms of that revolution. The coalition of Whig landowners and merchants who carried through that *putsch* under their anti-French puppet, William of Orange, were actually the victorious leaders of a counter-revolution which purged the libertarian English political parties of *Levelers* and *Diggers* with their aspirations for universal human rights, and permanently disenfranchised the Catholics, who had still been the English majority one century earlier, plus the Methodists, Quakers, Jews, and, except for Scotland under the 1707 settlement, Presbyterians. At the same time, everyone was liable for taxes to the Church of England alone, the so-called hybrid Anglican Church, although at no time in subsequent English history did it come close to becoming the church and faith of the English majority. At the same time, the tolerant policy in Ireland of the legitimate Stuart sovereign James II came speedily to an end, and after the Stuart cause met with defeat on the River Boyne in 1690, an era of fierce persecution followed which culminated in the deliberate attempt to genocide the Irish by applying the so-called Corn Laws against them throughout the entire duration of the potato famine of 1846-49. Consider what the late Herbert Hoover would have called a powerful statistic. In 1800, the population of Ireland was eight million and the population of England was eleven million. In 1900, the population of Ireland was four million and the population of England was forty million. It is true that Puritan Dictator Cromwell had deliberately genocided 1.5 million Irish during the Irish national uprising of the 1640's in retaliation for the Irish assassination of a score of English landlords, but statistically the deliberate Whig genociding of the Irish during the mid-19th century was even more impressive.

The suffrage was kept under 3% in England throughout the entire six generations from 1688 to 1832. Then, in response to the July 1830 Louis Philipe revolution in France which expanded the French suffrage by 1,000% although it by no means restored the universal suffrage of the Jacobin Constitution of 1793, Lord Russell and the English Whigs put through the so-called Victorian Compromise, which led to an English suffrage expanded from less than 3% to less than 5% for the subsequent 1½ generations down to 1867, the year that Bismarck established universal suffrage in the North German Federation. John Locke, who, unlike Rousseau, was interested in money and titles rather than people, white-

washed the 1688 coup, although he had been a devoted disciple of Thomas Hobbes and his absolutism down to the death of the latter in 1677. The Doublespeak language of the Whigs in calling their reactionary plot a glorious revolution should deceive nobody, because it was like the earlier Vikings calling their largest frozen island Greenland to attract unwary settlers.

The U.S.A. Revolution of 1776 is a classic example of a revolution that might have become a truly great one, but that instead became a petty and debased one because it went wrong in its concluding phase. When one considers the impudence of U.S.A. savants during the 1980's in teaching young minds in what the all-time greatest U.S.A. educational philosopher, Porter Edward Sargent (1874-1951), called "the continuing struggle for the control over the minds of American youth" (a concept that would have been especially dear to Plato, author of *The Republic*), namely, that merely because the 1776 U.S.A. Revolution preceded the 1789 French Revolution chronologically by a few years, *ergo ipso facto*: the U.S.A. Revolution was the principal cause of the French Revolution, we are surely encountering the all-time leading example of the tail attempting to wag the dog. Hegel once remarked jokingly that shredding learned books and mixing them with the food of your dog will not increase the intelligence of your dog just even one iota, and by the same token the German *Spiessbuerger* (complacent bourgeois) *Biedermeierzeit* after 1815, which Hegel experienced late in life and which can be compared only to the post-1919 U.S.A. atmosphere described by Sinclair Lewis in *Main Street*, and which in both cases included the smug habit of exhibiting in den bookcases popular learned books never really read but exhibited only for show (like Harry Truman telling Richard Current, the historian who authored *Henry Stimson*, at the Truman Library in Independence, Missouri: "Oh, yes, I have read your latest book on that bookshelf behind my desk, a truly excellent book!," which was scarcely conceivable in view of the fact that Current in that same book described Truman, the political gangster of Kansas City, Missouri, as the worst president that the U.S.A. had ever had although he had been FDR's voluntary choice from among all of the available candidates); in short, Hegel was correct in his assertion that the learned book displayed in the den does not educate the Booboisie (favorite H.L. Mencken term for the U.S.A. bourgeoisie) any more than mixing books with your dog's diet will educate your dog. By the same token, when U.S.A. court historians assert repeatedly that the U.S.A. Revolution was the main factor in bringing on the French Revolution, this stupid propaganda lie can in no way guarantee that such actually was the case. In reality, it was the other way around, namely, the ideas of the great French Enlightenment thinkers—after all, 90% of the



Enlightenment was in fact French, just as 90% of the Reformation according to the great second-generation French religious reformer Jean Calvin was in fact German—these great 18th-century French ideas of geniuses like Quesny and Rousseau were what sparked the American revolutionary movement against England when the English mercantilist-imperialists began to put the economic screws on their colonies after the elimination of French imperial competition at the Peace of Paris in 1763, and on the specious and utterly dishonest pretext that the Americans had to be punished for their illicit smuggling trade with the French West Indies during the French and Indian War of 1754 to 1763. In reality, illicit English smuggling trade with France across the English Channel during that same war was one hundred times greater than similar American trade while at the same time the average American carried a much greater burden in combat during that war than did the average Englishman. There was no serious shortage of gold and silver in England during the 18th century of English mercantilism in which the state steered the economy rather than allowing genuine free enterprise, but there was indeed a catastrophic shortage of gold and silver in the American colonies during that same period. Also, the official English attitude toward the Americans was that of the outstanding English Enlightenment figure, Dr. Samuel Johnson: "Sir, hanging is too good for them!"

There were some excellent American grassroots revolutionary leaders during the early phase of the movement after 1763 such as Sam Adams in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia, patriots, incidentally, who are almost always debunked by contemporary U.S.A. court historians, but with the propaganda success of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* early in 1776 and the joining of the cause by wealthy or ambitious men who were essentially Tories such as George Washington, Ben Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton, the American counter-revolution against the original revolutionary ideals was already in full swing and the triumph of this same counter-revolution made hash of the initial revolutionary movement by concluding the shameful separate peace with England early in 1783, although in the freely negotiated Franco-American alliance of 1778 the U.S.A. had promised that they would not do this, and, above all, after the 1787 secret and illegal convention presided over by George Washington at Philadelphia, in the creation in 1789, despite a majority of votes to the contrary, of the plutocratic and anti-democratic reactionary regime that has continued without fundamental changes down to the present day.

The English plutocratic oligarchs and imperialists who in 1789 were continuing to profit from the so-called Glorious Revolution of one century earlier were delighted with the 1783 separate peace

and, above all, with the pro-English Tory regime that came into power under the aegis of George Washington in 1789. During 48 of the first 60 years under the new system, and that is 80% of the time, U.S.A. presidents were human slaveowners personally using the leather slave whip on their recalcitrant slaves. The cruel English landlord in Ireland, Edmund Burke, was delighted with U.S.A. developments after 1776 because politically he was a Whig, not a Tory, and he favored the pristine 1688 oligarch system over the Lord Bolingbroke and general Tory attempt to restore some actual power to a patriot king, but he had nothing but horror as early as 1790 to express in condemning events in France in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* because that movement, instead of being led by reactionary Voltaire disciples like Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, was led by the disciples of Rousseau, who cared more for people than for money and titles, like Max Robespierre. Does not the fact that the English oligarchs, with their cynical and unbridled contempt for humanity, were complacent and even satisfied with the results of the U.S.A. revolution show that, at least temporarily, the U.S.A. revolution had failed, and does not their horror and dread of the French revolution suggest that the latter held real promise in challenging their own corrupt imperialistic system?

That the Great French Revolution of 1789 ended temporarily in a fiasco was first and foremost the result of the typical aggressive policies and war crimes of the English imperialists, a policy fully supported by the reactionary U.S.A. Federalist leaders during the Federalist Era which covered the decisive twelve years from 1789 to 1801. Had it not been for such ceaseless English aggression, there is a more than fair chance that a modern free enterprise regime based upon capitalism and political universal manhood suffrage along the lines provided in the Jacobin Constitution of 1793 could have been firmly established and could have co-existed successfully as a kind of showcase to such monarchical mercantilistic regimes as those of 18th-century England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. That no such development resulted attests to the spoiling success of the English imperialists and of their reactionary American stooges. However, for France the ultimate importance of 1789 was the push toward a more modern society.

The worst of the five revolutions discussed in this context was clearly the Russian Soviet Revolution of November 1917, a development in civilization so horribly regressive that its full implications still are not grasped down to the present day by ordinary people. A California expert on the evils of Communism, when told by a friend that he was tired of hearing the same old record, asked that friend to compute the additive sum total of two plus two, and when the response was the correct "four!" the expert on Communism commented wearily: "Same old record!"



Karl Marx, like Hegel, was a blind worshipper of power for its own sake, and although Marx lacked the original conceptual brilliance of Hegel, he more than made up for that in his unprecedented mendacity. Richard Wagner's friend from the Dresden revolutionary barricades of the May 1849 Saxon defense of the Frankfurt Parliament and the concept of a united German Reich, the Russian philosophical anarchist, Mikhail Bakunin, succeeded by his brilliance, eloquence, and indefatigable hostility in destroying the infamous Karl Marx First Revolutionary International after the failure of the 1871 Commune. Marx, although at that time only fifty-four, drifted away into mindless alcoholism, becoming what the Londoners call a "pub-crawler." August Bebel, who succeeded Wilhelm Liebknecht as the leader of the Marxist German Social Democracy after the death in a duel in 1863 of Ferdinand Lassalle, the conservative Jewish leader of the first German Socialist Party and the nationalist supporter of Bismarck's program for a united German Reich, visited Marx in London a few years before the death in voluntary exile of the latter and inquired from Marx in eager anticipation when the unfinished torso of *Das Kapital*, with all of its glaring inconsistencies and economic fallacies, would be completed, only to have Marx scream at him in helpless alcoholic irritation: "Nobody could possibly want that more than I do!" Of course, in addition to the permanent shock of Bakunin's "operation demolition," Marx had never really recovered from an event a few years earlier, namely, that terrible occasion when his illiterate Hessian maid servant gave birth to his illegitimate son on the same day that his high-born Prussian wife, Jenny von Westphalen-Marx, gave birth to his legitimate daughter. The illegitimate son, incidentally, became a revisionist Marxist and was active in the English trade union movement until the time of his death in 1929.

The revolutionary party led by Marx until his death in 1883 was hopelessly nihilistic and terroristic, but cooler counsel among his disciples prevailed during the decades that followed, so that what had finally emerged, before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, namely, Marxist revisionism, was actually a safe and sane evolutionary approach to socialist ultimate goals along the same lines as the Fabian socialist movement of George Bernard Shaw and of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Marxist revisionism was also the slogan of the Russian Social Democratic Party formally called into existence by Georgi Plekhanov in 1892, although Marx himself, who as a Jew had always hated the Russian anti-Jewish tradition and who had said that Russia was the last country on earth where Marxist ideas would prevail, had always discouraged the idea of organizing a Russian Marxist party down to the time of his death in 1883. There was, however, a reincarnation of Marx-the-beast in

Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin (1870-1924), and he turned out to be the ultimate spoiler of the later civilized trend in what had been a doctrine of ultimate barbarism in the pristine program of Karl Marx himself. Incidentally, the fact that Marx, not Friedrich Engels, was the real Satan of Marxism is indicated clearly enough by the fact that the elderly Engels during the 1890's, in the absence of Marx himself, had no difficulty coming to terms with Marxist revisionism, something that Marx himself always had refused to consider. Marx and Lenin detested the idea of a Marxist victory through the coming ascendancy of a Marxist majority or coalition-governing plurality in equal measure; they both loved the idea of totalitarian dictatorial power based on bullets, and not some benevolent utopian socialist regime based upon ballots. Although Lenin's evil faction of professionally criminal terrorists remained a tiny minority within the Russian Marxist movement down to his own return from voluntary exile to Finland Station in Petrograd in April 1917, he had already, because of his dialectical skill, managed as early as 1903 to win a majority vote against Plekhanov in a central committee meeting, and from that year on seized for his faction the propaganda term *Bolshevism* and at the same time managed to stick successfully his opponents with the propaganda label *Menshevism*, with the former term meaning majority and the latter term minority. The following year in 1904 Lenin published his definitive program, *Shto Dyelat?* (What Is To Be Done?). Like his master Marx, Lenin was a hopeless plagiarist and he borrowed his program title from the brilliant best-selling novel of the Russian disciple of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Richard Wagner, Nikolai Chernyshevsky, one of the five greatest Russian novelists of all time along with Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gogol, and Turgenev. The message in Lenin's program was clear enough and it would have been as much of a delight to Marx as it would have been an abomination to Plato: to hell with voting and majorities, what we mean to create is a small and compact revolutionary elite who understand how to use modern military technology along with unlimited terror to impose their will over the stupid Christian masses of Russia. Now since the Jews of the Kresy (areas of Poland annexed by Russia after 1772 where most Jews, except for a few wealthy ones, were compelled during the era of the late Romanov rulers to reside) had formally launched their *Kramola* (hellish terror) campaign for the destruction of Tsarist Russia in 1879, the year before the U.S.A. *B'nai B'rith* established its elite anti-Russian revolutionary branch in Berlin, it went without saying that not less than 80% of Lenin's recruits for the new *Untermensch* elite were either Jewish professional criminals or Jewish revolutionaries. This bothered young Stalin (1879-1953), the former anti-Jewish Georgian nationalist who as



late as 1912 was complaining to Lenin that we have "too many Abramoviches" in the Bolshevik faction, but it did not bother Lenin, who had a maternal Jewish grandmother and on top of that was one-half Mongolian-Tartar descent. Both Lenin and Stalin hated Russians, but Lenin did not share Stalin's proverbial hatred of Jews. When Stalin's first wife, a lovely Georgian, died (Stalin's otherwise rugged father had died from alcoholism at the age of 40), Stalin declared proudly and without tears that he never again would have to face the wasteful luxury and obligation of loving another human being. And so it turned out to be. Although the family of Stalin's second wife, a lovely Russian girl from Saint Petersburg, was more than generous in sending packages to Stalin in the Arctic region of Siberia after the election of the Fourth Duma (Russian Parliament according to the 1905 Constitution), Stalin, after he destroyed her, also destroyed all of her numerous relatives one by one as a cat plays with mice, and Stalin later explained that he only married his Jewish third wife, the sister of Commissar and Politburo member Lazar Kaganovich, who supervised the genociding of millions of so-called recalcitrant Ukrainian peasants during the so-called Stalin First Five Year Plan of 1928-1933, because he liked to have some woman around his Kremlin private apartment to torture during his idle spare moments.

After this same Stalin violated his voluntary 1939 agreement with Hitler in every possible way following Hitler's surprising May 1940 victory over France, including the seizure of Rumanian territory beyond the agreed-upon demarcation line between NSDAP and CPSU spheres of influence in Eastern Europe, the promotion of a violent anti-German *putsch* in Yugoslavia which was far to the west of that same line, and the promotion throughout German-occupied Europe of espionage, sabotage and anti-Hitler revolutionary propaganda, while at the same time refusing to discuss or negotiate on Hitler's moderate November 1940 terms for a new agreement, had finally goaded Hitler into the preventive war of June 22, 1941, which even Bismarck, had he been alive, and although he was the proverbial public opponent of all preventive wars, would have supported because it was Hitler's only alternative to unconditional submission to the Churchill-FDR Leviathan pressure from the West and the Soviet pressure from the East, the drunken English dictator Churchill, with traditional *habeas corpus* suspended for the duration in England since 1940, described Stalin publicly in the House of Commons as "so wise a man and so great a ruler!" The same Churchill had frequently described the same Stalin a few years earlier as "the Bloody Baboon of Bolshevism!," and as recently as four years earlier Churchill had refused at a public reception to shake hands with

the Ambassador of the Spanish Republic, proclaiming in a loud voice for all attending dignitaries to hear that the man's hands were covered with blood because he was nothing more nor less than Stalin's stooge.

The drunken Churchill imagined that he had succeeded in flattering Stalin in his Commons speech, so he followed that up with a fawning personal letter that Stalin never bothered to answer. In reply to the official query of the English Ambassador in Moscow, Stalin commented succinctly and rudely that nothing in Churchill's letter deserved a reply, and the same Stalin at the Russian Compound in Teheran in 1943 jumped all over FDR when the dying U.S.A. chief-executive foolishly suggested to Stalin that Hitler was insane. Stalin roared at FDR: "You idiot, could an insane man have come within a hare's breath of destroying once and for all a great leader like me? At one point I was even contemplating, because I knew Hitler liked me well enough personally, to volunteer to become Hitler's NSDAP Gauleiter in ministering to the needs of the Russian masses who had suffered horribly from the many purges I had inflicted upon them!" Concerning Churchill, Stalin had never forgiven his responsibility for the massacre of unarmed Georgian and Azerbaijani civilians at Baku, the chief Russian oil center, in 1920, just as Mahatma Gandhi down to his own death in 1948 never forgave Churchill his public defense in Commons of the senseless slaughter of hordes of peaceful Hindu demonstrators at Amritsar in 1919.

How different the brutal fiends Churchill, FDR, and Stalin were from Hitler. When Hitler's Minister for Propaganda Josef Goebbels showed up at Hitler's headquarters at Rastenburg, East Prussia in August 1941 and told Hitler that he was planning a German-language edition of the FDR sterilization plan for Germany published in the pre-Pearl Harbor book in New Jersey of the New York City Jew Theodore Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish!*,—a book, incidentally, which was enthusiastically reviewed across U.S.A. from the San Francisco *Chronicle* to the New York City PM—Hitler vetoed the Goebbels plan at once and he explained that he was intensely proud of his German servicemen who were not only fighting with courage but who also were fighting like professional gentlemen without hatred. Hitler knew the ultimate truth of Plato's adage that the end is determined by the means, and he explained to Goebbels that the final victory of Germany would make no sense if meanwhile Germans had descended to the gangster barbarian level of hate-crazed U.S.A. or English servicemen, or to the Mongolian-style barbarian robots of Stalin. Hitler, who had asked his Company Commander Captain Fritz Wiedemann not to take him out of the line at the Somme in 1916 although he had been severely wounded six times that same day,



also explained to Goebbels, the proverbial civilian feather-merchant, that cool professional soldiers fighting according to honorable codes are more efficient than hate-crazed maniacs who are not soldiers in the true sense merely because they have been thrust into uniform. Indeed, does any military expert doubt today that, had it not been for the ten thousand anti-Hitler elite traitors in German Intelligence, the German Reichsbank, the German General Staff, and the German Foreign Office, the sane professional German soldiers, with or without the Italians, Croats, Hungarians, Finns, and Japanese, could have defeated soundly the combined force of the crazed maniacs, driven crazy by billions of dollars spent on Jewish directed propaganda, of the U.S.A., UK, and USSR? The civilian Goebbels once asked his assistant Wilfred von Oven, the veteran of three years of combat in Spain and three years of combat after 1939 in other parts of Europe, what was so difficult about being killed instantly in combat? Oven dryly responded to Goebbels that the soldier taking a fatal hit required on the average one hour to die to the accompaniment of terrible suffering. This struck home because Goebbels dreaded even an ordinary dental appointment.

The long and the short of the 1917 Soviet Russian Revolution is that it was an unprecedented disaster for all mankind. Had it not been for the pro-Bolshevik policies of Woody Wilson, FDR, and the *epigoni* of FDR, the disaster would long since have been eliminated. Lenin could not have succeeded in the first place had not Wilson, over the indignant protests of U.S.A. Ambassador to Russia Mr. Francis of Chicago, shipped tens of thousands of pro-Bolshevik New York City Jews to Russia during the Kerensky Provisional Government after March 1917, although ordinary Americans were not allowed to travel during wartime, and by all odds FDR, who jumped from U.S.A. non-recognition to a *de facto* secret alliance with Stalin in the one year 1933, a fact confirmed for me personally with overwhelming evidence by the late William C. Bullitt, author of the anti-FDR 1943 book *The Great Globe Itself*, but FDR's first U.S.A. Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1933 to 1936, this same FDR was by all odds the greatest salesman of Bolshevism that the world has ever seen, including Marx himself, Lenin, and Stalin, and no rational and informed person can deny that the U.S.A. Jewish public media during the nearly forty years since FDR's death have allowed only servile supporters of FDR's policies to become U.S.A. presidents, with far and away the worst one being the current White House incumbent, Ronald Wilson Reagan. Only the final elimination of the U.S.A. global empire founded by Bill McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt in the years from 1898 to 1901 can save the contemporary world from the threat of the permanent global triumph of

Bolshevism. Without perpetual U.S.A. support behind the screen of Truman's phoney Cold War, the threat of global Bolshevism would fade away rapidly from the real historical world, albeit its atrocities which, thanks to U.S.A., have already produced in the neighborhood of 150 million violent deaths, neither could nor should ever be forgotten. Although Robert Jackson, the U.S.A. Supreme Court justice, aspiring to be Chief Justice, who both prosecuted and persecuted the heroic Hermann Goering and the other Nuernberg defendants at the Main Nuernberg Trial of 1945-46, declared in a public pro-FDR speech at Jamestown, New York in 1934 that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia of 1917 constituted a giant step forward for mankind, that same revolution was in reality supremely evil.

This brings us to the best of the five revolutions in particular, namely, the German national revolution of 1933, and in general to a few of the magnificent contributions to world civilization rendered by Germany since the birth of Bismarck on April 1, 1815. Does any informed person doubt any longer today that Bolshevism by 1937 would have spread from the Siberian Pacific coast to the Atlantic coast of Portugal had it not been for the heading off of the Bolshevik threat in Germany and the amazing triumph of Hitler by legal and constitutional means on January 30, 1933? In his speech to the German nation on July 20, 1944, after evil reactionary German assassins had failed that same day to eliminate him, Hitler, the lifelong friend of private initiative, anti-inflationary policies, and economic free enterprise, reminded all of his listeners that the 1919 Weimar Constitution written by the German-Jewish patriot Dr. Hugo Preuss was still in effect as Germany's fundamental law, since Hitler had always stood for the policy of calling a German constitutional convention only after the German national crisis created by Woody Wilson in 1918 had been surpassed, and, thanks to Wilson's chief disciple, FDR, to whom Wilson had always been attracted physically, describing FDR as that "most handsome Greek god" at the Democrat Baltimore convention of 1912, when FDR, still free of polio, had just turned thirty, Hitler, despite valiant efforts, had by 1944 and eleven years in power still not been able to eliminate the U.S.A.-induced German national crisis, and, indeed, with the successful Anglo-American second front in France and the successful June 22, 1944, Bolshevik Vitebsk-sector offensive, the skies were once again growing as uncomfortably dark over Germany as they had been on November 9, 1918, the day at German Supreme Military Headquarters at Spa, Belgium, when an ungrateful Hindenburg kidnapped his startled sovereign, Bill II, and shoved him by force over the border into Holland instead of letting him return to Germany. When the Kaiser asked Hindenburg about the



oath that he had sworn as a young cadet in 1866 before the decisive battle for control over Germany against Austria at Koeniggraetz, Bohemia, Field Marshal Hindenburg replied insolently, in a style that would have been typical of any English or U.S.A. politician, that it was no longer convenient for him to be mindful of any such oath. Hitler faced the same U.S.A.-style unlimited moral relativism in the German treason elite secret opposition of 1944, and that is why he appealed to his loyal German people over their heads and he reminded them also that he was still their legal and constitutional representative, an argument which was accepted by the overwhelming majority according to secret reports.

The long and the short of it is that one superb German 19th century patriot alone, Bismarck, a disciple of the ideals of romanticism and of the romantic nationalism of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Ernst Moritz Arndt, had that childlike and naive faith (Nietzsche once remarked cogently that maturity is to reacquire the seriousness of a child at play) that made it possible for him in practical and limited secret alliance with the great Jewish banking house of Rothschild at Frankfurt, Main, to consolidate Frederick-Barbarossa-style once again the traditional national unity of Germany despite the recent heroic failure of the parliamentary German nationalists to do so during the mighty revolution and upheaval of 1848–1851 (the latter being the date of the Dresden Conference presided over by the Austrian reactionary Schwarzenberg who had restored the reactionary, particularistic post-1815 system of Clemens von Metternich with the diplomatic and military aid of Palmerston in England and Tsar Nicholas I in Russia.) Bismarck achieved the laudable earlier goal of the forty-eighters in 1871 by an adroit combination of secret diplomacy, defiance of Prussian parliamentary public opinion, and strictly limited and effective military campaigns. The story of the three wars of German reunification between 1864 and 1871 has been told well so often that there is no point in repeating that story here.

More important is the fundamental question that would have intrigued Plato, namely, what were truly Bismarck's instrumental objectives and his ultimate goals? Firstly, Bismarck believed in a united Germany under the rule of law with a federal political system like U.S.A. rather than a unitary state system like England, France, or Italy, and with universal manhood suffrage for German citizens, including those of Danish or Polish extraction. Secondly, Bismarck, who admired the ideals of Italy's Mazzini, as well as Germany's Arndt and France's Rousseau, was a good European in the sense developed by Herder and best articulated by Nietzsche, namely, a European who was non-prejudicial in his judgment of the ethnic components in a pluralistic Europe picturesquely

described by Herder as a beautiful garden with many distinctly beautiful varieties of flowers. Had Marx been a gardener, he would simply have planted the whole place with marigolds, whereas the more civilized Herder with a maturely developed aesthetic sense would have planted several score varieties of shrubs and flowers. Thirdly, Bismarck was a Francophile who made heroic efforts to appease France after the 1871 Treaty of Frankfurt, Main which terminated the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War, and he was within an ace in 1885 of consolidating a new friendship with the France of Premier Jules Ferry when unexpectedly heavy losses inflicted on the French military forces by the North Vietnamese who were backed up by China forced Ferry from power and played into the hands of Paul Deroulede, head of the viciously chauvinistic French military lobby, The League of Patriots. Although Bismarck did not quite succeed in consolidating Europe in the league of preponderant states dreamed about by both Fenelon of France and Kant of Germany in the 18th century, his very nearly successful effort deserves at the least our respect.

Although Bismarck got along well with none of the five Hohenzollern Prussian sovereigns who ruled during his lifetime, namely, Frederick William III (reigned 1797-1840), Frederick William IV (1840-1861), William I (1861-1888), Frederick III (1888), and William II (1888-1918), and albeit the 29-year-old William II had no choice in March 1890 other than to sack Bismarck in order to prevent the increasingly irascible elderly man of seventy-five from scuttling the constitution he had created and attacking the moderate revisionist Marxists, the Kaiser and Bismarck did become generally reconciled five years later in 1895 after the Berlin City Council and even the Imperial German Reichstag refused by majority votes to congratulate Bismarck officially on his 80th birthday because there were aspects of his domestic policies after 1871 with which some of the parties, such as the Progressives, Center Party, and Social Democratic Party, had disagreed. So far as the Kaiser is concerned, I agree with Harvard University's Sidney Bradshaw Fay who knew him well personally during the years that he was an outstanding graduate student in the pre-1914 era at the University of Berlin, namely, that he was personally charming, a hard worker, highly intelligent, very charismatic, and, above all, an honest and sincere German Christian patriot.

The great German nationalist, Hans Grimm, author of the outstanding and excellent epic German novel, *Volk ohne Raum*, although he never joined Hitler's NSDAP and actually voted against Hitler in 1934 on the issue of combining the offices of Reich Chancellor, and President (why have a twin-executive?)



following the death of President Hindenburg, observed in his justly famous 1954 book on Hitler, *Warum, Woher, aber auch Wohin?* (Why, for What, in What Direction?) that Hitler was a better leader than even the German people or any other people had ever observed. I also fully accept that verdict.

# Soviet Scorched-Earth Warfare

## FACTS AND CONSEQUENCES

WALTER N. SANNING

(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

**T**he Soviet scorched-earth policy has many facets: Military, economic, and so on. In *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* I touched only on those which are of importance in connection with the demographic changes of Eastern European Jewry. Here I want to emphasize the economic side of a little-known portion of the Second World War. However, in order to present the whole picture I must refer to portions of the subject which have already been covered in *The Dissolution*. Space allows only the most important references to those findings, and anybody who wishes to know more about this is advised to check *The Dissolution*.

The German-Soviet Non-Agression Treaty of 23 August 1939 provided for the following territorial divisions: Estonia and Latvia would fall into the Soviet sphere of interest while Lithuania would fall into the German. From Lithuania the line of demarcation would run toward East Prussia, from there along the Narew, Vistula, and San rivers toward the Carpathian mountains<sup>1</sup> (Map 1). After the Polish defeat, the Soviet government immediately exerted heavy pressure on Germany for a revision of the treaty. In order to maintain peace, Hitler agreed in the second treaty, the so-called Border and Friendship Agreement of 28 September 1939, that Germany would relinquish its interest in most of Lithuania in exchange for the area between the Vistula and the Bug rivers with



a population of about 3.5 million, including more than 300,000 Jews.<sup>2</sup> This area had been occupied by the Soviets for only a few days, but the Red Army had taken the area's food supplies and livestock with it as it departed. As a result the Germans actually had to bring in large quantities of food to forestall starvation in this agricultural area.<sup>3</sup> This episode should have been a lesson to Germany. It was not.

While Germany was engaged in the Western Campaign from 10 May until 24 June, 1940 the Soviet Union occupied the entirety of Lithuania between 16 and 22 June following the ultimatum of 15 June—that is, including even that portion which was to remain within the German sphere of interest according to the treaty. This occupation constituted not only a gross violation of the two Soviet-German treaties but also of the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty of Mutual Assistance (10 October 1939). The German government was neither consulted nor informed of this Soviet action as required under the treaty provisions.<sup>4</sup> The northern Bukovina region of Rumania, which was outside the agreed-upon Soviet sphere of interest, was similarly appropriated by the Soviets, although in this case the Soviets pressured Germany into giving its “consent” within an ultimative time period of 24 hours before occupation (Map 2). I mention these developments only because they demonstrate the determination with which Russia removed German strategic advantages while improving her own. They also show that Germany had no definite military objectives against the Soviet Union because otherwise it is inconceivable that she would have tolerated Soviet usurpation of the strategically invaluable Lithuanian gateway to Leningrad and Moscow.

### Scorched Earth

Faced with a massive build-up of Soviet military strength across the line of demarcation, concerned by the Soviet breach of the so-called Hitler-Stalin Pact and forewarned by new and enormous Soviet demands for geographic concessions in Europe, Germany invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. The Soviets immediately began to execute German prisoners-of-war right after capture or a short interrogation. Even seriously wounded soldiers were not spared. Numerous high level orders to this effect are on record. The West German Military History Research Institute (Militaergeschichtliche Forschungsamt), which is not known for its pro-German bias, puts the percentage of captured German soldiers who died while in Soviet captivity in the years 1941–1942 at 90–95 percent.<sup>5a</sup> Within days after hostilities began, the Kremlin's Central Committee issued orders to the effect that only scorched earth be left to the enemy. Everything of value was

ordered to be destroyed, regardless of the needs of the civilian population left behind. For this purpose special demolition battalions were sent into action. The above-mentioned Military Research Institute commented further: "From the very beginning of the war Stalin and the leadership of the Soviet Union indicated through these measures that as far as they were concerned the armed conflict with Germany was of an entirely different character than the historical 'European national wars'."<sup>5b</sup>

The measures taken by the Soviet Union between 1940 and 1942 aimed not only at furthering the Soviet war effort, but also at harming the German enemy even at the cost of huge losses of life among Soviet civilians. The Soviet *scorched-earth strategy* included the deportation of millions of men, women and children; the resettlement and re-establishment of thousands of factories; the withdrawal of almost the entire railway rolling stock; the annihilation of raw material depots; the removal of most of the agricultural machinery, cattle and grain stocks; the systematic destruction, burning and blowing up of the immovable infrastructure, inventories of all kinds, factory buildings, mines, residential areas, public buildings, public records, and even cultural monuments; and the intentional starvation of the civilian population which remained behind to face German occupation. It was basically a policy which unscrupulously used the civilian population as a strategic pawn. The extent and timing of this policy action is confirmed by so many sources that no real difference of opinion exists in this regard. What is strange is how scantily it has been covered so far in the scholarly literature. Until now, this policy has not been analyzed to the extent it deserves with an eye to identifying the party responsible for the conflict, nor to appreciating the German difficulties in prosecuting a war along established civilized lines, nor to assessing the claims of German brutality in Russia, nor to sizing up the numerical potential of the alleged German genocide of Soviet Jews, or indeed, of the Soviet Slavs.

Long before the outbreak of the German-Soviet conflict, Stalin had begun to prepare for a future war in Europe when he began to develop heavy industry in the Urals and Western Siberia starting with the first Five-Year Plan which commenced in 1928. His plans were for the long run. In the early 1930s he had already announced his determination to overtake the most advanced industrialized countries with respect to industrial and military capacity not later than 1941<sup>6</sup>—the year when, according to numerous admissions of Soviet leaders, including Stalin's son, the Red Army would strike Germany late that summer.<sup>7</sup> With the help of thousands of engineers and experts from Europe and North America, the core of the Soviet armaments industry was established in the region



where Europe meets Asia. Millions of Soviet citizens were also mercilessly sacrificed in the drive to attain Soviet military supremacy. The Ural industrial region was covered with a far-flung network of power lines and electric-power generation plants. In 1940, this rather underpopulated area, with just four percent of the Soviet population, produced 4 billion kWh of electricity, and the existing capacity allowed for a great expansion.<sup>8</sup> By comparison, the Soviet territory later occupied by Germany—the so-called Occupied Eastern Territories—produced no more than 10 billion kWh before the war even though it accounted for about 40 percent of the Soviet population. In other words, on a per capita basis the electric power output of the Urals region was four times larger. In preparation for the coming conflict, substitute factory building shells were raised all across the southern Urals and western Siberia for the purpose of accepting the machinery from the territory the German enemy might threaten during the anticipated hostilities. A railroad network far out of proportion to the needs of this thinly populated area was vigorously expanded right up to the outbreak of war.<sup>9</sup>

As soon as the Germans crossed the frontier, the Soviets put their *Plan of Economic Mobilization* into action. This plan incorporated the possibility that the enemy might succeed in occupying large sections of the country—as had happened during the First World War. For this reason detailed plans specified the locations to which the dismantled factories should be transported and the successive steps in which the removal was to take place. The inter-relationships between the individual enterprises and their dependence on one another were painstakingly taken into account.<sup>10</sup> The carefully executed plan included the removal and evacuation of equipment and people 8-10 days before the retreat of the Red Army, followed by 24 hours of extensive destruction by special demolition squads just prior to the retreat. If necessary, the Soviet troops would put up last-ditch resistance to provide sufficient time for their demolition squads to complete their tasks.

Destination addresses found by the surprised Germans pointed practically always in the direction of the Ural industrial region, specifically to the area encompassed by Sverdlovsk, Molotov, Ufa, Chkalov, and Magnitogorsk. This was the region where the factory shells had been built years before the war and where the equipment dismantled in the factories of the western Soviet Union was reassembled.<sup>11</sup>

In just the first three months after the outbreak of war more than 1360 large industrial enterprises were transplanted and the movable equipment of thousands of collective farms was transported to the interior. It seems that owing to the brutal regimentation of the miserable deportees the evacuated enter-

prises rose in an unbelievably short time at their new locations: it took just three to four weeks to reassemble large factories and enterprises. The workers had to labor 12 to 14 hours a day, seven days a week. Within three to four months Soviet production had again reached pre-war levels.<sup>12</sup>

The Soviet feat was possible only because millions of trained workers, managers, engineers and specialists had been transported to those areas along with their factories. As early as February 1940, German intelligence had reported the systematic deportation of the Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish population from the western Ukraine.<sup>13</sup> In June 1940, up to one million Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland along with many hundreds of thousands of Poles were deported to Siberia. Then, a few weeks before 22 June 1941, mass deportations of the civilian populations along the entire frontier with Germany, Hungary, and Rumania took place. The Soviets, informed by their own spies, Allied intelligence, and German traitors, lost no time in removing those civilians who were most critically needed in the Ural armaments centers.<sup>14</sup>

Soviet historians admitted years ago that the Soviet Union had laid plans long before the war to put the entire Soviet railroad system on a war footing overnight. The purpose was to prevent the Germans from getting hold of the strategic rolling equipment. The Soviet success in this endeavor was almost total: Despite the huge number of rail cars, locomotives, and special transportation equipment in the frontier areas, and the deployment of troops and war materials for the gigantic Soviet military build-up in preparation for an attack on central Europe, most of the rolling stock was removed in time before the Germans struck in a lightning preventive action on 22 June 1941. During the first five weeks, when German armies pushed hundreds of miles into the Soviet interior, only 577 locomotives, 270 passenger cars and 21,947 rail freight cars were captured. In relative terms, this amounted to just 2.3, 0.8 and 2.5 percent respectively.<sup>15</sup>

During the first few months of the war one million railroad cars loaded with industrial equipment, raw materials, and people departed from the frontline areas.<sup>16</sup> I won't delve into specifics of the scale of the Soviet program of deporting the civilian population. This I have done in some detail in *The Dissolution*. Suffice it here to note that before the war upward of 90 million people were living in the Soviet areas conquered by Germany during the Second World War. The Soviets deported anywhere between 25 and 30 million of them. They concentrated their deportation efforts on specific groups. Thus, they preferred the urban to the rural population, the skilled to the unskilled, and large educated minorities (Jews and Russians in the Ukraine, White Russia, and



in the Baltic countries) to the more hostile native population. Because the Soviets had begun their deportation program long before the outbreak of the war and because the western frontier areas were generally not densely populated, the Soviet cities which fell into German hands during the first few days and weeks of the war were greatly depopulated—up to 90 percent in some cases and over 50 percent on the average. The cities tended to show greater deportation percentages if they were located in the Ukraine or White Russia, rather than in the Baltic countries; if they were located near the western frontier rather than further east; and if they had large educated minorities than if the native population predominated.<sup>17</sup>

In summary, the scorched-earth policy was extremely well geared to Soviet objectives. A huge armaments program had been initiated 13 years before 1941 and long before Adolf Hitler was in sight as a serious contender for German leadership. Extensive investments had been made in a rather thinly populated and underdeveloped area in order to develop its transportation facilities, power stations and network, and heavy industry. Last but not least, substitute factories had been systematically erected, ready to accept the industrial equipment from the more developed Soviet areas to the west should an unfavorable course of the war necessitate their removal to safer areas. What was lacking, however, was the social infrastructure, such as housing and hospitals, to accommodate the many millions of civilians deported there between 1940 and 1941. As a result, 15-20 million civilians died of epidemics, hunger, overwork, lack of housing, lack of clothing and the brutal Siberian winter.

### **The Economic Breakdown in the Occupied Eastern Territories**

The picture presenting itself to the advancing German troops was one of despair. Of the railroad system only the tracks remained. The rolling stock was gone. Water works and power stations were destroyed. In order to organize the production of war-essential raw materials and mineral oil products, the Germans created the so-called Economic Staff East. However, the Soviet strategy of scorching the earth very quickly forced the Economic Staff to reactivate all productive facilities of any kind. Even the production of consumer goods was included in its program, because domestic industry was incapable of resuming production on its own following the almost total destruction and dismantling by the Soviets and the deportation of most of the managerial personnel and technical specialists.

Of the original power generation capacity of 2.57 million kW in the Occupied Eastern Territories—which was equivalent to

**Table 1**  
Power Generation Capacity in the Occupied Eastern Territories  
(1,000 kW)

	Total	RK Ukraine (incl. Military Area South)	RK Ostland	Military Area North and Center
Before the war	2570 (100%)	2200 (100%)	270 (100%)	100 (100%)
After Soviet retreat	300 (12%)	145 (7%)	135 (50%)	20 (20%)
March 1943	630 (24%)	350 (16%)	240 (90%)	40 (40%)

Source: *Wirtschaftsgroessenordnungen fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 9 March 1943, Berlin: Chefgruppe W im Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg: Bestand RW 31/260).

roughly one-fourth of total prewar Soviet generating capacity—less than one-eighth (300,000 kW) was found to be intact. Soviet demolition efforts were so thorough that until the end of March 1943, capacity could be increased to not more than 630,000 kW, which was still only one-quarter of the prewar level.<sup>18</sup> (See Table 1.) And yet, regional differences were quite obvious. In the Reichskommissariat (RK) Ostland (Baltic countries and White Russia) about half of the original capacity of 270,000 kW was found to be intact and until the end of March 1943 almost 90 percent of the former capacity was returned to operation. But in the Ukraine only 7 percent (145,000 kW) of the original power-generation capacity of 2.2 million kW was still operational. The thoroughness of the Bolsheviks is shown by the fact that until the end of March 1943, not more than 350,000 kW were usable again. This was just 16 percent of prewar capacity. These figures refer only to available capacities. In practice, these were rarely operated fully because of the growing partisan menace and an almost total lack of coal supplies. Obviously, industrial production had been dealt a fatal blow. As mentioned already, electric power generation before the war amounted to 10 billion kWh annually in the Occupied Eastern Territories. The German administration succeeded in producing only 750 million kWh from the time of occupation until the end of 1942. For the year 1943 the planned increase to 1.4 billion kWh—which would still have been 86 percent below pre-war levels—was never attained as only 1 billion kWh were actually produced.<sup>19</sup> It is significant that the planned increases in manufacturing and mining production for the year 1943 were realized in only a few cases. Actual production of essential raw materials or energy supplies fell far short of stated goals despite the high priority attached to redeveloping the Ukrainian economy.



**Table 2**

Industrial Production in the Occupied Eastern Territories  
from the Time of Occupation until the End of 1943

Category	Unit	Production	Production 1941–1943 in percent of pre-war production			Plan fulfil- ment in the year 1943
		before Occupation	until end of 1942	in 1943	average until year- end 1943	
Electricity	bill. kWh	10.0	7.5%	10.0%	8.8%	71%
Coal	mill. tons	85.0 (1940)	2.1%	2.7%	2.4%	26%
Iron ore	mill. tons	16.5 (1938)	–	2.3%	1.2%	10%
Crude steel	mill. tons	12.0 (1940)	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	2%
Cement	mill. tons	2.0 (1940)	15.0%	8.2%	11.6%	31%
Lignite	mill. tons	0.5 (1938)	56.0%	90.0%	73.0%	23%
Peat	mill. tons	8.0 (1938)	56.0%	35.1%	45.6%	51%
Manganese ore	mill. tons	1.4 (1938)	45.9%	81.4%	63.6%	80%
Shale	mill. tons	1.7 (1939)	50.6%	76.2%	63.5%	68%
Shale oil	1000 tons	160.0 (1939)	33.8%	67.3%	50.5%	82%
Petroleum*	1000 tons	370.0 (1938)	67.6%	21.9%	44.7%	31%
Phosphate rock	1000 tons	175.0 (1940)	7.6%	47.9%	27.8%	98%
Mercury	tons	300.0	7.0%	4.0%	5.5%	12%

\*Including mineral oil production of Drohobycz (Galicia/General Government Poland)

Sources: *Bericht ueber die Taetigkeit der Chefgruppe Wirtschaft im Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 20 November 1944, Berlin: Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg: Bestand RW 31/260)

*Wirtschaftsgroessenordnungen fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 9 March 1943, Berlin: Chefgruppe W im Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg: Bestand RW 31/260)

The effects of the systematic destruction by the Soviets on industrial production are shown in **Table 2**. The basic industrial structure—coal, iron ore, crude steel, electricity, and cement—was for all practical purposes totally destroyed. Compared with pre-war levels, coal mining averaged 2.4 percent, iron ore production 1.2 percent, crude steel production nothing, electricity 8.8 percent, and cement production 11.6 percent!

Another indication of the sorry state of the economy in German-occupied Russia was the size of industrial manpower. In 1940, Soviet blue- and white-collar workers numbered 31.2 million.<sup>20</sup> Even if their proportionate share in the regions later occupied by Germany was less than the Soviet average, it is reasonable to assume that there was a total of at least 10 million blue- and white-collar workers in these areas before the war. At the end of 1942, employment in industry (excluding the food industry) totalled only 750,000. In the purely industrial enterprises, that is, excluding the handicrafts, the number of employees was just

Table 3

Number of Employees in Industry (excl. food)  
in the Occupied Eastern Territories—End of 1942

Area	Employees	(percent)
Baltic countries (of RK Ostland)	140,000	(24%)
White Russia (General District)	25,000	
Military Area North	14,475	
Military Area Center	40,000	(76%)
RK Ukraine	150,000	
Military Area South	219,893	
Total	600,000	(100%)

Source: *Bericht ueber die Taetigkeit der Chefgruppe Wirtschaft im Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete, 20 November 1944, Military Archives Freiburg/Germany, Bestand RW 31/260, p. 4.

600,000 (Table 3). Six hundred thousand in an area which prior to the war had a population of perhaps 75 million! Even if we add the unknown number of people employed in the food industry, it is obvious that *industrial employment under German administration was equivalent to one-tenth of prewar levels at most*. To make matters worse, the productivity of this remnant manpower was far below prewar standards. It is noteworthy that although the Baltic countries (the largest of which, Lithuania, had very little industry) accounted for only 8 percent of the prewar population of the Occupied Eastern Territories, they nevertheless furnished one-quarter of the industrial manpower under German administration (Table 3).

Soviet deportations reduced skilled personnel to such an extent that not enough local managerial or technical experts could be found in the Occupied Eastern Territories for even the tiny number of remaining industrial employees. The Germans were forced to bring in about 10,000 civilian specialists from the Reich in order to overcome the most severe personnel shortages.<sup>21</sup> On the basis of available statistics I estimate that the Soviets deported at least 70 percent of the workers prior to German occupation. This means that the number of workers available to the German administration (generally lesser-skilled) was about 2 to 3 million. Inasmuch as not more than a million could be put back to work despite the enormous need for every kind of production, unemployment assumed huge proportions (50-70 percent) in the midst of a vociferous demand for goods of any kind.



According to Soviet Prof. Telpuchowski, the areas occupied by the Germans until November 1941 accounted for 63 percent of the coal, 68 percent of pig iron, 58 percent of the steel, 60 percent of the aluminum, 38 percent of grains and 84 percent of the sugar produced in the entire Soviet Union before the war.<sup>22</sup> The documents of the German Economic Staff East show essentially very similar magnitudes. The Soviets managed to make all this unavailable to the German enemy. The means employed were ruthless dismantling, demolition, fire, sabotage and deportation. Instead of adding to Germany's military strength, these areas became a tremendous drain on her already strained industrial capacity.

### Hunger

As for the conquered raw material supplies, the following secret report of the German Economic Staff for the period 1–10 October 1941, provides a vivid description of the situation:

Few supplies of any size have been found so that care will have to be taken during the hostilities . . . It appears that all raw material stocks were either systematically removed from the areas conquered so far or made unusable. Thus, the small quantities found until now are not a significant help in relieving the raw material needs of the Reich. . . . The factories have not been supplied with raw materials for some time.<sup>23</sup>

The same situation applied in the case of food, especially grains. An interdepartmental proposal of the Economic Staff dated 3 October 1941 on the supplies needed for Russian cities even went so far as to suggest that the remaining larger cities not yet in German hands should be cut off and encircled, and that their capitulation should not be accepted. This, of course, was militarily quite out of the question, but it shows the desperation with which the German authorities of the conquered areas viewed the effects of the Soviet strategy of leaving it up to the occupying armies to feed millions of starving Soviet citizens! The report continued:

It has been our experience that the Russians remove or destroy systematically all of the food supplies before retreating. The urban population of the conquered cities thus will either have to be fed by the Wehrmacht or it will have to starve. Obviously, by forcing us to provide additional food to the Russian population, the Russian leadership intends to worsen the already difficult food situation of the German Reich through a reduction of the domestic German food supply. As a matter of fact, the present food situation permits us to feed the Russian urban population from our own stocks only if we reduce the supplies to the Army or if we lower the rations at home.<sup>24</sup>

During the very early period of the war, Soviet destruction in the agricultural sector was confined to the machine and tractor stations. As a rule, these stations were found empty and the machines and vehicles left behind had been made unusable. At first, cattle stocks were relatively intact. But this changed rapidly during the following weeks. As the war progressed from west to east, almost no cattle, grain and gasoline supplies were found. The Luftwaffe and prisoners of war reported that the Soviets busily harvested the fields as they retreated. After the Ukraine was liberated, it became obvious that the food situation would slowly but surely become catastrophic. In many cases even seed grains had to be distributed to help the starving Ukrainians. This, in turn, reduced the acreage that could be planted at a time when the lack of tractors, gasoline, and draft horses had already made its negative effects felt. It is estimated that the so-called Occupied Eastern Territories produced 43 million tons of grain under Soviet rule in 1940. Under German administration the recorded harvest in 1941 was not more than 13 million tons. One reason for this small harvest was the fact that the German drive into Russia was swiftest in the northern and center sections of the theater of war, thus enabling the Soviets to take with them or destroy considerable parts of the harvest in the Ukraine. In 1942 even less was harvested, only 11.7 million tons. According to Dallin, the German administration succeeded in seeding not more than three quarters of the prewar acreage. Fertilizer was practically unavailable and the yield per acre was correspondingly lower in 1942. Compared to the average yields per hectare of approximately 2200 pounds (14 bushels/acre) in the Ukraine in the late 1930s, the Germans managed to obtain just 1500 pounds (10 bushels/acre).<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the Soviet scorched earth policy now began to show its full effects: The use of seed grains to relieve the worst hunger in the cities, the increasing partisan menace and the dearth of personnel and machinery reduced the harvest potential drastically.

German supervisory personnel in the countryside were much too thinly spread to enforce effectively a strict delivery of agricultural products. To be sure, at the expense of the goodwill and the pro-German attitude of the peasant population, it was possible to locate and requisition some additional agricultural produce for the cities, but, judging by the misery in the cities, this was by far not rigorous enough. Of course, the Germans periodically tried to "comb through" the countryside to find these hoarded stocks but their efforts were marked with little success. Theretreating Red Army had removed the entire organization necessary to collect and distribute the harvest of the collectivized agriculture system, and the German administration was forced to



set up its own collection and distribution system for agricultural products—not an easy task considering the harrowing wartime conditions. Not only was time much too short and wartime conditions simply too severe to organize such an administration successfully, but the brutality with which the Bolsheviks had enforced their claims on agricultural production was simply not in keeping with the German mentality or German policy which—contrary to Allied and Soviet propaganda—aimed at finding a basis of mutual understanding with the liberated Slavic and Baltic populations.

Far from the ruthlessness which supposedly characterized German occupation rule in Russia, the plain fact is that, as a central European nation, the Germans never came to grips with the inhumane concept of total warfare as applied by their Soviet foe. As even Jewish historian Alexander Dallin admits: "Soviet collection (of the harvest) had, in practice, been far more *efficient* (italics added) than the German. As a result, peasants in German-held areas were often able to hide larger stocks than before the war. In all probability concealed reserves remained substantial, . . ." <sup>26</sup> From 1941 until 1943, 15,000 rail cars loaded with agricultural equipment and machines left Germany for the Occupied Eastern Territories under the so-called *Ostackerprogramm* ("Eastern soil program"). This included 7,000 tractors, 20,000 generators, 250,000 steel plows, and 3,000,000 scythes. Furthermore, thousands of bulls, cows, swine, and stallions were sent to those areas for breeding purposes to raise the quality of the livestock. Available statistics indicate that German agricultural assistance between July 1941 and June 1943 amounted to 445 million RM (Reichsmarks). <sup>27</sup>

The net prewar Soviet harvest of 1940 yielded 82 million tons of grain, of which about 30 percent was set aside for seed and feed purposes. Theoretically, the Soviet population thus had available 57 million tons, or a little less than 800 grams daily per person. In practice, of course, it was less, because part of this volume was set aside in reserve in anticipation of the coming war with Germany. <sup>28</sup> Assuming that 30 percent of the recorded harvest of only 13 millions tons under German occupation in 1941 was set aside for seed and feed purposes, only 9 million tons were left for the native population. Of that amount 2 million tons were taken by the German army. The amount requisitioned by the German army was rather moderate indeed. This is shown by the fact that the Red Army used 3¼ million tons of grain in 1940, the last year of peace! While another 350,000 tons were shipped off to Germany, this was offset by the significant but unknown portion of the grain volume sequestered by the German army but used to feed the native urban civilian population. <sup>29</sup> In any case, the civilian population of about

50 million was thus left with only about 7 million tons. On a per capita basis this amounted to less than 400 grams daily (less than one pound)—only half as much as in 1940. Meat and fats were not available as a general rule. But this average does not mean very much. On the one hand, we noted that the harvests probably were considerably larger than German statistics indicate. This means that at least the rural population, which was the majority, was able to enjoy a considerably better and more plentiful diet. Also, many urban dwellers were able to obtain food from the peasants on the illegal, but difficult to control black market. In this way the cities obtained from the peasants some of the food which German authorities were unable to trace. On the other hand, transportation was often an insurmountable problem so that even the minimal supply of food arrived in the cities either late or not at all. Moreover, partisans either destroyed or confiscated large parts of the harvested grain. Finally, German authorities often tried to obtain extra rations for workers in war-essential factories. Of course, this was only possible at the expense of the rest of the population. The fact that German authorities did not even succeed in getting the special rations for the workers in war-essential industries or for those doing heavy manual labor, as they were entitled, shows how serious the situation was.<sup>30</sup> Those urban residents who were either unemployed or did not have anything to trade with the peasants were really in trouble: Starvation was their fate.

To show the desperate food situation in the cities of German-occupied Russia, I will quote from the regular secret reports of the Economic Staff East sent to Berlin:

11 November 1941: The scarcity of food and the lack of even the most essential consumer goods are the main reason why the morale of the Russian and Ukrainian population is becoming more and more depressed . . . Kiev received no grain whatever since its occupation on 19 September 1941 . . . The partisans take food from the civilian population at night and force physically able men to join them. In part, food supplies are being burned down by the partisans. Especially great difficulties exist in the southern area where it is impossible to feed all of the prisoners of war because of their huge numbers. . . . The authorities are constantly at pains to find enough to eat for the prisoners, although gruel and buckwheat are available only in limited quantities. . . . We are very concerned about our ability to feed the urban population in the southern areas.<sup>31</sup>

8 December 1941: The food situation in the city of Kharkov is extremely critical. There is almost nothing for the population to eat. Bread is not available.<sup>32</sup>

22 January 1942: The regular distribution of food to the urban civilian population in the southern area must be restricted more and more, and this is not likely to change in the foreseeable future.<sup>33</sup>



23 February 1942: The supply of food to the civilian population of the larger cities is so critical that it is cause for the most serious warnings.<sup>33</sup>

1 March 1942: The morale is low because of food problems. . . . In the densely populated Donets area especially no food has been distributed at all to the population. As a result, several thousand people have died of hunger so far. In some cases even highly qualified specialists and professors were among the victims.<sup>33</sup>

5 March 1942: The food situation continues to be very serious and in some cities there is actual starvation. In Pushkin it was discovered that there was a *trade in human flesh* which was offered to the population as pork.<sup>33</sup>

16 March 1942 (Report by the commander of the military rear central areas): In the large cities (the food situation) continues to be unsatisfactory and in Kharkov it is catastrophic. As time goes on it becomes ever more difficult to feed the urban population . . .<sup>33</sup>

3 June 1942: The food situation in the cities grows worse and worse because part of the food supplies collected for the population had to be used for seeding and part of the supplies were destroyed by the partisans.<sup>33</sup>

The unceasing efforts by the German civil and military authorities to provide a sufficient supply of food to the civilian population within their narrow means were brought to naught by the terribly poor harvests, the catastrophic transport situation, the partisan menace, the removal of the food depots by the Soviets and the impossibility of organizing a satisfactory regular exchange of goods between the large cities and the countryside. While the food supply of the rural population and the small towns was relatively secure, the civilian population of the large cities and the millions of prisoners faced naked starvation. Soviet savagery thus became a legacy of German guilt.

### German Counter-Measures

If for no other reason than self-interest, the Germans tried to relieve the catastrophic economic situation and stabilize the economy by importing huge amounts of capital from Germany. Equipment worth one billion RM was imported from the Reich for the mining, energy and manufacturing sectors alone. To this must be added the considerable costs incurred for the transportation sector as well as for road-building equipment, the value of which has been estimated at more than one billion RM. After adding the considerable quantities of coal used as fuel for civilian railroad freight transport, German reconstruction aid for industry and the infrastructure may have totalled more than 2.5 billion RM.<sup>34</sup> This amount does not include agricultural assistance worth about a half-billion RM. The extent of German aid to the civilian sector

may be better appreciated if one realizes that the gross value of industrial production in those areas (valued on the basis of domestic German prices) from the beginning of the occupation until the end of 1943 amounted to approximately 5 billion RM. (This figure includes the industrial raw materials, finished goods, and repairs furnished by that economy to the German army.)<sup>35</sup> Although it is not known precisely what portion of this gross value was actual value-added, comparisons with other countries would suggest that it must have been a little more than 2 billion RM.<sup>36</sup> In other words, *German non-agricultural economic aid was larger than the entire industrial output of these territories during the time of occupation!* The annual net output per worker amounted to 1,000 RM per year. By comparison: The German worker attained a net production of 4,000 RM in the year 1936.<sup>37</sup>

Naturally, a large part of the much-reduced volume of industrial production was absorbed by the German occupation army. Thus, German army requirements and, to an even greater extent, the Soviet scorched-earth strategy, reduced the supply of consumer goods for a native population of about 50 million to almost nothing. The reason for the failure of the German administration to provide sufficient food for the native urban population is best demonstrated by this dilemma. Consumer goods production was practically non-existent because of Soviet destruction and evacuation of all industrial plants and raw materials, the deportation of the trained industrial manpower, and the impossibility of quickly repairing damages. Thus, there was nothing the urban populations could offer to the peasants in exchange for their food. And since the peasant was unable to buy anything for the money he received, he was unwilling to part with his produce.

German economic aid to the occupied Soviet territories amounted to roughly one percent of German gross national product of those years.<sup>38</sup> Even today, this figure is not matched by the level of foreign aid of the industrial nations to developing countries. West Germany, for example, extended foreign aid amounting to about one-half of one percent of GNP since 1960, that is, at a time of relative prosperity and low defense outlays. Indeed, the *economic assistance of about 3 billion RM (including both industrial and agricultural aid) furnished to the economy of the occupied Soviet area is even more remarkable when one realizes this this amount was equivalent to one-fourth of aggregate gross fixed investment in Greater Germany in the years 1942 and 1943 (12 billion RM).*<sup>39</sup>

A comparison of the straight economic tonnage exchanged between the Reich and the Occupied Eastern Territories provides additional information on non-military exchange between those two years. Unfortunately, only data for the year 1943 could be found. (Table 4)



Table 4

Non-Military Transports between the German Reich  
and the Occupied Eastern Territories in the Year 1943

(1,000 tons)

From the Occupied Eastern Territories into the Reich:		
By railroad	4,259	
On waterways	536	4,795
From the Reich into the Occupied Eastern Territories:		
By railroad	2,126	
On waterways	1,911	4,037

Source: Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete. *Bericht ueber die Taetigkeit der Chefgruppe Wirtschaft im Reichsministerium fuer die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 20 November 1944, Military Archives Freiburg/Germany, Bestand RW 31/260.

In terms of tonnage, about 20 percent more freight entered Germany than was delivered by the Reich. Considering that about 2 million tons of grain were furnished by the Occupied Eastern Territories to the German armies in 1943,<sup>40</sup> the tonnage ration of exchange of 7 to 4 was indeed favorable to Germany. However, the goods made available by those territories were mainly staples (raw materials, ores, etc.) with relatively low weight-specific values, while the products from Germany had very high weight-specific values (with the exception of coal to run the railroads, of course). Inasmuch as finished goods tend to be many times more valuable, pound for pound, than staple products, it would seem that the exchange was much more favorable for the Occupied Eastern Territories, even though this rough approximation certainly does not permit us to calculate the actual value of the trade even within a wide margin of error. On balance, the Occupied Eastern Territories delivered agricultural products worth 1.6 billion RM to the Reich and the German armies.<sup>41</sup> The deliveries of German machines, tractors, generators, equipment of all kinds for industry and agriculture, vehicles, railroad coal, etc., amounted to roughly 3.0 billion RM, leaving a difference of about 1.4 billion RM in favor of the Occupied Eastern Territories. From this we would have to deduct the value of captured raw material supplies, the ores and other raw materials produced during the period of occupation, as well as repair services for the German army. It is unknown what value should be applied to these items. However, in view of the very small raw material depots found and the extremely low production of the largely defunct industry (a large part of the industrial output was actually used to rebuild the factories) it must be doubted whether more than 25 percent of industry's meager output of 2 billion RM was absorbed by the oc-

cupation forces. In short, the *Occupied Eastern territories* as such added little in economic terms to the fight against the common Bolshevik enemy. In fact, they were the beneficiaries of an almost unbelievably generous reconstruction assistance. This aid, like all so-called foreign aid, was hardly made for purely altruistic reasons. Nevertheless, it was unique in the history of relations between an occupying power and the conquered territory of a country with which it was still locked in mortal combat.

It would be too simplistic to attribute the German economic failure in Russia simply to the Soviet success in dismantling, removing and destroying the industrial base, infrastructure and raw material supplies, to the deportation of millions of workers or to the increasing partisan threat. All of these factors were no doubt very important. Another aspect, however, was at least as significant. When Germany invaded the USSR she did so despite an almost total lack of knowledge of real Soviet military strength, of the size of Soviet arms production, of the capacity of the main centers of military industrial output, or of Soviet preparations for total war. Even worse, Germany was totally unprepared to overcome the serious transportation bottlenecks which developed almost immediately and had no plans whatever for running an economy which had depended on centralized planning directives from Moscow, where every kind of private initiative had been stifled, where the entire administrative, managerial and technical class had been deported and where public records had been largely removed. Not only did Soviet brutality and lack of any restraint differ from the practice during the historic national wars in Europe, but it soon also became apparent that the challenge of a smoking remains of an economy, run on an organizational pattern vastly different from that familiar to Europeans, posed insurmountable problems. The added liability of the disappearance of the entire organizational, administrative and technical apparatus turned a task which was almost impossible to begin with into chaos. Chaos brought starvation, and starvation brought support for the partisans. The book has not yet been written which analyses the German military defeat in Russia in terms of her failure to get the economy of the occupied territories organized effectively and producing again.

The lack of success in finding a solution to the food problem was partly due to Germany's inability to effectively revamp Soviet agriculture during the limited time available and to her scruples in burdening an already downtrodden population even further. Thus, assistance measures like the so-called *Ostackerprogramm*, while gigantic in terms of absolute aid to the agriculture of the *Occupied Eastern Territories*, were really doomed to failure from the start because they did not remove the cause of the problem. In ef-



fect, Germany tried to keep alive by artificial means the amputated trunk of a society devoid of its brains and muscles.

### Implications

It is an indisputable fact that the systematic Soviet dismantling of factories and their shipment to the Urals, the carefully planned removal and destruction of raw materials stocks and food supplies, and the large-scale deportation of civilians were started long before 22 June 1941. Indeed, evidence indicated that these efforts were greatly intensified ten to fourteen days prior to that date. Now, we do not know whether Stalin believed that a German attack would come on the precise date of 22 June 1941, although Sorge and others had provided such information to him. Possibly, Stalin thought that Germany's military build-up was insufficient to allow her to strike on the day reported to him. But this is really beside the point. Both sides knew that the other would attack as soon as it was ready. This fact demolishes forever the charge of a German sneak attack on an unprepared, peace-loving Soviet Union. The initial German military successes were achieved not because of the element of surprise but *despite* Stalin's knowledge of German preventive action and *despite* a huge Soviet military build-up for an attack on central Europe, which was the reason for Germany's preventive war in the first place. Furthermore, the allegation of systematic German brutality in Russia is exposed as plain Soviet propaganda. It is true that starvation was widespread in the large cities of the German-occupied Soviet Union, that large numbers of Soviet prisoners-of-war died of hunger, that the Soviet cities were in ruins after the German armies retreated, and that the Soviet population suffered tens of millions of dead during the Second World War. However, we also know that the inhumane Soviet scorched-earth strategy was the cause of hunger in the German-occupied Soviet territories, of an orgy of destruction previously unknown in warfare, and of the death of up to 20 million Soviet civilians, many of whom had been deported to the frozen wastes of Siberia and the Urals where epidemics, lack of housing and medical care, unimaginably hard work loads, and an extreme climate allowed only the toughest to survive. Add the costly human-wave tactics of Soviet military strategy and it is evident that Soviet brutality alone was responsible for the unbelievably huge losses of life suffered by the peoples of the Soviet Union—more than 30 million dead!

The real number of Soviet war losses is not the main focus of this paper, and space does not permit a detailed examination of this subject here. However, an appendix has been added which attempts to arrive at a more realistic estimate of Soviet War

casualties based on an analysis of postwar USSR census figures from 1959, 1970 and 1979 and a comparison with the Soviet census of 1939 adjusted to the extent possible for border and population changes between 1939 and 1945. Suffice it here to say that the Soviets lost more than 25 percent of their male and almost 9 percent of their female population. For the population left under Stalin's control at the height of German expansion in Russia, the equivalent losses are 33 percent and 13 percent. It is curious that contemporary standard treatments of Soviet wartime losses generally admit to just 20 million dead. Why this unusual understatement for a wartime ally? Well, to admit that the Soviets lost almost 20 million civilians rather than 6-7 million during the Second World War would place the responsibility for most of the non-military losses on the Soviets themselves.

Naturally, the alleged German rampage in Russia fits neatly into the "Holocaust" tale. After all, the area of the Soviet Union occupied by Germany had been populated by more than 3.5 million Jews before 22 June 1941.<sup>42</sup> If one adds the nearly one million Jewish refugees in eastern Poland in early 1940, it is obvious that to maintain the genocide charge it has been necessary to draw a curtain of silence around the Soviet long-term preparation, anticipation, thoroughness, brutality, and scale of scorching the earth during the Second World War. Since the historical framework within which the alleged German mass murder is supposed to have been perpetrated simply did not exist, it became necessary to create the myths which superficially appeared to be substantiated by what was obvious to everyone: The initial swift German advances and the horrible destruction of Soviet cities and countryside after the Germans were forced out again.

It is up to us to lift this curtain of silence and concealment and to replace the myth of Soviet unpreparedness with the horrible truth of Soviet scorched earth.



## Appendix

### Soviet Casualties During the Second World War

The USSR has never published any data on Soviet war casualties. But the censuses taken in the post-war period can help give a good idea of the probable size of the Soviet losses. A distinction between military and non-military losses, however, still is not possible with any great degree of accuracy. The census of 17 January 1939 found a population of 170.56 million, of which 81.70 million (47.9%) were male. The first post-war census conducted in December 1959 counted 208.83 million inhabitants; males accounted for 94.05 million (45%) of them. A direct comparison between these two counts is not possible, though, because the Soviet Union annexed huge territories in eastern Europe in the period from September 1939 to the summer of 1940 and then again in 1945: the Baltic countries, eastern Poland, northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, and the Carpathian Ukraine. In the course of its territorial expansion in the years 1939 and 1940 the Soviet Union absorbed at least 24 million Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Jews, White Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Rumanians, to name just the most important nationalities. Also, between January 1939 and June 1941 the natural excess of births over deaths added another 7-8 million people. Thus, at the beginning of the war with Germany in June 1941 there were about 202 million people under Soviet rule.

The sex structure of the Soviet population of 202 million (June 1941) was not affected by the incorporation of 24 million people between 1939 and 1940, because most of the absorbed territories had belonged to the Tsarist empire until 1917 and thus the enormous male casualties suffered during the First World War were reflected in the demographic structure of those areas as well. But the excess births over deaths between 1939 and 1941 did result in a very slight improvement of the male share to 48 percent. To summarize: Of the 202 million people in the Soviet Union at the beginning of the war in June 1941, 97 million were male (48%) and 105 million female (52%). A comparison of these figures with the census of 1959 is encumbered by the fact that after the war further territorial changes and forcible population exchanges with neighboring satellite countries took place. For example, the area around Bialystok, which was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1939, was returned to Communist post-war Poland. At the same time, the Soviets annexed the Carpathian Ukraine. Then, too, many Poles residing in eastern Poland were removed after the war to areas previously populated by Germans, while many Ukrainians living west of the line of the Bug and San rivers were transferred to the

Development of the Soviet Population: 1939 to 1979  
(millions)

	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Total
Census of January 1939	81.70 (47.9)	88.86 (52.1)	170.56
Increase:			
a) Estimated resident population of eastern Poland, Baltic countries, northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Polish refugees from central Poland	+ 11.50 (47.9)	+ 12.50 (52.1)	+ 24.00
b) Estimated natural population growth until June 1941	+ 3.80 (51.0)	+ 3.64 (49.0)	+ 7.44
Estimate for June 1941	97.00 (48.0)	105.00 (52.0)	202.00
<b>Soviet War Casualties*</b>	23.87	9.00	32.87
Estimate for June 1945	73.13 (43.2)	96.00 (56.8)	169.13
Net increase 1945-1959:			
Births (at least)	30.10	30.10	60.2
Deaths (estimate)	9.18	11.32	20.5
Net total	20.92 (52.7)	18.78 (47.3)	39.70
Census of December 1959	94.05 (45.0)	114.78 (55.0)	208.83
Net increase 1959-1970	17.35 (52.7)	15.54 (47.3)	32.89
Census of January 1970	111.40 (46.1)	130.32 (53.9)	241.72
Net increase 1970-1979	10.90 (52.7)	9.78 (47.3)	20.68
Census of January 1979	122.30 (46.6)	140.10 (53.4)	262.40

\*Difference between the 1941 and 1945 population estimate

Ukraine. Whether all of these changes provided the Soviet Union with a net population gain or loss cannot be determined today with certainty. In addition, there is the well-known fact that many former Soviet citizens fled to the West when the German armies withdrew from Russia. Many of them were able to find their way to western countries despite Allied efforts to force them to return to the Soviet Union after 1945. But these lucky ones are more than matched by the millions deported by the Soviets from central and eastern Europe after the war. It is just about impossible to obtain even approximate figures for these population changes, but it can be argued (and this analysis starts from the basis) that these changes did not produce major additions or subtractions.



The total number and the sex composition of the Soviet population at the end of the war in 1945 can be estimated if we draw on the post-war censuses of December 1959, January 1970 and January 1979. The age groups of 0 to 15 years (1945–1959) accounted for 60.2 million people according to the census of December 1959. Available statistics indicate that the mortality rate averaged 0.72% between 1945 and 1959; on the basis of an average population of 190 million the total number of deaths during this period may be estimated at 20.5 million. Thus, the net population growth until 1959 was almost 40 million. Subtracting this figure from the 1959 population of about 209 million we arrive at a 1945-population of only 169 million! Finally, if we compare the 1941 figure (202 million) with the one for 1945, it is obvious that *the Soviet Union's total war casualties amounted to 33 million!* The distribution of this immense loss of life among both sexes can also be estimated by using the post-war censuses. Between 1959 and 1970 the net population gain was 32.89 million, and between 1970 and 1979 it was 20.68 million. Males accounted for 52.74 percent of this total increase of 53.57 million. Applying this percentage to the increase of barely 40 million between 1945 and 1959, it is obvious that males increased by almost 21 million.

The Soviet censuses of 1939, 1959, 1970 and 1979, as well as the estimates for the years 1941 and 1945, are listed above.

Despite the above-mentioned uncertainties pertaining to the various population movements, it is nevertheless possible to state with a great degree of probability that Soviet war losses during the Second World War exceeded 30 million and that only 73 million of the previous 97 million male survived the war. In short, more than 25 percent of the males had to sacrifice their lives for the Soviet cause! The female Soviet population suffered 9 million dead, or almost 9 percent. Citing official sources, the Swiss newspaper *Die Tat* (January 1955) reported 13.6 million Red Army deaths during the Second World War. The same figure was published by the Ploetz Publishing House in Wuerzburg/Germany, and other sources—for example, the West German Historical Military Research Institute—mentioned similar figures. If this huge military loss is accurate, Soviet civilian losses must have been 19.3 million, of which, in turn, 9 million were female and 10.3 million male. The terrible conditions behind Soviet lines, which included hunger, exhaustion, deaths from exposure to cold, epidemics, lack of medications and medical care, catastrophic living conditions (tents, earth huts), and the terror of an inhumane regime fighting for its survival, caused most of these deaths, as the 9 million female casualties indicate.

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37. *ibid.*
38. Klein, Burton H. *Germany's Economic Preparations for War*, Cambridge/Mass.: 1959, p. 256. The gross national product of the German Reich for 1942 and 1943 was given as RM 143 and RM 160 billion, respectively. Relative to the entire reconstruction assistance of about RM 3 billion (incl. agricultural aid of RM 445 million) provided to the Occupied Eastern Territories this amounts to 1%.

39. *ibid.*
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41. *ibid.*
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Map 1



German-Soviet demarcation, as set by the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 23 August 1939.



## Map 2



German-Soviet demarcation line as of the end of November 1940.

## Reflections on Auschwitz and West German Justice

THIES CHRISTOPHERSEN

**M**y booklet, *The Auschwitz Lie*, has become an under-the-counter bestseller. It has appeared in French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish and even Hungarian, as well as in several English-language editions. Actually, there's nothing very remarkable about *The Auschwitz Lie* except that it was written by someone who was in Auschwitz and who recorded his experiences and recollections. People generally prefer to read sensational reports, and my booklet is certainly not that.

In the spirit of Martin Luther, I try to speak positively and influence things for the best. But I was accused of "popular incitement" (*Volksverhetzung*) for doing that. I spent a year in prison, even though the charge of popular incitement was eventually dropped. However, the charges of "contempt against the state" and defamation of the Jews, who now enjoy special protection in this regard, were not dropped. I was also accused of defaming the memory of the dead. In this regard, the son of Count Schenk von Stauffenberg appeared as a co-plaintiff against me because I had called his father a traitor. Well, I wouldn't like it either if my own father had been insulted, and so I wasn't offended when Stauffenberg junior sought to rehabilitate his father's reputation. All the same, there wasn't any need for a criminal indictment. If he had sent me a letter justifying his father's actions, I certainly would have published the complete text of it in my magazine. Of



course, I would also have commented on it, as I always do with critical letters from readers.

I'd like to describe my experiences and observations since the publication of my first-person report about Auschwitz. When I wrote my report, I was criticized on the grounds that, although I was in the camp and saw nothing of mass gassings, that fact did not necessarily mean that there were none. All the same, I can say with certainty that there were no mass gassings at Auschwitz. I don't write under a pen name. I even gave my address and telephone number. I have received thousands of letters and calls. Many of those who contacted me can confirm my statements, but are afraid to do so publicly. Some of those are SS men who were brutally mistreated and even tortured in Allied captivity. I also immediately contacted those who claimed to know more about mass gassings. My experiences were precisely the same as those of French professor Paul Rassinier. I have not found any eyewitnesses. Instead, people would tell me that they knew someone who knew someone else, who talked about it. In most cases the alleged eyewitnesses had died. Other supposed eyewitnesses would quickly begin to stammer and stutter when I asked a few precise questions. Even Simon Wiesenthal had to finally admit before a Frankfurt district court that he was actually never in Auschwitz. All of the reports I have heard about are contradictory. Everyone seemed to tell a different story about the gas chambers. They couldn't even agree about where they were supposed to have been located. This is also true of the so-called scholarly literature, which is full of contradictions. But they know more about that than I do.

I want to try to explain how such stories get started. When I tell fairy tales to my grandchildren, I often speak as if I am there in the story myself, so that the children will believe them. Many people also have a tendency to embellish what they say. Some enjoy getting others to believe their false tales. And then there are the so-called "bull stories" (*Latrinenparolen*). Every veteran knows about these. Those interned in prison camps particularly like to invent and spread such stories.

So I have an explanation for how the story got started that corpses were burned in open fires at Auschwitz. There were also "bull stories" at Auschwitz. My maid, Olga, once told my mother, who was visiting me at Auschwitz, about a fire in which people were being burned. I asked Olga about that. She didn't know anything for sure, but she said that a fire could always be seen in the direction of Bielitz. I drove in that direction but found only a large industrial plant where inmates were also working. I looked over the entire camp and inspected all the fires and smoking chimneys. But I didn't find anything suspicious. I asked my col-

leagues, but they answered merely by shrugging their shoulders and saying that I shouldn't believe "bull stories." There was indeed a crematory at Auschwitz. After all, 200,000 people lived there and every city has a crematory. Of course, people died there as well—and not just inmates. The wife of SS Lt. Col. Caesar, for example, died there of typhus. I was satisfied with those answers at the time.

Today I know much more about this matter. At first, those who died at Auschwitz were buried, but because of the high ground water level (one meter) in this area between the Vistula and Sola rivers, that practice couldn't be continued. A labor team headed by SS Staff Sergeant Moll (who had been in charge of the agricultural nursery at Raisko) was assigned to dig up the buried corpses and burn them. This was done on an open fire. The most unbelievable stories were told about this procedure. West German television even broadcast a film of this which was supposedly made in secret by an SS man.

There's another factor which has played a role in all this. The defense attorneys for the so-called German war criminals were not entirely blameless. Every defense attorney wants freedom for his client and, as a result, the attorneys often argued that persons who were already dead were guilty of the alleged crimes. SS Sergeant Moll was killed in action in the final days of the war.

During this period I also received a report from the brother-in-law of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Hoess. He lives in Flensburg, not far from my home. His report generally confirmed my own statements. Death sentences were certainly carried out and hostages were also shot. I pointed this out in my booklet. But these executions were not carried out in the camp itself, otherwise they would have been heard.

I can't understand why Auschwitz is called a concentration camp. I consider it an internment camp. It's well known that enemy aliens are normally interned during wartime. In order to keep them from fighting against their host country, they are normally not expelled. Of course, one can argue about whether the Jews should have been considered members of an enemy nation. After all, the state of Israel wasn't founded until after the war. Nevertheless, the Jews had already declared war against us in 1933, as the *London Daily Express* reported on 24 March of that year. On that basis, internment would have been justified even then. But the Jews weren't interned until after the outbreak of war in September 1939, and even then not all at once.

I am thus one of the few who can report on the actual situation in the Auschwitz camp, and I have done so. What has it brought me? Two years of living in exile and one year in prison. Even though, prudently enough, there wasn't anything about it in my



verdict, I would never have been imprisoned if I had not written *The Auschwitz Lie*. The charge of "contempt against the state" was only a pretense. There's no parallel for such a charge in any other country of the western world, not even in those that are still monarchies.

I lived in Belgium for two years. Even though I was not recognized as a political refugee, I nevertheless received an official residence permit. The Belgian authorities knew that I was wanted in the German Federal Republic on a charge of "contempt against the state." I was extradited at the request of the German legal authorities. I brought suit against the Belgian government for damages of one million Belgian francs, or 50,000 German marks. And how did the Belgian authorities respond? They began legal proceedings against me to determine whether or not I had broken any Belgian laws. My apartment in Belgium was searched while I was away. Many of my papers were confiscated. That was two years ago. It was discovered that I had once stayed overnight in an Antwerp hotel under the name of Tetje Paulsen. I didn't know anything about that because the room had been reserved for me by a friend who knew me only under the pseudonym Paulsen. A Belgian judge told me that it was dishonorable to stay overnight in a hotel with a strange women, and that doing so made me suspect. It didn't matter that the woman I spent the night with there was my own wife.

But the greatest violation was committed by the German legal authorities. They issued a false report to the news media that I had been arrested while trying to enter the German Federal Republic without a valid passport. Actually, I was arrested in my apartment in Belgium on 26 August 1983 by Belgian police and taken in handcuffs to the border where I was turned over to German police who were waiting for me. I then got to learn how justice is carried out in German prisons. I must say that Auschwitz inmates had more freedom. There were no individual cells or isolation confinement. Even during the war the inmates received unlimited numbers of very welcome "Care" packages. There was even a brothel in Auschwitz for the inmates. In the Flensburg prison not even a chaplain was made available to me.

Around the world, and especially in Germany, people protest against injustice, oppression and persecution of minorities. The injustices during the Third Reich, and there certainly were injustices, are condemned and denounced most loudly of all. I have made it my duty to criticize not the mistakes of the past, but rather the mistakes of the present. I did the same during the Third Reich, but I wasn't imprisoned as a result.

Nowadays there's an awful lot of talk about democracy, or the "rule of the people." That doesn't exist for us today. We are still

living under the rule of the occupation powers. In our homeland there is only room for aliens and for those who serve foreigners. There was once a time when more than 90 percent of the population supported its leadership. I remember that time very well. There was no government peevishness, no unemployment and no fear about the future. Anyone who lived during that time will never forget those things, despite the many lies which have been spread about that time and which are unfortunately believed. The right of national self-determination became a reality. It was never so disregarded as it has been since 1945.

A national socialism could have been a model and guide for the entire world. But it was precisely those powers which ruled over and oppressed other nations which could not tolerate the right of national self-determination. And although many of the colonial empires have disappeared, the nations have been forced into a new and far more terrible form of dependency. U.S. capitalism, and those behind it, have won the struggle for world supremacy.

Surveillance grows more and more pervasive. Orwell was thus not completely wrong. I have experienced it and I believe we all experience it. Terror is now also being used.

What can we do? Nothing? Should we remain silent? Should we smother the cry of outrage in our hearts? Our writings may be banned. We may be thrown into prison. Our mail may be inspected. We may be attacked with fire and bombs. Our homes may be searched. We may be kept from obtaining employment or fired from our jobs. We may be slandered, ridiculed and persecuted like the early Christians. But we will suffer and endure it all, and our enemies will thus achieve precisely the opposite of what they intend. Their actions make others interested in what we do. I believe in truth and in justice, and I know that one day they will prevail.



Such an order was never found. Even the publishers of the IMT documents write about the allegation of Kurt Becher (PS-3762): "In September/October 1944 Himmler may have issued an order to stop the killing of the Jews."

Raul Hilberg has the nerve to write on page 631 of *The Destruction of the European Jews* that:

In November, 1944, Himmler decided that for all practical purposes the Jewish question had been solved. On the 25th of that month he ordered the dismantling of the killing installations.

In his footnote he dares to give as a source: "Affidavit by Kurt Becher, March 8, 1946, PS-3762," which says nothing of the kind.

—Robert Faurisson

### Article by Darryl Hattenhauer on Reagan

Since Mr. Hattenhauer's article [Winter 1984 *JHR*] treads on political-economic turf, I feel qualified to comment on it.

First, it is not clear to me how this sort of subject fits in with historical revisionism.

He outlines, in somewhat amusing fashion, many of the platitudes used by Reagan for "sales." My question is: Why select out Reagan on this kind of thing? Was Carter any different? Or, JFK?

The underlying fallacies of many government policies come not from Mr. Reagan or other figureheads, but rather from the Power Elite who, in the main, set those policies. And, where do they get their ideas? Usually from the likes of Dr. Kissinger and other bright, shining lights. Mr. Hattenhauer believes that there is energy scarcity. He, himself, has bought the store. As one who has worked on this energy business for many years, I can say with some confidence that there never was any real scarcity. The "crisis" was contrived to raise oil prices, and to keep us involved with our "ally" the State of Israel!

In the space shuttle program, today, we are using more advanced sensing techniques to take "pictures" of the earth's surface and subsurface. Imaging from long distance in space permits light spectra analysis of the earth, and permits basic determination of mineral deposits. We have known since the early 1960s where all the important mineral reserves have been located (e.g., oil in Alaska and in the Malvinas), and it was known that there were no shortages in terms of potential reserves. Reputable geologists, reporting on oil reserves, right up to 1972 saw no shortages. The world is awash with oil and energy. The energy crisis and fears of scarcity were all a hoax, a very profitable hoax.

So, why does Mr. Hattenhauer go after Reagan on his energy policy. Well, I can only surmise that his concerns derive from his having "bought the store" with respect to the idea that there is true scarcity.

It seems to me that if Mr. Hattenhauer wanted to say that all this Blarney spoken to the public was disingenuous, and that politicians were all remiss for not being more candid about the issues, that would be one thing. But, if he is going to take policies to task on their merits, he had better establish his own expertise on the subject matter itself.

—A.J. Eckstein

## Book Review

**A TRIAL ON TRIAL: THE GREAT SEDITION TRIAL OF 1944**  
by Lawrence Dennis and Maximilian St. George. Torrance, CA:  
Institute for Historical Review, 1984, 503pp, \$11.00, Pb, ISBN  
0-939484-20-X

About fifteen years ago, in the midst of the raging debate over American involvement in the Indochina War, which I had come to oppose, I wrote a heated denunciation of the Chicago Conspiracy Trial of 1969. At that time I knew nothing of the Great Sedition Trial of 1944, which was, in some ways, a strikingly similar judicial farce.

Of course, the Sedition Trial of 1944 has been consigned to the Orwellian memory hole by America's post-World-War-Two political, economic, intellectual, cultural, academic and media establishments. After all, a basic and unquestioned premise of all post-war Establishment thinking has been the necessity and nobility of Roosevelt II's interventionist warmongering. And the reality of the mass sedition trial of 1944 rather glaringly conflicts with at least one aspect of the mythological version of Roosevelt's War, the myth that the Roosevelt regime displayed an unusually tender solicitude for civil liberties during wartime. The IHR's reprinting of Dennis and St. George's classic work on the 1944 Sedition Trial is an important contribution to the task of "blasting the historical blackout" that still keeps most Americans in the dark about Roosevelt's War.

Lawrence Dennis was himself one of the twenty-nine defendants charged with conspiring to undermine the morale of the armed forces in violation of the Smith Act of 1940. His co-author Maximilian St. George, was defense attorney for Joseph McWilliams, another of the defendants in the trial.

The book is not so much an account of the trial as an analysis of it. Dennis and St. George identify the people and the purposes behind the trial, how and why it came about. And they devote much of the book to a dissection of the government's case against the accused seditionists. This detailed legal discussion is, perhaps inevitably, somewhat repetitious and, therefore, somewhat tedious. But there is much here that should be of interest to civil libertarians as well as revisionists.

The prosecutor, O. John Rogge, accused the defendants of membership in a world-wide Nazi conspiracy. His case consisted largely of out-of-context quotations from the writings of the defendants. These quotations were supposed to show that the defendants agreed with Nazi criticisms of Communism,



democracy, Jews and/or the warmongering Roosevelt regime. Thus, agreement with the Nazis on one or more points was made out to be the equivalent of full-fledged, conscious participation in a conspiracy to Nazify the planet. Dennis and St. George painstakingly debunk this ludicrous attempt to prove guilt-by-association. They also include a chapter calling for an end to the abuse of the charge of "conspiracy." Perhaps those revisionists with a penchant for parroting conspiracy theories based on similar guilt-by-association arguments will take heed of the author's views.

Dennis and St. George point out (p. 83) that "One of the many ironies of the mass Sedition Trial was that the defendants were charged with conspiring to violate a law aimed at communists and a communist tactic, that of trying to undermine the loyalty of the armed forces. What makes this so ironical is that many of the defendants, being fanatical anti-Communists, had openly supported the enactment of this law." How's that for being hoisted with one's own petard? As the authors go on to say, "The moral is one of the major points of this book: laws intended to get one crowd may well be used by them to get the authors and backers of the law. This just another good argument for civil liberties and freedom of speech."

Perhaps the backers of the prosecution of Ernst Zundel in Canada for publishing "false news" about "the Holocaust" should contemplate this particular point. Imagine how many Canadian Holocausters would end up behind bars if the law against publishing "false news" about "the Holocaust" were ever used against them. There wouldn't be enough jails to hold 'em.

Here is another of the ironies of the Sedition Trial. As Dennis and St. George pointed out for the benefit of the "extremists of the left" who supported the trial, the same sort of guilt-by-association argument could easily be used to make a similar case against those same leftists. They write (p. 211), "If anti-Semitism equals Nazism and Nazism equals conspiracy to cause insubordination, any brand of socialism can be made to equal Russian communism and, if popular feeling were aroused against Russia, Russian communism could equal conspiracy to commit almost any crime in the catalogue." This is a rather prescient statement, considering it was first published in 1945. Three years later, with the Cold War in full swing, the Truman regime indicted twelve top Communist leaders (including Eugene Dennis) under the Smith Act.

In Chapter XIX, "Beating an Improper Prosecution," Dennis and St. George give their advice on how to fight a free speech battle in American courts. Thus, at a time when the Zionist Inquisitors are resorting more and more to outright governmental censorship to stamp out historiography heresy, *A Trial on Trial* takes on increasing practical importance. I recommend it highly.

## Roosevelt's 'Secret Map' Speech

**F**ranklin Roosevelt often lied to further his goals. In a radio address broadcast to the nation on 23 October 1940, for example, he gave "this most solemn assurance" that he had not given any "secret understanding in any shape or form, direct or indirect, with any government or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve this nation in any war or for any other purpose." But American, British and Polish documents (mostly released many years later) proved that this "most solemn assurance" was a bald-faced lie. Roosevelt had, in fact, made numerous secret arrangements to involve the U.S. in war.

Of all his speeches, perhaps the best example of Roosevelt's readiness to lie is his 1941 Navy Day address, broadcast over nationwide radio on 27 October.

A lot had happened in the months preceding that address. On 11 March 1941 Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease bill into law, permitting increased deliveries of military aid to Britain in violation of U.S. neutrality and international law. In April Roosevelt illegally sent U.S. troops to occupy Greenland. On 27 May he proclaimed a state of "unlimited national emergency," a kind of presidential declaration of war that circumvented a power constitutionally reserved to Congress. Following the Axis attack against the USSR in June, the Roosevelt administration began delivering enormous quantities of military aid to the beleaguered Soviets. These shipments also blatantly violated international law. In July Roosevelt illegally sent American troops to occupy Iceland.

The President began his Navy Day address by recalling that German submarines had torpedoed the U.S. destroyer *Greer* on 4 September 1941 and the U.S. destroyer *Kearny* on 17 October. In highly emotional language, he characterized these incidents as unprovoked acts of aggression directed against all Americans. He declared that although he had wanted to avoid conflict, shooting had begun and "history has recorded who fired the first shot." What Roosevelt deliberately failed to mention was the fact that in each case the U.S. destroyers had been engaged in attack operations against the submarines, which fired in self-defense only as a last resort. Hitler wanted to avoid war with the United States, and had expressly ordered German submarines to avoid conflicts with



U.S. warships at all costs, except to avoid imminent destruction. Roosevelt's standing "shoot on sight" orders to the U.S. Navy were specifically designed to make incidents like the ones he so piously condemned inevitable. His provocative efforts to goad Hitler into declaring war against the U.S. had failed and most Americans still opposed direct involvement in the European conflict.

And so, in an effort to convince his listeners that Germany was a real threat to American security, Roosevelt continued his Navy Day speech with a startling announcement: "Hitler has often protested that his plans for conquest do not extend across the Atlantic Ocean. I have in my possession a secret map, made in Germany by Hitler's government—by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America as Hitler proposes to reorganize it." This map, the President explained, showed South America, as well as "our great life line, the Panama Canal," divided into five vassal states under German domination. "That map, my friends, makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States as well."

Roosevelt went on to reveal that he also had in his possession "another document made in Germany by Hitler's government. It is a detailed plan to abolish all existing religions—Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jewish alike" which Germany will impose "on a dominated world, if Hitler wins."

"The property of all churches will be seized by the Reich and its puppets. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden. The clergy are to be ever liquidated. . . . In the place of the churches of our civilization there is to be set up an international Nazi church, a church which will be served by orators sent out by the Nazi government. And in the place of the Bible, the words of *Mein Kampf* will be imposed and enforced as Holy Writ. And in the place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols: the swastika and the naked sword."

Roosevelt emphasized the importances of his "revelations" by declaring: "Let us well ponder . . . these grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism . . ." All Americans, he said, "are faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose on us." Accordingly, "we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism."

The German government immediately responded to Roosevelt's speech by denouncing his "documents" as preposterous frauds. The Italian government declared that if Roosevelt did not publish his map "within 24 hours, he will acquire a sky high reputation as a forger." At a press conference the next day, a reporter rather naturally asked the President for a copy of the "secret map." But Roosevelt refused, insisting only that it came from "a source which is undoubtedly reliable."

As has often happened, the truth about the map did not emerge until many years after the war: It was a forgery produced by the British intelligence service, most probably at its technical laboratory in Ontario, Canada. William Stephenson (code name: Intrepid), chief of British intelligence operations in North America, passed it on to U.S. intelligence chief William Donovan, who gave it to Roosevelt. In a memoir published in late 1984, wartime British agent Ivar Bryce claimed credit for thinking up the "secret map" scheme. Of course, the other "document" cited by Roosevelt, purporting to outline German plans to abolish the world's religions, was just as fraudulent as the "secret map."

Some U.S. officials were concerned about British wartime efforts to deceive the American government and people. In a 5 September 1941 memorandum forwarded to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle warned that British intelligence agents were manufacturing phony documents detailing supposed German conspiracies. Americans should be "on our guard" against these British-invented "false scares," Berle concluded.

It's doubtful if any of Roosevelt's great contemporaries, including Stalin, Hitler and even Churchill, ever delivered a speech as loaded with falsehoods as brazen as those in his 1941 Navy Day address. On at least one occasion, Roosevelt privately admitted his willingness to lie to further his goals. During a conversation on 14 May 1942 with his close Jewish adviser, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the President candidly remarked: "I may have one policy for Europe and one diametrically opposite for North and South America. I may be entirely inconsistent, and furthermore, I am perfectly willing to mislead and tell untruths if it will help us win the war . . ."

—Mark Weber

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## About the Contributors

DAVID BAXTER was born in Ohio of American pioneer stock. During the Great Depression he served as a W.P.A. administrator, but his enthusiasm for the New Deal turned to bitter disappointment when President Roosevelt launched his campaign to push America into war. As a result of his anti-war writings, Baxter became a co-defendant in the infamous Sedition Trial of 1944. In the years following the ill-fated judicial venture, Baxter worked as a newspaper editor and columnist, theologian and contributor to numerous Christian periodicals. The Rev. Baxter and his wife celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary in 1983.

JOHN BENNETT is a leading Australian civil libertarian and revisionist. He is an honors graduate of the University of Melbourne in both law (1958) and arts (1966). Since 1968 he has worked for the Attorney General's Department, most recently in the legal aid section. For many years Bennett was the Secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties. He is now the President of the Australian Civil Liberties Union. Bennett is the author of *Your Rights*, a standard Australian citizen's rights reference handbook that has already appeared in eleven updated editions.

KARL OTTO BRAUN was born in Upper Bavaria in 1910. He studied English, history, geography and international law at the universities of Munich, London and Berlin. From 1934 to 1937 he studied Japanese language and culture at the Oriental Institute of the University of Berlin. He entered the German foreign service in 1937. The next year he joined the staff of the German Embassy in Tokyo and then served with the German General Consulate in Osaka, 1939-1940. From 1941 until the end of the war in 1945 he was with the East Asia Section of the Political Department of the Foreign Office in Berlin. During the final two years he headed the Section. Dr. Braun now lives in Munich.

THIES CHRISTOPHERSEN was wounded in 1940 while serving as a German soldier in the western campaign. He was later assigned to a special agricultural research unit that was transferred to Auschwitz where Christophersen lived and worked from January to December 1944. He recorded his experiences and observations there in a booklet, *The Auschwitz Lie*, which first appeared in German in 1973 and has since been published in numerous foreign-language editions. For expressing his views, Christophersen was arrested and imprisoned for a year by the West German government. Since 1969 he has been the publisher and editor of the quarterly journal, *Die Bauernschaft*.

DAVID L. HOGGAN is probably best known for his path-breaking study of the origins of the Second World War, *The Forced War*. Dr. Hoggan received his Ph.D. in history from Harvard University in 1948. His academic career has included teaching posts at the University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State College, and the Amerika Institut of the University of Munich. He is the author of *Frankreichs Widerstand gegen den zweiten Weltkrieg*, *Der unnoetige Krieg*, *The Myth of the New History* and, most recently, the two-volume *Das blinde Jahrhundert*.

L.A. ROLLINS is Contributing Editor of *Prima Facie*, a newsletter monitoring "Holocaust" cultism, censorship and the suppression of free inquiry. He has been a freelance contributor to other publications, including *Reason*, *New Libertarian*, *Critique*, *Spotlight* and *The JHR*. He is the author of *The Myth of Natural Rights*.

WALTER N. SANNING is the author of *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. He was born in 1936 into an ethnic German family in an area that is now part of the Soviet Union. In the mid-1950s he emigrated to the United States, where he met his wife. He graduated with a B.A. (high honors) in international business from a prominent Pacific Northwest university, and did Ph.D.-level graduate work at a major Ivy League university on the East Coast. He then taught business, finance and economics at both the undergraduate and graduate levels at a major West Coast university. The Sanning family moved to Germany in 1970 where he has worked even since for a major financial institution. Mr. Sanning and his wife have four children, all of them born in the United States.

MARK WEBER received his Master's Degree in modern European history in 1977 from Indiana University. He has contributed numerous articles and reviews to *The Journal* and other publications. Weber presented papers to the 1980 and 1982 IHR conferences and served as Master of Ceremonies at the February 1985 conference.

# THE DISSOLUTION

## THE DISSOLUTION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWRY

Walter N. Sanning

Foreword by ARTHUR R. BUTZ

"... is the first full length serious study of World War II related Jewish population changes ... the perfect antidote to the vulgar idiocies that are today monotonously peddled by the media, for whom recent Jewish population changes are also of major interest, although such dry terminology is rarely employed by them."

—A.R. Butz (from his Foreword)

Recent years have seen the appearance of a number of books radically revising the standard history and interpretation of the "Holocaust." These works have held that the "Holocaust" itself—defined as the extermination by the Germans during World War II of some six million European Jews—is in fact a popular myth, that the Nazi government's "Final Solution" of the Jewish Question was in reality only a program of emigration and evacuation to camps in the East, not of killing; the gas chambers did not exist and Auschwitz, Treblinka and the other camps were merely labor camps, not killing centers.

In the controversy that was bound to be generated over so significant a revision of recent—and still politically-charged—history, one question naturally came to the fore:

*If the Jews were not killed, where did they go?*

Although the revisionists have dealt—in some cases at considerable length—with this particular question within the context of their broader studies, until now there has not been a single work entirely devoted to it. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* fills this gap, providing the most comprehensive and extensively-documented explanation ever of the movements and fate of the European cradle of World Jewry in the crucial years leading up to, during, and immediately after World War II. The book's conclusions offer a startling confirmation of the revisionist thesis of the "Holocaust": the vast majority of the "exterminated" Jews in fact *survived*, many being absorbed into the Soviet Union during the war itself, many others "disappearing"—until documented now—in the massive postwar emigrations, particularly to Palestine and the United States.

Author Sanning demonstrates, moreover, that there never were "six million" Jews under control of the Germans at any time, and that only the *presumption* of a higher Jewish population-growth rate than actually existed in Europe during the twentieth century, combined with the *over-counting* of Jews in countries from which they emigrated and their *under-counting* in countries to which they immigrated, has allowed the "six million exterminated" story to claim a demographic justification. The work of Sanning in *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* now invalidates that justification, and will be sure to add fire to the debate over one of the most disturbing historical questions of our century.

Born in what is now part of Soviet Russia, Walter N. Sanning spent his childhood years in wartime Germany. Having moved to the United States after the war, he did his undergraduate work (business administration) as a major West Coast university (*magna cum laude*), and received a scholarship from one of the East Coast Ivy League universities where he concentrated his graduate studies on international business, finance and economics. Following this, he taught a number of years at a well-known West Coast university and returned to private industry in the early 1970s where he has meanwhile assumed a leading position. His career has enabled him to devote much of his time to researching in U.S. and German archives. He is married and speaks English and German.

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# THE MYTH OF THE 'NEW HISTORY'

THE TECHNIQUES AND TACTICS  
OF THE MYTHOLOGISTS  
OF AMERICAN HISTORY

BY DAVID L. HOGGAN

**The Myth of the 'New History'**, a general survey in the field of American historiography, is an important and vivid account of the central issues of American history. The seven wars through Korea are analyzed, and, not only is the reader given an account of the important revisionist studies in each field, but also a fresh evaluation of these crises and their historians.

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**The Myth of the 'New History'**, first published in 1965, is still indispensable—an important work which no library, professor, teacher or student of American history can neglect save at peril of being out of touch with the central developments and studies in that field. Clearly, simply, yet powerfully written, it will always be a guidepost to historical study and research.



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Hoggan has presented no less than twenty-five entirely separate courses in American, European, and World History at seven American and European colleges and universities during the years since he received his Ph.D. in History at Harvard University in 1948. His research and writing during this period, in contrast to the wide and general range of his teaching experience, has been highly specialized as he has dealt with such areas as the Rise of Marxism in Central Europe in the Mid-19th Century, Politics of the French Third Republic, Tsarist Russian Foreign Policy, the Origins of World War I and World War II, and the History of the United States Supreme Court.

His teaching positions include the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of California (Berkeley), Carthage Lutheran College in Illinois, San Francisco State College and the Amerika Institute of the University of Munich. Born in Portland Oregon, he now resides in Menlo Park, California with his wife.

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# Revisionism On Trial: Developments in France, 1979–1983

ROBERT FAURISSON

*(Paper Presented to the Fifth International Revisionist Conference)*

**To Ditlieb Felderer**

**F**or a period of four years my publisher, Pierre Guillaume, his friends, and I faced considerable difficulties because of our common opinion about the myth of the gas chambers and the genocide of the Jews. Among those difficulties was first and foremost judicial repression. That repression has not yet ended. During those four years of struggle we were, so to speak, like swimmers struggling against the current. At times we were so weak compared to our adversaries that we ought to have abandoned the struggle. We were drowning. We could not go on any more. We felt that our situation was as desperate as that of a swimmer, as Céline said, trying to swim up Niagara Falls. We were attacked in the courts by some impressive opponents. Perhaps we should have adopted a purely defensive attitude. Instead, thinking that the best defense was a good offense, we counterattacked. We counter-sued those who were suing us. Sometimes we worsened our situation by saying or doing things that caused us new problems.

I am going to talk today only about the three principal suits that were lodged against us: one civil suit and two penal suits. The civil suit was brought against me for "personal damages" which I supposedly caused by an alleged "falsification of history." The first of the two penal suits, for libel, was lodged against my publisher and me by Léon Poliakov. The other penal suit was



brought against me on grounds of racial defamation and incitement of racial hatred as the result of a sixty-word sentence that I used during a broadcast on Radio Europe-1 on 17 December 1980. The most important of those suits was the civil suit: It raised the basic question, the taboo question about the reality of the gas chambers and the genocide against the Jews. The corollary question was: this Faurisson who maintains that the gas chambers and the genocide are both part of one and the same historical lie, is he himself a liar, a forger and a falsifier?

The answer is quite clear and no misunderstanding is possible. Never—I repeat, never—has any court convicted me of falsifying history or of any similar crime, and eventually, in its verdict of 26 April 1983, the Court of Appeals in Paris emphasized the seriousness of my research about the problem of the gas chambers. The Court, because of the seriousness of my research, decided:

The value of the conclusions defended by Faurisson rests *therefore* (emphasis mine) solely with the appraisal of experts, historians, and the public.

Gitta Sereny Honeyman, who attended my trials, dared to write and has continued to insist that I was condemned for falsification of history.\* That is a deliberate lie.

I will talk at length about the civil suit which lasted for four years, finally ending on 26 April 1983, before the first chamber of the Court of Appeals in Paris. I was in effect convicted of having caused "personal damages," but not at all in the sense hoped for by my opponents. Far from considering me a falsifier or a liar, the Paris Court of Appeals wrote this about me: "This being the case, no one can convict him of lying (. . .)." I will soon put those words back into their context. Meanwhile, I think that Gitta Sereny, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, Léon Poliakov, and several other French and foreign exterminationists would be happy if a French court could say as much about them. I'm not the one who had the idea of asking a court to render a judgment about history; those people and their powerful friends had that idea. "As ye sow, so shall ye reap," as it is said. For four years they did their utmost

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\**New Statesman*, 17 July 1981, pp. 16-19, "The Judgment of History": "Long-standing notions about academic freedom have been challenged by this month's conviction of a French writer for 'falsifying history,'" Gitta Sereny Honeyman reports. "( . . ) Two Paris courts found Robert Faurisson ( . . ) guilty of libel, provocation to hate, incitement to murder, and falsification of history. ( . . ) falsification of history" (p. 16). "The 17-page judgment which finds that he 'falsified history' " (p. 19). See also *Searchlight*, vol. X, 1981, "Revisionism—The Myths and the Lies": "As an MRAP spokesman put it, 'It is a simple fact that the Holocaust happened and that Faurisson is a falsifier of history.' The court agreed ( . . )" (p. 12).

to convict me of lying and, at the end of four years, the judges in a sense said: "You complain about this professor. You say that he did you harm. Agreed! He has done you harm, and that is why we are convicting him. He has done you harm in every way that you could imagine, but certainly not by lying. He is everything that you could imagine, but on the question of the gas chambers he is certainly neither a liar nor a falsifier. He is a serious researcher. Our conclusion is: 'the value of the conclusions defended by Faurisson therefore rests solely with the appraisal of the experts, the historians, and the public.'"

Those three trials all had a paradoxical outcome: I was convicted and my opponents obtained the right to have published, at my expense, as is usual in such cases, the texts of my convictions; however, they have never had those texts printed, except for one judgment and one decree that they have published at their own expense, seriously falsifying their content on points which did not meet their expectations. Each time their victories have only been Pyrrhic victories.

## **I. The Civil Suit ("Falsification of History"? No)**

### *1. What My Accusers Said*

My accusers consisted of nine organizations. The first was the LICRA (the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism), presided over by Jean Pierre-Bloch. The second was the MRAP (Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Nations), presided over by Pierre Paraf. Notable among the seven other organizations were the Association of Deportees of Auschwitz and the Camps of Upper Silesia, presided over by Mrs. Marie-Elisa Cohen, and the Association of the Sons and Daughters of Jews Deported from France, presided over by Serge Klarsfeld. That suit was filed and coordinated by the LICRA. Jean Pierre-Bloch was personally in charge of it and, according to a statement by Pierre-Bloch, the LICRA is supposed to have invested considerable sums of money in that marathon trial. To take just one example: the LICRA, no doubt finding that its friends in France and in other countries were unable to provide it with proof of the existence of gas chambers for use at the trial, sent its three best lawyers, Bernard Jouanneau, Robert Badinter, and Marc Lévy, to visit Poland and Jerusalem. However, these three pilgrims came back from their pilgrimage without the hoped-for proof. Robert Badinter pleaded the case against me in the original trial, in the lower court, but then he became the Minister of Justice in Francois Mitterrand's new Socialist government. From that time on we were able to hear his voice only through various represent-



atives of the Public Prosecutor's office at our various trials. Robert Badinter showed an intense hostility toward us.

According to my accusers I was a forger, a falsifier, and a liar; I had used a clever method of falsification; I had falsified translations; I had distorted historical facts; I had avoided documents which would contradict my thesis; I had used fallacious technical arguments. However, all those accusations remained as vague as they were unanswerable. On only two points were my accusers relatively precise. According to them, I had:

1. purposely distorted some testimonies, including that of Johann Paul Kremer (the professor who had been temporarily mobilized as a doctor at the Auschwitz camp);
2. brushed aside without serious justification a number of proofs previously accepted at national and international trials.

## *2. The Lower Court Verdict*

On 8 July 1981, the lower court in Paris rendered its verdict. It convicted me for "personal damages." The issue was whether I had caused such damage as the result of a falsification of history. The term "falsification of history" does not exist in French law, but the court could have adopted that verbal invention from LICRA. However, it did not do that. On the essential point of their accusation my opponents therefore did not obtain satisfaction. Nevertheless, the rest of the judgment must have satisfied them. The judges said that, as part of a sort of intellectual game, I had amused myself by denying everything. That game of systematic negation had shown me to be an academic whose superficiality ought to be punished. In other respects, the court thought that I had been lacking in prudence, in circumspection, and in intellectual neutrality since I had, in an irresponsible manner, treated too soon a historical problem that was too recent, too sorrowful, too sensitive. I should have waited for time to do its work of calming peoples' minds. Finally, the court reproached me in an even more curious way. It did not go so far as to say that I had been guilty of defending war crimes or of inciting racial hatred, but it did say that I had let other persons—unnamed—use my revisionist thesis to defend war crimes or to incite racial hatred. The court even specified that I had done that "with a remarkable lack of concern but with a clear conscience." I must admit that I don't quite understand how one can reconcile "a remarkable lack of concern" with "a clear conscience," especially when it is a case not of committing a sin yourself but of helping some unnamed persons to commit a sin of which you yourself are innocent. It seems to me that if the judges had been able to find in me not just a slightly diabolical soul but some tangible proof of some lie or of

some falsification, they would have hastened to present that proof, to emphasize it and to condemn it in terms understandable to everyone.

### 3. The Unfolding in the Court of Appeals

I decided to appeal the 8 July 1981 judgment. Eighteen months later, the case was pleaded before the First Chamber of the Court of Appeals in Paris. Since the subject that I am dealing with here is rather dry, I would like for a moment to report some anecdotes relating to those three sessions on 13 and 14 December 1982 and 15 February 1983. To begin with, the court room in which our trial was to take place was the same place where Marshal Pétain had been tried for the first and last time, without any possibility of appeal. Just after the war, at the time when I was a student at the Sorbonne, I had come to attend several of the trials of the so-called "collaborators." Although I felt no sympathy for the collaborators and had been raised to hate Germany, I was astonished at the kind of justice that they pretended to apply to them. That recollection made me wonder what kind of justice I would receive in that chamber.

I do not have time to detail what took place in that impressive hall on 13 and 14 December 1982. There was a striking contrast between our lawyers and those of our opponents. I had two lawyers: Eric Delcroix, a rightist, and Yvon Chotard, a leftist and personal friend of Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit. A third lawyer, Francois Berthout, represented the seven persons who had courageously stood at my side as "voluntary interveners"; those persons, all leftists, included two Jews; two of the seven belonged to the CNRS (the National Center for Scientific Research). That point always disturbed Gitta Sereny, who wrote:

What is unusual about Faurisson is that he has managed to obtain serious assistance from the Left. (op. cit., p. 16)

Another point, which was really secondary, also disturbed her:

At the Paris courthouse, Faurisson and Co. were surrounded by young, eager, and even attractive acolytes. (Ibid., p. 17)

The lawyers for the opposing side (a coalition of nine organizations) looked like a crowd of black robes surmounted by obviously anxious faces. They had put into the record some briefs that were quite poor, and they must have sensed that. Our side had put into the record a well-drafted brief that was four times longer than the usual. We likewise provided the court with my *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* (Memorandum in Defense Against Those Accusing Me of Falsifying



History) and a video-cassette on "The Problem of the Gas Chambers." While civil procedure in France is essentially written and the principals do not as a rule have the right to speak, I had asked to be heard and questioned. Unfortunately, the court decided not to look at the video-cassette, nor to question me. For four years, we had had the time to take the measure of the extreme historical and scientific weakness of the opposing side. In order to show that weakness, our tactic was to say over and over again that what we wanted from the other side was really very little:

- (1) that it present to the judges *one*, just *one* proof of the existence of *one single* homicidal gas chamber;
- (2) that it furnish *one*, only *one* example of falsification on my part.

We especially did not want a massive number of proofs or examples. We were waiting for just *one* proof and *one* example. That demand came back again and again as a *leitmotiv*: "One single proof, one single example." The lawyers for the opposing side were paralyzed by it. They knew that the judges were also waiting for that single proof, that single example. All of the rest was going to appear to be empty words and wasted breath. With their necks craned, the three judges of the court awaited the single proof, the single example. Our lawyers waited. We waited. The chamber waited. That kind of wait for two afternoons had a devastating effect. Simone Veil's son was overwhelmed and spent most of his time in his plea quoting extracts from my writings; you would have thought that he was pleading on my behalf. A succession of other lawyers came to deliver proposals without much conviction. A single *one* brought a well-constructed plea: Mr. Immerglik. His argumentation was the following: "In Germany, there is no pity for people like Faurisson; eliminate him." Then came the turn of Bernard Jouanneau, who was the LICRA's star in the absence of Robert Badinter. In the Poliakov trial, Jouanneau had turned toward me and cried out: "M. Faurisson, you are haunting my nights!" Before the Court of Appeals he began his plea in these terms:

Faurisson! Ah! Faurisson again! At home my children ask me: "But when will you be finished talking about Faurisson?"

Mr. Jouanneau went on to talk for two hours. People were waiting for the single proof and the single example. He did not even try to produce an example of falsification. As regards the proof of the existence of one single gas chamber, he presented several, but each time he said, in a plaintive tone of voice: "Yes, I know. You will tell me that this is not really a proof." He ended his plea that day on a melodramatic note. Overwhelmed, Jouanneau lowered his voice more and more; he gave the impression that he

was going to break into tears; that is in fact what took place; his last sentence was:

In any event, this is the end of the Faurisson case for me.

Leaving the courtroom, he broke into tears on a colleague's shoulder. They had to have his wife come. At that moment, I recalled what we had said in our 44-page brief: we had described in advance the drama of the LICRA lawyers. In the beginning they had believed that they were going off on a crusade against the infidels. They were sure of the goodness of their cause. They were convinced that the proofs and the eyewitnesses accounts would come to them *en masse*. Little by little, they found themselves all alone, exposed for all to see, with a pile of useless paper: translations that their own friends had falsified, photographs that proved nothing, inconsistent written testimonies, and not one single witness ready to testify about the gas chambers, not even Filip Müller, the "author" of a ghost-written book entitled, in the French edition, *Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz* (in the English edition: *Eyewitness Auschwitz*, New York, Stein and Day, 1979, xiv + 180 pages).

The Attorney General, Mrs. Flipo, asked for two months to present her case. She was representing the head of her Ministry, Robert Badinter. She pleaded her case on 15 February 1983. Foregoing any attempt at argumentation, Mrs. Flipo allowed herself to wax lyrical. She evoked the canonization of Father Kolbe, Willy Brandt's falling to his knees in Warsaw and, in closing, she quoted Elie Wiesel. Here is her peroration:

Elie Wiesel, who, with Samuel Pizar, was the youngest escapee from the camps, has written: "After night and dawn, the day breaks: the dead look for open hearts, which will welcome them and be their messengers."

And Mrs. Flipo, turning toward the court, added in closing:

Let us be those messengers.

The court also asked for two months to render its verdict.

#### 4. *The Verdict of the Court of Appeals (26 April 1983)*

On 26 April 1983 the First Chamber of the Court of Appeals in Paris rendered its verdict. It confirmed the judgment of the lower court, but in so doing it amended the reason for my conviction to such an extent that I would be happy to be convicted ten times that way at the request of the LICRA. I will not go into detail about that verdict. My publisher, Pierre Guillaume, has just published a brochure entitled *Epilogue judiciaire de l'affaire Faurisson* (Judicial



*Epilogue to the Faurisson Case*). There you can find the complete text of the verdict as well as an annotated analysis of the ten essential paragraphs of that verdict: five paragraphs are for, and five paragraphs are against, the revisionist thesis, as the judges understood and interpreted it.

#### **a. Five Paragraphs in Favor of the Revisionist Thesis**

The lower court had granted the existence of the gas chambers as a kind of implicit reality and it did not question for a single moment the value of the testimonies of those who claim that the gas chambers did exist. The Court of Appeals proceeded quite differently. As a matter of fact, not only did it pose the question about whether the gas chambers existed, but it asked itself what value to give to the many testimonies about their existence. It began with a sacrilegious sentence. Using a formulation suggesting doubt and using the conditional voice, the court wrote:

Mr. Faurisson's research dealt with the existence of the gas chambers which, *if one were to believe* the many testimonies, were supposedly used during the Second World War to systematically put to death some of the persons deported by the German authorities. (emphasis mine)

The LICRA had accused me of dealing with the question of the gas chambers with, at the least, some frivolity, a culpable lack of seriousness that it had tried to demonstrate. The court answered:

Limiting ourselves for the time being to the historical problem that Mr. Faurisson wanted to raise on this point [can we believe in the gas chambers and in the many testimonies about their existence?], it is proper to state that the accusations of frivolity made against him are *lacking in pertinence and are not sufficiently proven*. (emphasis mine)

Let me remind you here that the LICRA and the eight other organizations had had *four years* to try to prove their accusations, including that of culpable lack of seriousness. They had also reproached me for having neither a logical approach nor any argumentation. The court answered that I had a logical approach and that I had an argumentation. Its first impulse had led it to go so far as to write that I had a "scholarly" argumentation; then, thinking the better of it and perhaps thinking that it did not have the competence to describe my argumentation in that way, it made a handwritten correction on the typed page, which prudently said that Mr. Faurisson had "an argumentation [that he thinks is] of a scholarly nature"; but further on, as we will see, the word "scholarly" will in a sense be restored to me by implication. For the time being, the court said:

In fact, Faurisson's logical approach consists of trying to demonstrate, by argumentation [that he thinks is] of a scholarly nature, that the existence of the gas chambers, as they have usually been described since 1945, runs into an absolute impossibility . . .

The court specifies—and that specification is important—that this is an absolute impossibility

which would be sufficient by itself to *invalidate* all of the existing testimonies or, at least, to *make them suspect*. (emphasis mine)

I suppose that the court was thinking there about the impossibility of a physical/chemical kind that I have often pointed out in my writings, but it should be noted that my thesis about the non-existence of the gas chambers is also based on all kinds of arguments, and not just on an argument based on physics and/or chemistry.

The LICRA has asked the court to condemn my methods and my arguments. There again, the court refused to bring in a conviction, declaring:

It is not the job of the court to make a pronouncement on the legitimacy of such a method or about the full significance of the arguments set forth by Mr. Faurisson.

As to the very important question of the testimonies, the LICRA had stated that I had frivolously or negligently brushed those testimonies aside or that I had deliberately chosen to ignore them. To that the court responded:

Nor is it any more permissible for the court, considering the research to which he has devoted himself, to state that Mr. Faurisson has dismissed the testimonies frivolously or negligently, or that he has deliberately chosen to ignore them.

In clear English, that means that I had studied the testimonies and that if I dismissed them, it was for good reasons which appeared to be the result of the research to which I had devoted myself.

Now we come to the main point: that of lying. The LICRA treated me as a liar at every turn, particularly when I said that I had studied the documents for more than fourteen years and that I had consulted research organizations like the CDJC (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation) in Paris and many other organizations or persons during the time. The LICRA was right to have made its accusation of lying on that point. As a matter of fact, although French law does not allow judges to make themselves into judges of historical truth, it nevertheless does authorize them to decide whether the researcher has or has not really shown, in his research, a concern for making genuine scholarly inquiries. If, according to the judges, Faurisson had not



shown concern to make such inquiries as he claimed to have made, by that very fact he could have been declared to be a false researcher and a liar, that is to say, finally, an imposter. The other side had had four years to prove that I was a liar on this essential point. At the end of those four years, the Court of Appeals added up the balance sheet. Talking about the present state of the situation and about the attempts to prove that Faurisson is a liar, the court stated:

Furthermore, this being the case, no one can convict him of lying when he enumerates the many documents that he claims to have studied and the organizations at which he supposedly did research for more than fourteen years.

Then the court came to the logical conclusion of all that it had just said and its sentence fell like a guillotine blade for the LICRA, for the eight other organizations, and for all those who dared to say that the problem of the gas chambers was settled and who thought that my writings were the business only of the courts. Here is that sentence in the form of a conclusion:

The value of the conclusions defended by Mr. Faurisson therefore rests solely with the appraisal of experts, historians, and the public.

That is exactly what exterminationists everywhere want to avoid at all costs. Under no circumstances do they want to see the problem of the gas chambers and especially that of the eyewitness accounts become a subject to be debated by experts and historians. Above all, it is absolutely necessary that the general public not be brought up to date about that problem and that it not freely debate it.

I don't think that it is necessary to insist any further on the historic importance of that last sentence of the Court of Appeals in Paris. All the rest of the Court's verdict can only be anti-climactic after that. I will, however, pause here for a few moments.

## **b. Five Paragraphs Against Robert Faurisson**

The three French judges could hardly have gone farther. They would have caused a scandal if, following the logical path, they had dismissed the all-powerful LICRA organization (which includes among its members Francois Mitterrand, President of the Republic, and Robert Badinter as well as so many different personalities from all the influential circles in French society). The question for them therefore became: how to confirm the judgment of the lower court convicting Faurisson? It is obvious to anyone who habitually makes grammatical and logical analyses of French texts that the three judges sweated blood in drafting the rest of their verdict.

The judges reproached me for not having confined myself to what they called my "critical work" on the gas chambers and the eyewitness accounts; that work had, according to them, a "scholarly character": at least, that is what one can deduce from a sentence in which they criticize me for "assertions that no longer exhibit any scholarly character and that are dependent upon pure polemic." However, they do not give any examples of such assertions. They reprimand me for having written: "the alleged massacres in gas chambers and the alleged genocide are one and the same lie." They do not say that that statement is false. They never say to me: "You are perhaps right about the gas chambers and the eyewitness accounts, but you are wrong about the genocide." They know that the genocide and the gas chambers are as closely related as a specific crime can be with the specific weapon that allowed that crime to take place; they no doubt see very well that it is hard to continue to claim that a specific crime (genocide) took place if it is shown that the specific weapon needed to commit it (the gas chambers) did not exist. What those worthy judges reproach me for is for having summarized my thoughts in the form of what they call a "slogan"; a slogan is out of place here. The most annoying thing about this is that this slogan had been concocted both by a journalist from the *Matin de Paris* and also by our three judges. As a matter of fact, the brevity of that nineteen word "slogan" is explained as follows: in 1978 I wrote the *Matin de Paris* a letter, for publication, the first sentence of which was argumentative and long: 65 words. The newspaperman printed that sentence only after cutting off the entire end of it. Then came the judges who, finding the sentence with its end removed, in their turn cut off its entire beginning. So it was that 65 words became 19 words and a long, argumentative sentence took on the brief and slightly vulgar character of a slogan. In reality, I tend to sum up my thoughts in a longer form and to give them an historical importance thanks to certain words that make reference to history; so it was that I wrote:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie.

A historical lie is not to be confused with a vulgar lie. It is a lie in which there are necessarily a ridiculously small number of liars or imposters in relation to the masses of dupes or victims who are necessary for it to have a long life.

The court said that I sought on every occasion to diminish the criminal character of the deportation and that, in that spirit, I split hairs. But, as you can read in the *Judicial Epilogue* (See Appendice III), the examples that it gives prove most of all that the court has never studied very carefully, and has rather vague knowledge about, certain historical subjects.



Finally, the court went on to a whole series of sentimental reproaches. It said that I had not been able to find one word to show my respect for the victims of the persecutions and deportations. The court is wrong; on several occasions I have shown my respect for such victims of the Germans and, on occasions, I happen to have used precisely the word "respect." I must say that, in contrast to the judges, I think that I ought to show my respect for all types of victims, including even the victims of the persecutions and deportations carried out by the Allies, including even the victims of the historical big lie and great imposture. The court said that my "revisionism" can . . . appear . . . as an attempt at a more or less wholesale rehabilitation of Nazism. All that I see there are speculations. If I understand correctly, the Court thinks that I am not a Nazi, but it could be that behind me there is silhouetted the shadow-of-the-shadow of a Nazi.

Having described me in that way, in a way likely to frighten small children, the court drew a whole series of conclusions that are as arbitrary as their point of departure; it painted an ever darker portrait of me; I became an almost diabolical creature; that is what the lower court had already insinuated. The Court of Appeals states that "thus," that is to say as it presented me, I was as offensive to the survivors as I was insulting to the dead; because of me (a shadow Nazi and a kind of devil), the general public finds itself incited to misunderstand or even to doubt those sufferings (the court continues to think only about the sufferings of one single portion of those who suffered, by the tens of millions, during the war).

In its last sentence, the court appealed so much to the emotions that, without desiring it, it produced a moment of humor. It wrote:

[the positions thus adopted by Faurisson] are obviously, as the [lower] court has correctly pointed out, of such kind as to provoke passionately aggressive actions against all those who find themselves thus implicitly accused of lying and deception.

I will explain that sentence of the court. In the first part of its verdict, the court had indeed seen that it was as a result of serious work that I had concluded that the gas chambers were a lie and a deception. But, in the second part of its verdict, what saddened the court was that it realized that a lie implies the existence of liars and that a deception implies the existence of deceivers. And that, the court thinks, is serious. There are going to be people who are going to feel that this is directed against them. Faurisson is definitely a trouble maker. Let's punish him!

My voluntary interveners and I accepted the punishment, that is to say the conviction for "damages," and we decided not to appeal it. However, I do deplore the fact that the lower court and the

Court of Appeals never had the courage to examine what we, for our part, called the frauds of the LICRA (frauds relating to texts, photographs, and translations). It would also have been instructive for the court to answer the following question: "If it is true that Mr. Faurisson is not a falsifier and if, in order to demonstrate that the gas chambers never existed, he has for four years (from 1979 to 1983) used arguments and documents without rendering himself guilty of frivolity, negligence, deliberate ignorance, bad faith or lying, can the judges of the court tell us their opinion about those who have maintained for nearly forty years (1945-1983) that the gas chambers did exist? How do those people, who are lecturing others, rate as regards frivolity, negligence, deliberate ignorance, bad faith, lying and, as they say, the falsification of history?" The court did not answer that question.

#### *5. The Civil Suit: The Opposing Side's File Was Enormous and Empty*

The judges must have been aware of the way in which our opponents made up their file. The latter had inordinately extended the time allowed for depositing documents into the file. They first deposited completely worthless documents, and then ill-assorted documents with most often falsified translations.

#### **a. Falsified Translations, Suspicious Stories**

We had pointed out those falsifications to Judge Pierre Drai, who was in charge of supervising the preparations for the trial. Pierre Drai, in spite of his hostility toward us, had been obliged to ask the LICRA for some translations by recognized experts. I would like to make clear that the recognized experts chosen by the LICRA hardly did better. One of their experts in particular, Victor Borten, would be held up to ridicule before the judges by one of my lawyers for the rare stupidity of his expert appraisals. It was he, in particular, who at great length explained that the word *Leichenkeller* could not have existed in the German language and that it was a word from the famous secret language of the SS, a word used, he added, only from 1942 until the beginning of 1945, to designate a homicidal gas chamber. It was necessary for us to explain to that expert that the word already existed in the great Grimm and Grimm dictionary in 1886 and that even in our own time, in West Berlin, the crematory in Ruheleben has some *Leichenkeller*, that is to say morgues located below ground and designed to preserve 500 bodies. The other expert, Mrs. Magaly Heesch, translated, for example, *Absetzgrube*, which means "disposal pit," by using the phrase "pit for bodies." The following



sentence appears in a letter from Himmler to the statistician Richard Korherr in regard to the Jews: "Es wurden durchgeschleust durch die Lager im Generalgouvernement." ("They were passing through the camps of the General Government.") Instead of translating "durchgeschleust" by using the words "passing through" or "transiting through," she translated that word, thought to belong to a coded language, with the words "secretly proceeding" (in a homicidal sense, of course). The LICRA had circulated in bulk a confession by Gerstein, Filip Müller's book, and even Martin Gray's *For Those I Loved*. I would like to point out here, in passing, that the ghostwriter for that swindler, Martin Gray, is named Max Gallo. It was Max Gallo who completely made up the episode in Gray's book about the gas chamber at Treblinka. He is now Francois Mitterrand's official spokesman.

#### **b. The Secret Language of the SS: "Sonderaktion," "Final Solution"**

The LICRA never stopped referring to the secret character of the language of the SS: a language with a key; a key that the LICRA was in possession of. The LICRA did not trouble itself about contradictions: according to it, and depending on the needs of the moment, at one time the secret language of the SS was said to have fooled no one and was an open secret; at another time that language was said to be so secret as to challenge the most cunning persons, except for the LICRA; and at yet another time (nobody knows why) the language of the SS no longer bothered with any code or "double code," and, it seems, it became clear, transparent and cynical. The LICRA navigated as the situation demanded: according to it, at one time everyone knew, at another time no one could have known, and at yet another time everyone gave themselves the cue to pretend to know nothing but to indicate at the same time by a wink of the eye that they knew very well.

The LICRA depended very much on the word *Sonderaktion*. ("Special action" or "special operation"). For the LICRA, that word was an SS word of the "Top Secret" category. It is certainly true that the meaning of that word, as is the case with most words, is variable; nevertheless, the meaning varies not in the absolute but in a context. For example, *Sonderaktion* could designate any military or police operation outside of the military or police routine. It was applied then to a special operation of a determined time which could have resulted in, for example, arrests, whether or not followed by internment, execution, or simple questioning. It is false to say that the word or the action that *Sonderaktion* designated was necessarily secret. On 25 June 1942, 64 Jews were arrested by the Germans in the Orleans area (France). It was

called *Sonderaktion* says Serge Klarsfeld (French edition of his *Memorial to the Jews deported from France*, 1978, p. 62). Then those Jews were deported, but the Germans most of the time avoided the word "deportation," as well as the expression "shipment toward East." We have documents saying that deportation must be avoided because it called to mind "deportation to Siberia at the time of the tsars" (Doc. RF-1215) and "shipment toward East" had to be avoided because French workers were shipped to Germany (Doc. RF-1219). But sometimes in spite of those recommendations those words or expressions were still used in some documents. In his personal diary Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer did use the official expression "*Sonderaktion aus Holland*," meaning deportation from Holland (and not "special assignment" as I said in my article "Confessions of SS Men who were at Auschwitz," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1981, p. 103). Therefore it is true that *Sonderaktion* could be used as a euphemism but not as far as for "extermination" or "gassings"! The same thing for *Sonderbehandlung*; for example in the famous "Korherr reports" this word meant "*Aussiedlung*" which is in this case forced transplantation (Letter from Dr. Richard Korherr to *Der Spiegel* No. 31/1977, p. 12).

The LICRA also used against us the worn-out argument about the "final solution," a euphemism, it said, for extermination. I will not linger on that nonsense. The final solution of the Jewish problem does not imply the extermination of the Jews any more than the final solution of the problem of the Palestinians or of the problem of the unemployed implies the extermination of the Palestinians or of the unemployed. A final solution can be favorable, in spite of all the trials to be undergone in order eventually to reach it. In this regard I owe a precious piece of information to a Belgian friend, Pierre Moreau, whom some of us know for his revisionist scholarship. Emile Vandervelde, the President of the Belgian Workers Party, was very much in favor of the Zionist Socialists. In 1929, he published a book entitled *Le Pays d'Israel (Un marxiste en Palestine)*, Paris, Editions Rieder, 262pp). On page 184 of that book, he wrote that he believed with all the fervor of his Socialist convictions "in some favorable final solutions" for the Jews of Palestine. In the following year, in 1930, a translation of that book was published under the title of *Schaffendes Palaestina (Der Juedische Aufbau heute und morgen, von einem Sozialisten)*, Dresden, Carl Reisner Verlag, 240pp). On page 174 of that translation, the plural of "favorable final solutions" in German became a singular and thus we read: "eine günstige Endloesung" ("a favorable final solution"). Let us make it clear here that the final solution ("Endloesung") that the Belgian author was dreaming of was an understanding between the sons of Israel and the sons of Ishmael.



He added that the final solution ought not to be the act of "subjecting the Arab population to new forces of domination and exploitation."

### c. The Testimony of Johann Paul Kremer (He Retracted His Confession)

The LICRA reproached me for having "voluntarily distorted certain testimonies such as that of Johann Paul Kremer." I will not go back on that subject. I have already dealt with it in my above-mentioned article. I demonstrated that it was, to the contrary, Poliakov, Wellers, and Klarsfeld who had seriously distorted the original text of Johann Paul Kremer's private notebooks in order to make him say that Auschwitz was an extermination camp with gas chambers. I likewise showed the absurdity of the alleged confessions obtained from him by the Polish Stalinist military court.

I said that Professor Kremer, appearing before the tribunal in Münster (Westphalia) in 1960, had confirmed the confession that Communist examining magistrate Jan Sehn (of Jewish origin?) had obtained from him in 1947 and that at the Frankfurt Trial (1963-1965) he had been called as a prosecution witness against his compatriots. What I did not yet know in 1980 and what I learned later is the reason why the poor man, after ten years of prison in Poland (1947-1957) and after returning to his city of Münster, had gone before a German tribunal. I discovered the reason while reading, in its French version, the *Anthologie d'Auschwitz* (blue), Volume 1, Part 1, Warsaw, 1969, pp. 239 to 261. The reason is that after his return to Münster in 1957, Kremer began to protest against the treatment that he had undergone at the hands of the Polish courts and (using here the words used by the Polish Communists themselves in the *Anthologie*)

[by his protests and by his request to regain his chair as a professor, Kremer attracted the attention] of certain circles and of certain persons who made him appear once more before the Courts (p. 239).

Kremer, as a matter of fact, had complained that in Poland "only hatred was entitled to give its opinion" (p. 240). Better than that, we learn, thanks to that Communist publication, that after his return to Münster Kremer *retracted his confessions*. In the pious Communist jargon:

[Kremer] disputed the explanations that he had furnished during the investigation in Cracow and which had been read to him [at the Münster tribunal] (p. 242).

The most degrading fact for the judges of the Münster tribunal was the complacency with which they had heard the explanations

furnished by Jan Sehn, who had come from Cracow. You must read the Communist account of that session. It ought to be quoted in its entirety. In Cracow in 1947, Kremer had not had any choice. It had been necessary for him to confess. The most astonishing thing is what Jan Sehn himself ended up saying before the German judges. As far as he was concerned, from the start Kremer did not have the right to plead not guilty. Jan Sehn said, with a marvelous lack of awareness of what he was saying:

A declaration of innocence would have been incompatible with what the accused had written [in his private diary] (p. 246).

In other words, the Communist Jan Sehn had decided that Kremer's private diary was written in a sort of coded language to which he, Jan Sehn, possessed the key. Prisoner Kremer could only bow before the authority and the ukase of examining magistrate Jan Sehn. In my lecture in 1980 I said, in conclusion, regarding the drama of Johann Paul Kremer: "I think often of that old man. I think sometimes also of his tormentors" (p. 127). I think of him even more often now that I have the confirmation of the drama lived through by Professor Johann Paul Kremer. His Polish and German tormentors profited from him to the very end. Kremer was used like a puppet. He came to the Frankfurt Trial to make a forced appearance there. According to his own words, he had experienced "a dilemma that is not simple for human understanding." Listen to his final declaration at the Münster trial in 1960 and tell me whether that declaration is that of an abominable criminal who supposedly participated in horrible homicidal gassings or rather that of an unfortunate academic, a sort of inoffensive old fellow who found himself caught—like so many Germans in the past and even today—in a tragic situation where it is necessary to confess (or to make a pretense of confessing) vile crimes which, in reality, were never committed. Listen to Kremer and, through his voice, listen to the voice of so many Germans who have been humiliated, injured and executed:

If according to human criteria I have done something evil, I can only ask you to take into consideration my age and my tragic fate. I have no knowledge of any offense in the juridical and penal sense. I entrust to the Supreme Judge of everyone the task of resolving a dilemma that is not simple for human understanding (p. 258).

Professor Kremer, in the final account, was less skillful and prudent than his fellow professor, Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, in the Gerstein case. Pfannenstiel, the father of five children, was able to save a good career for himself thanks to his extremely vague confessions.



#### d. The Gas Chamber at Struthof-Natzweiler (Alsace)

The LICRA accused me of having "without serious justification brushed aside a certain number of proofs previously accepted at national and international trials." In order to prove that, it asked that there be put into evidence the file put together by the French military court for the trial of the guards of the Struthof-Natzweiler concentration camp in Alsace.

However, that file provided proof that there had been no homicidal gas chamber at Struthof, but only one small room which originally had been a refrigeration chamber that had later been transformed into a gas chamber for training young recruits in how to wear their gas masks. Professor Bickenbach had taken advantage of the existence of that gas chamber to make some tests there of the antidote to phosgene gas. As a matter of fact, the Germans had learned that the Allies, by the end of 1942, were stockpiling large quantities of phosgene gas in North Africa and they feared a bombing of German cities with it. The professor had tested an antidote (urotropine) first on himself and then on some detainees from the camp who, we are told, came forward voluntarily in exchange for rewards in the form of food or cigarettes. As a result there were two or three accidental deaths of persons after they had been hospitalized (and not four deaths as we erroneously wrote in our brief in court). In that room Josef Kramer is supposed to have gassed prisoners with mysterious salts which, when mixed with water, would kill in one minute. The nonsense of the two contradictory confessions of Josef Kramer about gassings at Struthof can itself be explained by the cruelties to which he had been subjected by his British guards in Germany. They had, for example, shut him up for an entire night in a refrigeration chamber (perhaps because he had specifically said that the alleged homicidal gas chamber at Struthof had first been a refrigeration chamber). Those cruelties were reported with a certain amount of delight by a member of the French Résistance who was present at the scene, Dr. J.L. Fréjafon, in his book entitled *Bergen-Belsen* (preface by Louis-Martin Chauffier, Librairie Valois, 1945, xv + 103 pages), page 22.

In the same file from the French military court there was an expert report by Dr. René Fabre, Dean of the Faculty of Pharmacology in Paris. That file has disappeared but, thanks to another document, we know that Dr. Fabre had been charged with determining whether the bodies found at the Anatomy Institute in Strasbourg and thought to have been the bodies of people "gassed" at Struthof bore any traces of poison. The conclusion of that expert report had been negative. There was no trace of hydrocyanic acid either in the bodies or in the scrapings from the al-

leged homicidal gas chamber, nor in the debris from it (jars W and X).

I recall that, in a more general way, they had to make hundreds of investigations of the German concentration camps. We can say with certainty that none of those investigations contained

- either a complete expert report proving that such or such a room called a gas chamber was in fact a homicidal gas chamber;
- or an autopsy report showing that such or such a body was the body of a person killed by a toxic product, gas or otherwise.

Today the alleged homicidal gas chamber at Struthof is no longer open to visitors. A small sign leads the tourist to believe that a visit can be made on request. That is false. The French are now ashamed of their national gas chamber, still classified as a "historical monument."

#### **e. The Miraculous Manuscripts Discovered at Auschwitz (the "Internationale" in the Gas Chamber)**

Another argument from the LICRA was, of course, made up of eyewitness accounts. The LICRA in particular invoked the famous accounts discovered at Auschwitz-Birkenau thanks to some miraculous excavations. Yes: miraculous excavations. Some people perhaps are familiar with the photo of the hole where the Poles say that they found the container that held the manuscript of one Salmen Lewenthal. Around the hole there is no trace of excavations! The excavators had stumbled exactly on the place where there was something to discover! Let us here salute a miracle of exterminationist psychic powers (see *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Special Issue (I), *Handschriften von Mitgliedern des Sonderkommandos*, Verlag Staatliches Auschwitz-Museum, 1972, 220pp, p. 135, first photo). The best known of those testimonies is called the "manuscript of the unknown author." The original text is in Yiddish with Hebrew characters. It was published in German by the Poles (pp. 118-128 of the above mentioned publication). The LICRA certainly took care not to use that edition. It furnished excerpts in Polish with a translation into French. The translator especially chose one passage where the action unfolds in "the" (!) gas chamber at Birkenau. We do not know where the witness was found to describe the following scene. The victims were packed into the gas chamber. Suddenly, a young Polish girl, naked like all those who were there, addressed the assembled victims as well as the Jews of the special commando charged with putting those victims to death. That inflamed and patriotic speech ended with these words:

Down with the barbarism of Hitler's Germany! Long live Poland!



Then, the young Polish women turned toward the Jews of the special commando. She did not abuse them; on the contrary, she urged them to survive in order to bear witness later to the courage of the victims and to avenge those crimes. Then an interesting scene took place. The Poles knelt down on the ground. The text says that they recited "a prayer with an attitude that made a great impression." The LICRA's text does not say upon whom that impression was made. The original Yiddish text said: "on everyone." Then, the Poles all stood up together in the gas chamber, where apparently there was no lack of space since they had been able to kneel down and stand up again. All together they sang in chorus the Polish national anthem and the Jews, at the same time, sang the *Hativkah*.<sup>\*</sup> (Here I would like to make a suggestion to the authorities at the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles or to those at the future Memorial to the Holocaust in Washington: could they reconstruct that scene, complete with sound accompaniment, to let everyone see the beauty and truth of it?) Here the LICRA cut into its text with an ellipsis placed between brackets. And, according to the LICRA, the text goes on as follows:

While they were singing, the Red Cross car arrived; the gas was thrown in to the chamber and they all gave up their souls amidst songs and ecstasy, dreaming of the brotherhood of a better world.

The narrator does not reveal to us how he was able to read the minds of the victims. As to the LICRA, if it cut the text, it was because it contained an embarrassing detail. Here is that detail as the Auschwitz Museum edition gives it to us (p. 121): the two anthems were sung at the same time; the "lyrical tones" of the two anthems had blended into one whole; then, the Poles and the Jews, all together, began to sing the "*Internationale*"! I think that this is what Soviet esthetics call "Socialist Realism." We owe the discovery and the deciphering of the "manuscript of an unknown author" to Professor Bernard Mark, Director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. In 1962, his co-religionist Michel Borwicz, who became a French citizen after the war, wrote in the *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale* that Professor Bernard Mark was more or less a forger of texts (January, 1962, p. 93). Bernard Mark's forgeries continue to be published and sold. In 1982, his widow published in France a book entitled *Des Voix dans la nuit* (Voices in the Night) (Editions Plon, 1982, 362pp). The famous "unknown author" then lost his anonymity and is now named Leib Langfus. That book is full of lies. The French press nevertheless greeted the production as a collection of eyewitness

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<sup>\*</sup>Compare with the Czechoslovakians described by Filip Müller: "[In the gas chamber] they sang first the Czechoslovak anthem and then the Hebrew song 'Hatikva'" (Eyewitness Auschwitz, Stein and Day, 1979, xiv + 180pp; p. 110).

accounts that are compellingly truthful (Gilles Lambert's article in *Le Figaro*, 13-14 November 1982, p. 25; Pierre Pachet's article in *La Quinzaine littéraire*, 16 December 1982, p. 25; Eric Roussel's article in *Le Monde*, 26 November 1982, p. 23). The preface is signed by Elie Wiesel.

**f. The Testimony of an Actual Survivor of the Sonderkommandos (At the Moment of the Gassings, Those People Shut Up In the Coke Bins Were Not Able to See Anything)**

The LICRA searched for a survivor of the famous Sonderkommandos. There was already Filip Müller who was living in Mannheim (West Germany), at 31 Hochuferstrasse. The LICRA had, by a unanimous vote, awarded to him the Bernard Lecache prize for his book *Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz* (French title). Inexplicably, Filip Müller did not make a deposition, either written or oral, for the LICRA. Just at the last moment, as the fateful date was drawing near for the deadline for submitting documents for the trial, the LICRA delivered a meager text of about two pages: the deposition, made before a notary public on 29 September 1980 by one Alter Szmul Fajnzylberg, a retiree living at 37 Avenue Jean Jaurès, in Paris.

For me, this was a case of meeting once more an old acquaintance. In 1972, in the special issue of the *Hefte von Auschwitz* that I mentioned above, the Poles had published (pp. 32-71) in German the deposition made by Fajnzylberg, a militant Communist, in a Polish court on 13 April 1945. At that time his name was Stanislas Jankowski. That former waiter, a Jew, an atheist, and a Communist, had been a member of the International Brigades in Spain. At the end of the Spanish Civil War, he was interned by the French in the camps at Gurs and Saint-Cyprien. He then worked for the Germans in the occupied zone of France. He was arrested by the French police and interned at Drancy and Compiègne. He was deported to Auschwitz, where he arrived on 27 March 1942. He left Auschwitz with the majority of the inmates, under the supervision of the Germans, on 18 January 1945. He then took flight. That, at least, is his story.

Jankowski, alias Fajnzylberg, therefore remained at Auschwitz for nearly three years. Up until October of 1942 he was employed as a carpenter, which had been his original profession. He also spent five weeks in the camp hospital. From November of 1942 until June of 1943, he was employed in the crematory building of Auschwitz-I, called Krema-I. From July of 1942 until January 17 of 1945, he was employed in the building at Birkenau called Krema-V. Therefore we have here a rare bird: one of those famous members of the *Sonderkommandos*.<sup>\*</sup> His experience was exten-

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<sup>\*</sup>As Mark Weber told me, the right translation in English should probably be



sive, since he had lasted more than two years in that terrible job. We know that, according to one legend, it was the Jews themselves who were obliged by the SS to welcome the victims, to make them disrobe, to make them enter the gas chamber, and to shut them up inside. Then the SS introduced the gas by a process about which the narrators of the gas chamber saga have never been able to agree. Finally, members of the *Sonderkommando* came to re-open the door or doors, and the rest is known. Another legend has it that the SS regularly—every three months, it seems—liquidated the members of the *Sonderkommando*. As a matter of fact, as Fajnzylberg tells us, each time that the Germans wanted to gas some people, they took care to *shut up the members of the Sonderkommando in the coke bin*, before the arrival of the future victims. In Krema-I of Auschwitz, the members of the *Sonderkommando* were shut up in the small coke bin and in Krema-V at Birkenau in the large coke bin of the large Krema. In other words, for more than two years our rare bird (the best witness that the LICRA was able to find anywhere) spent a large part of his time in a coke bin near a pile of coke. Then, he tells us, the SS, who had done this in order to conceal the crime, re-opened the door of the coke bin so that Fajnzylberg and his companions could take care of the bodies in the gas chamber.

The Germans were never idle. If we are to believe our man, the Germans in this way gassed two million persons in two years in the crematories and the "bunkers" at Birkenau. In July of 1944 they supposedly killed an average of 18,000 Hungarian Jews each day. I suppose that in order to burn about 18,000 bodies they would have needed, at the rate of 40 kilograms of coke per body, about 720,000 kilograms of coke per day, which ought not to have allowed much room in the coke bins for shutting up Fajnzylberg and his companions. In fact, how many could there have been to deal with 18,000 bodies a day?

In 1980, Jankowski-Fajnzylberg repeated that story about being shut up in the coke bins. But between 1945 and 1980, his memory must have improved. In fact, in 1980 he added a detail that we are surprised he did not give in 1945. One day, one time, in Krema-V, he was able to see, he stated,

the release of a gas by an SS-man who poured the contents of a round, black metal can, about 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter and about 25 centimeters high, into a kind of small chimney or tube which extended a few dozen centimeters out of the roof of the gas

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"Special Detail," i.e. "Garbage Collectors." Krema-II and -III in Birkenau had a *Müllverbrennungsofen* (furnace to burn garbage). The people of the *Sonderkommandos* were at the same time in charge of collecting and burning the garbage and the cadavers. Filip Müller was nothing more than a kind of garbage collector.

chamber. The SS-man was wearing a gas mask. He immediately closed up again the opening through which he had poured the contents of the can.

There is only one unfortunate thing about this witness: according to the legend, there was no gas chamber at Krema-V, but two small rooms and one corridor, which might make for three small gas chambers. As regards the gas, the version believed today is that for Krema-IV and V it was poured through some transom-windows located just below a roof which an SS-man reached each time from the outside by ladder.

## II. The Penal Suit Brought by Poliakov (the Gerstein and Baron von Otter Case)

On page 119 of my *Mémoire en defense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* I mentioned Léon Poliakov among those who had manipulated the original text of the notebooks of Professor Johann Paul Kremer. Recalling also the extraordinary manipulations and fabrications of texts to which the same Poliakov had devoted himself beginning with the confessions of Kurt Gerstein (of which Paul Rassinier had given us only a few examples), I wrote this sentence:

Conscious of the seriousness of my accusation, I state that I am in a position to prove that Léon Poliakov is a manipulator of texts and even a forger of texts.

As I wrote those words, I thought that I risked being prosecuted for libel. In fact, libel must be carefully distinguished from lying or calumny. To libel is to cast a slur upon someone's reputation. In France, one may libel someone by accusing him of a verifiable fact. I thought that Poliakov would not lodge a complaint. He was, of course, the first to know how he had fabricated and manipulated the Gerstein texts. However, Léon Poliakov *did* lodge a complaint. The result of the subsequent events leads me to think that he did it under heavy pressure from friends who guaranteed him that they would find a way of keeping him out of the case. French law provides the possibility for the person accused of libel to present an "offer of proof" in the ten days following the complaint.

In less than ten days, I presented an offer of proof: it was a simple table showing, on the one hand, the texts that Gerstein was thought to have written and, on the other hand, the incredible manipulations and fabrications that Léon Poliakov derived from those texts in the course of the years from 1951 to 1979. That was tangible proof; no reply was possible. French law provides that the accuser has five days to respond to the offer of proof. I must



state that, not surprisingly, Poliakov did not offer any response to my offer of proof within the time allowed. It was then that Poliakov and his friends perfected a stratagem which even today still evokes my admiration. They knew that before the 17th Correctional Chamber in Paris, especially before Judge Cabié, it is always good to plead that one is the victim of anti-Semitism. It seems that, up until these last few years, that chamber issued convictions for anti-Semitism the way one issues convictions for drunken driving. Poliakov was going to play that card with the help of his pal Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who came to the court to denounce me as an anti-Semite from the very beginning. Poliakov had fabricated, for his part, an almost unreadable photocopy of a Gerstein text to prove that it had been very difficult for him to decipher the text thus his conjectures and his possible errors, he said. But I have not yet come to the strategy itself. The lawyers asserted that the one whom I had wanted to attack was not Léon Poliakov but, through Poliakov, Gerstein himself! But Gerstein was a saint! Witnesses from the Netherlands, Switzerland or Sweden would testify to that fact. Poliakov's lawyers had decided to organize their entire defense around this point: Kurt Gerstein had really existed; he had been a spy for God; his testimony embarrasses Mr. Faurisson; Mr. Faurisson libels Gerstein through the person of a great and honorable man: Léon Poliakov, former Director of Studies at the CNRS, the National Center for Scientific Research.

So it was that during that strange trial our own disputes on the texts would take on the appearance of trifles in comparison to the parade of witnesses like Baron von Otter who came to say that they had known Gerstein during the war and that he had told them frightening stories about the German concentration camps. My lawyer made one serious mistake. He believed that he would be able to deal with that tactic with a shrug of the shoulders. To him, the judges could not be dupes of such a maneuver. Baron von Otter and the other witnesses were not specialists in Poliakov's texts and consequently my lawyer did not want to ask the simplest question of the witnesses, not even this one: "Do you have any idea of what is at issue here? Do you know for what precise reasons Mr. Faurisson is criticizing Mr. Poliakov? Do you realize that the person of Gerstein is not at issue and does not interest us here? Do you think that you have any competence regarding the various versions that Mr. Poliakov has given of the various confessions of Gerstein?" I insisted in vain; my lawyer did not wish to break his silence. It must be said in his defense that he knew very well the specific subject of the trial—the texts of Gerstein and Poliakov—but that he was almost completely ignorant about Gerstein, Pfannenstiel, the camp at Belzec and Baron von Otter. If I

had had the right to speak, here is how I would have proceeded to beat the opposing side at its own game. I would first have said to each of the witnesses that I believed in his sincerity. Yes, each of them could have met Gerstein during the war. Yes, Gerstein had told some terrible stories. But had those people taken those stories seriously? I don't think they did. If those people had taken seriously these absolutely sensational revelations, they would have reported them either, in the case of Baron von Otter, to his hierarchical superiors in Stockholm or, in the case of the other witnesses, to their resistance movements. But it seems clear today that no one is capable of showing a report of that kind, either, as I tend to think, because those reports were never written—or else because they were written but were not presentable at the trial since Gerstein was described in them as the author of unbelievable stories. Besides, we do not have any document or any writing by Kurt Gerstein about Belzec which was supposedly delivered to anyone in the neutral countries or in the resistance movements. However, Gerstein traveled a great deal during the war in Germany and in other countries, and nothing prevented him from dictating a report or mailing a letter, even anonymously. I have a hypothesis to suggest regarding von Otter and the others: during the war, no one could have believed the awful things recounted by Gerstein for one simple reason—those awful things were unbelievable. They were and they still are totally grotesque for anyone who reads them with a minimum of attention. But, after the war, von Otter and the others probably began to believe what Gerstein told them. I imagine that in the hysterical atmosphere that accompanied what is called the discovery of the alleged extermination camps, Baron von Otter was seized by a moment of retrospective fear. He recalled SS-man Gerstein and his raving stories. Von Otter must have said to himself that he had behaved unpardonably with regard to Gerstein. It was for that reason that he set out in quest of Kurt Gerstein after the war and, caught up in this game since 1945, set himself up, whether he liked it or not, as the defender of Saint Gerstein. Goran von Otter must suffer from what I call the Sean McBride complex. During the war, Sean McBride, the founder of Amnesty International, did not want to believe the tales of horror, but after the war he began to believe in them more strongly since he had at first been skeptical. In *Le Monde* on 13 February 1982, on page 2, under the title "Avertissement" ("Warning"), Sean McBride wrote the following:

In the midst of the Second World War, I maintained very friendly relations with the American Ambassador to Ireland, David Gray, a close friend of Roosevelt. One day I saw him looking perplexed. "I have received from the State Department," he told me, "some troubling documents which report a policy of extermination carried



out by the Nazis in camps specially fitted out for that purpose." I looked at the papers that he was in possession of and, what is obviously the most atrocious thing, I must admit, is that they did not appear very convincing to me. My attempts to obtain more detail, then to alert public opinion, ran up against indifference and skepticism. That has remained fundamental for me: the most monstrous genocide in the history of the human race could develop for five years in the most total ignorance.

Let me say in passing that Sean McBride's last sentence testifies to blindness: how can McBride believe that, if the most monstrous genocide in the history of the human race had developed for five years on a continental scale, it could have gone completely unnoticed? McBride ought to read the story about the elephant that Dr. Butz told us in his lecture last year (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, pp. 371-405, "Context and Perspective in the Holocaust Controversy," page 398). McBride imagines that he was lacking in clear-sightedness during the war and that his eyes were opened after the war, when it was just the opposite that took place: during the war he had been free and therefore clear-sighted in his judgment, while after the war his judgment could no longer resist the pressure of the most fantastic propaganda that humanity has ever known. This is somewhat the same way it was after the war when some Nazi generals or dignitaries struck their foreheads—and beat their breasts—and thought: "Now I see clearly, my eyes are open, my ears are unstopped. Now that it has been explained to me, I understand what Himmler said in Posen and what Hitler said in Berlin."

For my part, I do not doubt the sincerity of Hans Frank, Baldur von Schirach, SS General Karl Wolff, nor that of Baron von Otter or of Sean McBride. As regards Albert Speer, let me be a little more skeptical. One detail about him: a South African Jewish organization got his collaboration in having the brochure *Did Six Million Really Die?* banned in South Africa. In the book written in reply, entitled *Six Million Did Die; The Truth Shall Prevail* (by Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond, second edition, Johannesburg, 1978, xii + 138pp.), we find the facsimile of the original affidavit in German by Albert Speer (pp. 109-112) wherein he declares at the end:

Meine Hauptschuld sehe ich immer noch in der Billigung des Judenverfolgungen und der Morde an Millionen von ihnen." ("I still see my main guilt in my having approved of the persecution of the Jews and of the murder of millions of them.")

That is what Albert Speer wrote on 15 June 1977. But in a book that appeared two years later, (*Technik und Macht*, Munich, Bechtel Verlag, 1979, reprinted in a paperback edition by Ullstein

Verlag in 1981, 184pp.), he reproduced that affidavit (pp. 73-75) with a footnote after the word "Billigung" ("Approval") which says:

Billigung durch Wegsehen, nicht durch Kenntnis eines Befehls oder der Durchfuehrung. Das erstere ist so schwerwiegend wie das zweite." ("Approval by looking away, not by knowledge of an order or its carrying out. The first is as serious as the second.)

Speer spoke in his *Spandau Diary* about his tendency to self-accusation ("meine Selbstbezeichnungen," *Spandauer Tagebücher*, Ullstein Verlag, 1975, p. 432). One could say that that tendency is very widespread in what Heinrich Härte has called the Germany of "national-masochism" (*Klütter Blätter*, December 1982, p. 28, " 'Holocaust' und kein Ende").

In the Poliakov trial, the judges themselves were led to believe, in their own words, that "the testimony of Gerstein about the functioning of the Nazi camps is essential." That is a sentence which would be hard to understand for anyone who knows anything about the Gerstein case. Starting there, and faced with the parade of other witnesses, what weight could be given to our technical demonstration about Poliakov's manipulations and fabrications? However, we had on our side an excellent witness who is presently preparing a thesis on the various confessions of Gerstein and who was able to prove, texts in hand, that Poliakov was a forger and a manipulator. A waste of effort. I was convicted of libel; the judgment must be published, at my expense; it has not been, and I think that Poliakov will never ask for its publication. That judgment in fact contains some passages that would be embarrassing for a former Director of Research at the CNRS. We know that Poliakov, finding that according to Gerstein the gas chamber at Belzec had an area of 25 square meters for 700 to 800 people (which means 28 to 32 persons standing on each square meter), had calmly removed the reference to 25 square meters and replaced it with that of 93 square meters; in the verdict the judges said that it "is not explained how Mr. Poliakov can fix the area of the gas chamber at 93 square meters." The court went so far as to say: "There is an error there that could indeed be at fault." And it added: "Other errors could have been made" and, finally, it said that Mr. Poliakov could, on some points of detail, have infringed upon scholarly exactitude." But for the court all that was annoying without being serious and I did not have the right to treat Mr. Poliakov as I had done. In fact, what counted in the eyes of the court was that Mr. Poliakov

had been motivated by a passionate and legitimate desire to inform the public about a period and some particularly tragic facts of contemporary history.



The Poliakov case went on to be appealed to the highest level without any different result. For reasons of health I was not able to attend those hearings. The texts of the verdicts of the Court of Appeals and of the Supreme Court of Appeals are extremely short and prove that those judicial bodies did not at all take up again the examination of the case in the sense in which it ought to have been presented, that is in a purely technical sense and in the following form: "Here, on the one hand, is what we read in the texts of Gerstein, and there, on the other hand, is what Poliakov claims to have read; how are these differences explained? And how, on the other hand, can one explain that Poliakov himself for nearly thirty years had dared to present under such different forms texts that are supposed to be identical?"

I am awaiting with curiosity the reaction of Mr. Poliakov and his friends when the thesis about which I spoke earlier is defended and then published. The researcher in question has made some very interesting discoveries about the writings of Gerstein. I would advise amateurs not to write anything about Gerstein before the publication of that thesis, which will be very technical. The Gerstein case appears more and more like the tale of a fool. The story of the Gerstein confessions is hard enough to untangle without having to deal with dishonest reproductions of those confessions.

### **III. The Penal Suit Against My French Sixty Word Summary (The Historical Lie: Beneficiaries and Victims)**

As the civil case that I have just discussed was unfolding, some serious events occurred for Pierre Guillaume, for his friends and for me. For four years our opponents conducted a whole series of operations (physical and otherwise) against us which were so trying for our health and for our nerves that we were barely able to respond to them. The press especially overflowed with an unbelievable flood of hatred. It was hysteria by repetition. Noam Chomsky had stepped into the case, albeit in a very mild way. Jean Pierre-Bloch, president of the LICRA, on 16 December 1980, talked about the case over the air on Radio-Europe-1. He was welcomed by his friend Ivan Levaï, the host of a broadcast called "Explain Yourself . . ." From the very beginning, Jean Pierre-Bloch devoted himself to violent attacks against us. He declared that the case was costing the LICRA considerable sums of money. On the other hand, he claimed that I was being paid by Colonel Qaddafi and that my works were being translated into every language in the world: he claimed he had on his desk some Chinese translations of my works! He treated me, of course, as a forger. Ivan

Levaï, for his part, said that the help that Noam Chomsky had brought me was "a kiss for a leper"; "Noam Chomsky," he explained, "the grandson of a rabbi and himself Jewish, wanted to 'embrace his own death'." Thanks to the skillful maneuvering of my publisher, Pierre Guillaume, I was able to appear the next day on the same program on the same radio station. Ivan Levaï, extremely excited, constantly cut off my remarks. It was then that I made an important decision: since for once I had the right to speak for several minutes, I decided to use that time to utter a long sentence of sixty words that I had for a long time had in my mind and that summed up the substance of my thought on the whole question of the gas chambers and the genocide.

If I had formerly studied the question of the gas chambers so much, it was obviously not because of a morbid curiosity about the subject. The gas chamber—the magical gas chamber—is the keystone of an immense structure: the lie of the Holocaust. I became interested in that keystone because it was the best point at which to attack that immense structure. I think that I can say that now, in French scholarly circles, people hardly believe in the gas chambers anymore. To borrow a turn of phrase by Céline in 1950, at the end of his reading of Paul Rassinier's *Lie of Ulysses*, "It was all the gas chamber! It allowed EVERYTHING!" (*Le Bulletin Célienien*, a quarterly publication available through Post Box 70, 1000 Brussels 22, Issue No. 4, fourth quarter 1982, "Céline devant le mensonge du siècle" (continuation), by Robert Faurisson, pp. 5-6). Today, the keystone of the Holocaust is crumbling and, as a result, the immense structure is in danger. The gas chamber is the weapon used in the crime. The genocide is the crime. Both form one and the same historical lie. If there is a lie, it is necessary to say who are the beneficiaries and who are the victims. In our century, everything is rapidly becoming a question of money and of politics; it is therefore necessary to say whether that lie has opened the way to a political-financial swindle and what kind of swindle it is.

It doesn't take very long to realize that the case of the Holocaust is principally used by the State of Israel. It is the founding myth of that country and the number one weapon in its propaganda arsenal. I do not blame Israel for that; I am making a statement. I am not naive enough to forget that all countries are founded in part on crimes, blood, expropriation, injustice, force, myth and lies. Here I am pointing out the founding myth of the State of Israel; that does not mean to say that I am hostile to that country and to its citizens. To the contrary, I am establishing the evil that that big lie does to the German people and that it has allowed to be done to the Palestinian people, and I am very much obliged to state that Germany, shorn of a third of its territory, cut into two



parts, occupied by four armies, has leaders who are apparently obliged to practice *Realpolitik*: so it is that the voices of the leaders of West Germany echo the voice of their "liberators" from the West and the voices of the leaders of East Germany echo the voice of their "liberators" from the East. That is what I wanted to sum up in my sixty word sentence that, on the radio, I prefaced with the following warning:

Be careful! None of these words is inspired in me by any political sympathy or antipathy!

Here is the sentence that I have since so often heard read before courts, in extreme silence and attention:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which opened the way to a gigantic political-financial swindle, the principal beneficiaries of which are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims of which are the German people—but *not its leaders*—and the entire Palestinian people.

I knew in advance that that sentence would be the object of all sorts of misunderstandings, sincere or feigned. In any case, I know which part of it is the most sacrilegious and the most terrible to hear: it is the part in which I distinguish between the mass of the German people and its leaders. It seems that I have opened a Pandora's box. Many newspapers censored the four words "*but not its leaders*." Gitta Sereny did it by breaking into my sentence at that point and replacing the four words with an ellipsis. Having reached that place in my sentence, I suppose that, if she had been a Christian, she would have made the sign of the cross (see the above-mentioned article from the *New Statesman*, p. 17). In the above-mentioned article in *Searchlight*, the four words were completely suppressed (p. 12).

Economic motives were never at the origin of the big lie. That lie might not have resulted in any such financial swindle, but it happens that it did. Here I particularly single out the Zionist Nahum Goldmann and the Israeli David Ben Gurion. I challenge any decent man to retain his composure while reading the interview in which Nahum Goldmann told in the *Nouvel-Observateur* (no. 624, 25-29 October 1976, pp. 120 and following) about how he had succeeded in extorting from a paralyzed Adenauer the massive reparations in the so-called Luxembourg Agreement. This is a racket in the grand style; it is the height of poker bluffing, all on the basis of prefabricated sentimentality.\*

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\*On 18 August 1981, the same Nahum Goldmann declared in regard to the "compensations" paid to Israel:

Those are astronomical sums from the point of view of Jewish history and were very important for the development of Israel. The Israel of today

The secondary beneficiaries of that entire affair are all of the winners of the Second World War; as a matter of fact, if the homicidal gas chambers of the Germans had not existed, the "war crime" par excellence would have been the gigantic crematoria for the living in Dresden, or Hiroshima, or the Katyn massacre.

The secondary victims are the Vatican and the International Committee of the Red Cross, both accused by the exterminationists of not having seen and denounced the gas chambers and the genocide. As regards the secondary victims, it is proper to underscore the fact that young Jews are also, in a way, the victims of that gloomy and aberrational religion of the Holocaust.

After hearing about the sixty word sentence, the LICRA, the MRAP, and the Association of Former Deportees of Auschwitz filed a complaint for racial defamation (which is not very serious) and a complaint for incitement to racial hatred (which is serious). I was not able to attend the lower court trial before the same 17th Correctional Chamber (Judge: M. Cabié). It took place in a detestable atmosphere. Here I must give special thanks to Claude Karnoouh and Jacob Assous, both treated as renegades by their fellow Jews. Both went considerably further than Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit in their support for the revisionist thesis. Claude Karnoouh, a member of the CNRS, spoke before the tribunal about the "revolution" in historical research caused by the revisionist discoveries, and Jacob Assous declared, for his part, that he no longer believed either in the gas chambers or the genocide. Some painful scenes took place. The tribunal rendered a verdict which will remain in the annals of French jurisprudence. I was condemned for two reasons: racial defamation and incitement to racial hatred, and that was done two times on each count because the trial was a double one (on one side the LICRA and on the other the MRAP and the Auschwitz Association). They condemned me to three months suspended prison sentence (which was not serious), to pay a fine (which is common), to pay for inserting the verdict into the press (which is a ritual), but also—a fact unprecedented in France—to pay for time to read the verdict on radio and television during prime time. At that time (that is to say, when the dollar was worth around six francs) the cost would have come to the astronomical sum (for me) of 3,600,000 francs (\$600,000). To its credit, one French newspaper reacted very strongly to that avalanche of trials, convictions and fines: the leftist newspaper *Libération*. Most newspapers, no doubt embarrassed at having to report such news, hid the fact that the Court

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would have been impossible without the German reparations. ("Profil: Nahum Goldmann," an interview of Nahum Goldmann by J.F. Chauvel, telecast by the first French television network from 10:00 to 10:52 PM on 18 August 1981)



had established a new penalty: those costly readings of a verdict on radio and television.

During the appeal of the case, I was able to attend the trial and to explain myself. My two lawyers were Mr. Eric Delcroix and Mr. Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour. An unexpected thing happened: the Court of Appeals reaffirmed the suspended sentence of three months in prison but it eliminated the charge of incitement to racial hatred. Above all, it eliminated any question of publication of the verdict, even in the press (I think that it had noted that the newspapers, the radio and the television had already made enough fuss about my convictions). For the first time in those years of struggle, I believed that I had found a little breathing room. So, by that verdict in one case on 23 June 1982, I learned that I would not have to pay 3,600,000 francs. It was ten months later, on 26 April 1983, that I learned another piece of good news: the verdict in the civil case, which declared with regard to me: "This being the case, no one can convict him of lying (. . .)." There is no doubt that in the two cases, as in the Poliakov case, I was convicted, but by the time the entire complex of cases reached its end, through the process of appeal, the judgment of the courts as a whole, in the broad context of the issues, had softened and been watered down considerably.

#### IV. Some Events Surrounding the Three Trials

In the course of the years 1981, 1982 and 1983, my convictions continued to be mitigated to a considerable extent, to the point of causing confusion in the LICRA and among the exterminationists. The first chamber of the Court of Appeals had almost ended up saying: "The revisionists are right to deny the existence of the gas chambers and to refuse to believe testimonies to the contrary." Confining myself strictly to what the Court of Appeals decided on 26 April 1983, I think that I can say that that verdict, considered authoritative, allowed two things to be said:

1. It no longer seems permissible in France to treat us, as has been done on all sides for more than four years, as liars, forgers, falsifiers, or even to accuse us of bad faith, lack of seriousness, negligence and deliberate ignorance;
2. It seems permissible henceforth, basing oneself on revisionist works, to say that the Germans' homicidal gas chambers had no existence in reality and to be suspicious of all the testimonies given to the contrary for forty years; however, those opinions contrary to the official truth can be expressed on condition that one shows, even better than I have done, respect for the victims of the persecutions and the deportations, and on condition of taking care, even more care than I have exercised, not to appear insulting or offensive to anyone.

I do not know to what to attribute that favorable evolution on the part of the French courts. I would gladly believe that we are partly indebted for it to the political actions of Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir, and Ariel Sharon, as they have been perceived in France and the rest of the world. There are also the crises of collective delirium that the press and the public authorities have unleashed or have allowed to be unleashed in France in connection with the showing of the docudrama *Holocaust*, the attack on the synagogue on Rue Copernic, the attack on a Jewish restaurant on the Rue des Rosiers, the Maurice Papon case, the Barbie case or the case of the Hitler diaries. According to the phrase of Dominique Jamet, an editorial writer with the newspaper *Le Quotidien de Paris* (a publication which nevertheless tends to see anti-Semites nearly everywhere), the French may have ended up after all this with the impression that the Zionists were trying to "cash blank checks on the Holocaust."

But on the very subject of the gas chambers and the genocide there is in France an obvious doubt in peoples' minds about the official doctrine. That doubt has expressed itself in the following ways:

1. *Pierre Vidal-Naquet Publishes "Un Eichmann de papier"; I Publish My Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*

In 1980, Pierre Vidal-Naquet made the mistake of attacking me in an amateurish work entitled: "Un Eichmann de papier" (in the review *Esprit*, September 1980, pp. 8-52, with an addendum by Pitch Bloch, pp. 53-56; all of which was reprinted with some changes and additions in a book by Pierre Vidal-Naquet: *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, Petite Collection Maspero, 1981, 302pp, pp. 193-289). I answered that publication in my *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (second edition, expanded, La Vieille Taupe, 1982, 96pp). Putting aside all questions of polemics, it is interesting to note the extent to which Vidal-Naquet had to make concessions to historical revisionism: on the diary of Anne Frank, the authenticity of which he no longer accepts; on the confessions wrung out of the Nazis; on Pery Broad; on the Nuremberg trial; on the false testimonies and deceptions concerning the gas chambers, etc.

2. *Georges Wellers Publishes Les Chambres à gaz ont existé*

In 1981, Georges Wellers published a book entitled *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé/Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres*, Gallimard, 1981, 229pp. That book was very helpful to our cause, first by its very title, and then by its content. It was devoted to Auschwitz. The author did not dare to include a single photo of



the gas chamber that can be visited at Auschwitz-I, nor a photo of the ruins of gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau, nor a photo of the various reconstructions and models at the State Museum of Auschwitz. On the other hand, he did furnish photos of crematory plans. He did not dare to produce a single one of the numerous photos that we have of the crematory buildings themselves. He has mutilated some texts and has fabricated some translations. I always recommend his book to those who believe that the gas chambers existed. I did not answer this book.

### 3. *Even in Le Monde Juif Exterminationism Is Beating a Retreat*

Georges Wellers worsened his case in the following year. Faced with the progress made by the revisionists he seems to have panicked. He began to beat a retreat in a sudden and disconcerting way. In the review he edits he wrote the preface to a long, dull study, the thesis of which, surprisingly, was the following: after looking at the plans for Krema-IV and Krema-V at Auschwitz-Birkenau and after looking at the physical reconstructions that we are able to make on the basis of the ruins, it is indeed necessary to bow to the facts: those buildings were conceived and constructed as common crematories not containing homicidal gas chambers. However, since there are testimonies which say those buildings were used for gassing and then cremating thousands of people, it must be that the Germans afterward went on to make alterations; however, said the author, it must be admitted that all of that indicates hasty improvisation and tinkering on the part of the Germans (*Le Monde Juif*, No. 107, July-September 1982, "Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz, construction et fonctionnement," by Jean-Claude Pressac, pp. 91-131). It is in that study that it appeared that the only references to or the only physical traces of gas chambers found at Auschwitz relate to disinfection gas chambers.

### 4. 21 April 1982: *The Exterminationists Establish an Association for Research of the Proofs of Gassings*

Nothing better shows the evolution of the situation than the fact that I am going to report now. You will remember the famous declaration by 34 historians in *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979. Vidal-Naquet and Poliakov had organized it. In that declaration it was said that the genocide was a self-evident truth and that it was not necessary to ask oneself how such a mass murder was technically possible.

It is not necessary to ask how, *technically*, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible since it took place. Such is

the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our job simply to recall that truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate on the existence of the gas chambers.

It is about that memorable declaration, coming from 34 historians (of whom only one, Léon Poliakov, was a specialist in the period being considered) that Lucy S. Davidowicz thought that it "could well serve as a guide to American historians" (Keith Stimely, "A Note From the Editor, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, p. 6).

Vidal-Naquet has personally contradicted that statement three times by his own actions. First, by inviting the signers to set to work on the question of the gas chambers. Unintentionally and ingenuously he had to recognize that in the above mentioned book, *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, which came off the press in January of 1981. There we read, on page 196:

A good number of historians signed the declaration published in *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979, but very few set to work, one of the rare exceptions being F. Delpech.

Then he contradicted himself by publishing "Un Eichmann de papier." But, most of all, he reached the summit of contradiction on 21 April 1982. On that day a strange organization deposited its by-laws at the Prefecture of Police in Paris: the ASSAG (Association for the Study of Killings by Gas Under the National-Socialist Regime). That association assigned itself the task, in its own words, of:

searching for and verifying data offering proof of the use of poison gasses by the authorities of the National Socialist regime in Europe in order to kill persons of various nationalities; to contribute to the publication of those pieces of proof; to make all useful contacts for that purpose on national and international levels (in particular with the international work group inspired by Hermann Langbein).

Among the members of that association are Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, Bernard Jouanneau, Geneviève de Gaulle-Anthonioz, Germaine Tillion; the chief of cabinet of the Veterans Ministry, a member of the Ministry of Culture, a former member of the Ministry of the Interior, the director of Documentation Française and several other celebrities. The director of the association is Mrs. Postel-Vinay, who lives at 7 Place Pinel in Paris 75013. The ASSAG will be dissolved when it has finished its work. According to the latest news, it has become a sort of secret organization; it is trying to hide; if someone asks about its work, Mrs. Postel-Vinay answers that the ASSAG is "in a period of reflection."



5. *A Large Official Anti-Revisionist Exhibition; A Revisionist Leaflet Denounced the Hoaxes In It; the Continuation of the Exhibition is Cancelled*

At the same time the Veterans Ministry undertook an operation and announced with great fanfare its intention to respond to the "banalization of Nazism." That expression, which seems to have been coined by Simone Veil, seems first to have the following meaning: people today tend to make of Nazism a commonplace, banal phenomenon by minimizing its horrors which supposedly were without precedent in the history of mankind. But that expression is also used to avoid the word "negation" (negation of the Holocaust). Alain Finkielkraut published an attack on revisionism entitled: *L'Avenir d'une négation* (I am not able to talk about that book; I do not understand Mr. Finkielkraut's philosophical language). The vast and costly operation undertaken by the Veterans Ministry and, in particular, by one Miss Jacobs, was an exhibition on the deportation. Set up on the Place du Trocadéro in Paris, near the Eiffel Tower, it was scheduled later to tour all the large cities in France. It was with great interest that I visited that exhibition, which had very sophisticated techniques at its disposal. I discovered some beautiful hoaxes in it. With Pierre Guillaume I wrote a leaflet that described those hoaxes. Only a few leaflets could be distributed (secretly, because of the presence of the police). The result was not long in coming. When it closed, the exhibition was transferred to a city in the west of France (the Veterans Ministry did not have the time to cancel the plans that had been made), but after that the costly exhibition disappeared completely from the circuit. It has probably been put back into the furniture warehouses of the Veterans Ministry. Miss Jacobs officially answers that the exhibition is undergoing slight alterations; the date for the completion of those alterations is not foreseeable, she adds.

6. *An International Colloquium at the Sorbonne With an Anti-Revisionist Slant Ends With a Recognition of Failure*

The anti-revisionist offensive was to reach its high point with the international colloquium on "Nazi Germany and the Extermination of the Jews." The colloquium was held at the Sorbonne under the aegis of the Sorbonne, the School of Higher Research in the Social Sciences, and the Judaism Foundation, from 29 June to 2 July of 1982. Vidal-Naquet, Professor of the History of Antiquity in the School of Higher Research in the Social Sciences, was the animating force of the colloquium. It was presided over by Raymond Aron and Francois Furet, both of Jewish origin as were Vidal-Naquet himself and a good share of the participants. I asked

to participate in that colloquium or to attend on condition, if necessary, of my not saying anything. Francois Furet refused me even that silent presence since he had read some of our works, since he knew that I denied the existence of the crematoria (*sic*), and since I was considered an impostor by the scholarly community. I wasted my time reminding him that the best way of unmasking an impostor was to make him come to explain himself in public. Furet maintained his refusal. Raymond Aron, a very shrewd man, told me: "You understand, there are some truths which are established forever." The colloquium was held amidst astonishing police measures, and individual searches were conducted by young people from the Judaism Foundation. In spite of all this, Pierre Guillaume and I succeeded in making a brief raid into the hall, staying long enough to distribute some copies of my *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (a booklet that had just appeared), including one for the interested party himself, who believed that I had died. The security guards on this "vigil," like their masters, had lived for several days, we discovered, obsessed by the possible appearance by those whom they called the "Faurissonians." The colloquium, as we learned by various means, turned into a fiasco and split into factions. First there developed the picturesque split between the "intentionalists" and the "functionalists" on the final solution. That phenomenon of the transformation of historians into metaphysicians proved the decadence of the exterminationist thesis. Vidal-Naquet was insulted and treated as a "Faurissonian"—the supreme insult—since he had written "Un Eichmann de Papier." Raymond Aron and Francois Furet, who basically knew nothing about the history of the alleged genocide, progressively discovered that the exterminationist thesis rested in large part on speculations and calculations rather than on historically established facts. It was arranged that, in order to give more publicity to that colloquium, it would be followed by a press conference. Vidal-Naquet did not appear. Professors Furet and Aron were alone in holding that press conference, which we were able to have tape recorded with their agreement thanks to an Australian friend. It turned out that the two professors had just discovered that "in spite of the most learned research" no one has ever been able to find an order from Hitler to exterminate the Jews. Better yet, "no one has found any personal activity on the part of Hitler in carrying out the policy." Asked about the suits directed against Faurisson, the two professors answered that in their own personal opinion they found those suits absurd and Raymond Aron began the following sentence:

I find it absurd that some Jewish organizations are making some, some . . . [inaudible]



The context leads one to believe that the missing word was "suits" or some similar term. The two professors went so far as to say that it seemed to them that Vidal-Naquet himself had perhaps been hostile to those suits. But Vidal-Naquet had, in fact, from 1979 to 1982, played the role of a prosecutor or a political commissar in all my trials. Some "generous ministerial subsidies" had been paid out for holding that conference and for the publication, by Gallimard, of a heavy scholarly book (*Bulletin du Centre de Recherches et d'études historiques de la seconde guerre mondiale*, Bruxelles, No. 12, December 1982, an article by José Gotovich, pp. 8-9). But the book has not yet been published.

### 7. Two Declarations by Raul Hilberg Show His Confusion

Before that colloquium, the French journalist Guy Sitbon, Jewish by background, the permanent correspondent of the *Nouvel-Observateur* in the United States, had an interview with Raul Hilberg. I would like to have that interview published in English. Guy Sitbon works for the weekly publication which most strongly attacked me in 1979, but that experience had been the occasion for me to make contact with certain journalists from *Nouvel-Observateur* and, in particular, with its editor, Jean Daniel. I had an exchange of letters with Jean Daniel which I think aroused his indignation, upset him, and taught him a few things. In his interview with Hilberg, Sitbon did not spare Hilberg and, on the question of the gas chambers, one could say that Sitbon drove him into a corner. It is since reading that interview that the French have been able to realize that Hilberg does not have any argument in favor of the existence of the gas chambers. At least, he was obviously not in a position, in my opinion, to furnish a single one to Sitbon (*Le Nouvel-Observateur*, *Le Document de la semaine*, "Les Archives de l'horreur," an interview with Raul Hilberg, 3-9 July 1982, pp. 70-73, 75-76). In passing, Hilberg declared with regard to the revisionists:

I would say that, in a way, Faurisson and others, without having wanted to, have rendered us a service. They have raised some questions which have had the effect of involving historians in new research. They have obliged historians to gather further information, to re-examine documents and to go farther in understanding what took place (page 71).

Another declaration by Hilberg is interesting, but to a lesser degree since the journalist was not as familiar with his subject as was Guy Sitbon. Look at it all the same: *Newsday* (Long Island, New York), 23 February 1983, page II/3, "The Holocaust in Perspective," by George DeWan, where we read this regarding the genocide:

But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not organized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus there came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus—mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.

Of course, we would like it if Raul Hilberg would now rewrite his book on the destruction of the European Jews in light of the new vision that he thus gives us. The "step by step" would be interesting to examine, especially the "step" which saw some German bureaucrats decide on the construction of the gas chambers, which, being physical realities, had to be planned, built, and put into operation, with innovating technical studies, large scale and detailed plans, purely technical planning among engineers, architects, doctors who were specialists in toxicology, and military men—not to mention the deliveries of material in war time, the work or inspection missions, an enormous budget, an agreement with the German railroads, with the factories producing coke, with the company of Topf und Söhne, with DEGESCH, DEGUSSA and many other chemical enterprises, and all that, of course, with Draconian measures to assure the secrecy of the preparations (which is perhaps not at all impossible), the secrecy of its functioning (which is terribly difficult), and the disappearance, in case of military defeat followed by an opening of all the archives by the enemy, of the slightest trace of the most tremendous crime of all time (which is humanly impossible). Hilberg has his work cut out for him, even if it were only on the "step" of the gas chambers; he ought to suspend any other research in favor of that research.

#### 8. Signs of Progress for Historical Revisionism In France

Edgar Morin, a sociologist with a wide reputation, Jewish by background, wrote the following sentence in his book *Pour Sortir du XXe siècle* (Fernand Nathan, 1981, p. 192):

It is important, in my opinion, to re-verify the gas chamber in the Nazi camps.

The use of the singular for "the gas chamber" has some importance. Edgar Morin has done specialized studies on the phenomenon of rumors. If he is talking about "the gas chamber" it is because for him it is a case of the gas chamber as a (possible) figment of the imagination.

August von Kagenneck is a correspondent in Paris for *Die Welt*. In his appearances on French television, he is not soft on the Nazis. But in January of 1983 he published in *Le Quotidien de*



Paris 22 January 1983, p. 4, an article entitled "The Revisionist Danger" in which he wrote:

Some "revisionists" are making their appearance and are putting into doubt the criminal character of the Nazi regime [. . .]. According to them, there was no plan for exterminating the Jews; their drama (if drama there is, since the death camps are an invention of the Jews) was the result of the war imposed upon Germany. Such arguments are dangerous since they contain a bit of truth [. . .] It would therefore be wise to seriously examine certain of those arguments and to separate the wheat from the chaff.

On 27 April 1983, for the first time, I suppose, a publication in the Arabic language, well edited, published a very carefully done interview with me, accompanied by photos of a real American gas chamber, of a fumigation chamber in Auschwitz, and of the spurious gas chamber at Auschwitz I, under the title: "Professor Faurisson: 'The Nazi Gas Chambers and the Genocide of the Jews: historical lie.' " (the magazine *Kol Al Arab* [*All the Arabs*], No. 35 (27 April 1983), pp. 47-53; offices at 129 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92200 Neuilly Sur Seine, France).

On 15 June 1983, *Le Monde*, on page 10, reported that on the occasion of the Barbie affair, Monsignor Albert Decourtray, the Archbishop of Lyon, denounced

the powerful and disquieting contemporary trend toward "banalizing" Nazism, to which Christians cannot consent.

Revisionism was included in a recent history manual intended for students preparing for the baccalaureat. It is, of course, denounced as a danger. Here are the terms used:

*Impossible to forget.* —Nearly forty years after the liberation of the camps by the Allies, the "revisionists" continue to deny the genocide and seek to rehabilitate the Nazis, in spite of the numerous testimonies, documents and historical works which attest to the truth of it. It is therefore fitting to recall forcefully that *the Nazi leaders did indeed order, organize and carry out the Holocaust beginning in 1941.* From 1942 on, the entire world had available to it information on the extermination that was underway. The Germans knew: "You must not believe those who claim that they did not know," declared Dr. Frank at the Nuremberg Trial. The neutral countries, the Red Cross, the Churches, the Vatican, the Allies knew, but the "terrible secret" was suppressed up until the Liberation. (*Histoire*, for Final Classes, ABC Editions, 1983, p. 36).

Sometimes journalists seem to feel some embarrassment about using the expression "gas chambers." The journalist André Wurmser in the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* ("Grandes manoeuvres," 3 May 1983, p. 1), mentions "the crematoria and the torture chambers."

A significant phenomenon, on the part of what is called the extreme right, which makes up about 2% of the French electorate, is that it is emerging from the caution and fear in which it has remained. A quality weekly like *Rivarol* has ended up talking about the revisionists, even making some interesting revelations. In an article entitled "La vérité au compte-gouttes" ("The Truth Piece by Piece"), the eminent critic Robert Poulet wrote:

I know historians of the first rank, specialists in the period 1933–1945, who declare that for them "it is impossible at present to talk about the basis of their thought, since it would not be acceptable to the public, even the most cultivated." They have taken as their task to "progressively prepare" the public in a few years for an evolution whose outcome they do not know—beyond the lies and the prejudices which fill the newspapers and the libraries. (*Rivarol*, 25 February 1983, p. 11)

Jacques Benoist-Méchin, who recently died, wrote a monumental *Histoire de l'armée allemande*. In 1966 he published the sixth volume, which stopped on the date of 3 September 1939. *Rivarol*, just after the historian's death, published a text by the lawyer Charles Filippi. The latter revealed why Benoist-Méchin said that he had interrupted his work at that date. Here is the answer that he had given in writing to his friend Filippi:

It is because, for the first time in history, we have arrived at a point where one CAN NOT ANY LONGER write history without making oneself an accomplice of an enormous lie [. . .] Maurice Bardèche was imprisoned for having denounced the masquerade at Nuremberg. Thirty-five years later, it was Professor Faurisson who was not only the object of public loathing, but was even deprived of his teaching position [here Benoist-Méchin is in error] for not accepting the only authorized version of the camps and the gas chambers. Such is the explanation for my silence. (*Rivarol*, "Les Raisons d'un silence," 11 March 1983, p. 9).

Was Benoist-Méchin too pessimistic? A French historian, a very cautious person, has just published in *Le Figaro* (8 July 1983, p. 2) a skillful review of Serge Klarsfeld's recent book on *Vichy et les Juifs* (Fayard, 1983, 544pp). He has subtly unmasked in Klarsfeld a seeker after justice who tries to pass himself off as a historian and whose publisher does not recoil at photographic manipulation, "library subterfuge." That historian, who it happens has committed some serious errors of an exterminationist kind, is Henri Amouroux, the author of a series, as yet incomplete, entitled *La Grande histoire des Français sous l'occupation* (*The Great History of the French People under German Occupation*) (published by Robert Laffont). But Klarsfeld himself at time follows the revisionist example and begins tentatively to try to verify what he



publishes. In *Vichy et les Juifs*, he brings himself to admit that the photos that people claim show the Jews penned up in the Vélodrome d'hiver in 1942 (photos that have gone around the world and are in many books and museums) in reality show some collaborators of the Germans penned up in the Vélodrome d'hiver in 1944! It remains for Klarsfeld to stop cropping the photographs from Drancy to make them appear pitiful. It especially remains for him to eventually bring back to life all the Jews that he has presented as dead in his *Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de France*, without seriously verifying whether they did die.

Even the duo of Michael R. Marrus of the University of Toronto, and Robert O. Paxton of Columbia University, are moving in a revisionist direction. Their recent study on "The Nazis and the Jews in Occupied Western Europe, 1940-1944" (*Journal of Modern History*, the University of Chicago, No. 54 (December 1982), pp. 687-714) leaves the impression that the alleged desire to exterminate the Jews had been a relative failure. They recognized that in France, a country so long occupied by the Germans, only about a fifth of the Jews (French, foreign, stateless, undetermined) were deported, which implies that around four-fifths were not: a strange result for an alleged policy of systematic extermination. With that said, their study still is brimming over with fabrications of war propaganda. For example, when, on page 714 they write that on 24 October 1944

the death factory in Poland had only days left to function

that can only be an allusion to the order from Himmler to put an end to the extermination of the Jews by gas: a purely mythical order dated precisely on 22 November (or 25 November) 1944. A long time ago historians knew that that order could never have been given (see the notorious thesis by Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi, 1932-1945*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, p. 13).

A certain courage is beginning to show itself in France. The most spectacular fact in this regard is certainly not lacking in "picturesqueness." The magazine *Lui*, the French equivalent of *Playboy*, which, amidst light articles and nude photos, has the habit of printing interviews with political personalities on serious subjects, has just published a remarkable interview with Léon Degrelle, who, as those familiar with his words will surmise, found some suggestive ways to express his skepticism, if not his total disbelief, regarding the gas chambers (*Lui*, No. 233, June 1983, *passim* between pp. 73 and 178).

This courage is contagious. In a quite different field, Klaus Barbie's lawyer, Jacques Vergès, instead of playing the usual game of lawyers since the Liberation, which consists of not rocking the

boat and challenging the proceedings or their bases themselves, has just pointed out that his client is in prison by virtue of a law that does not exist in France. As a matter of fact, it seems that the French Parliament has never voted any law on the so-called crimes "against humanity"; therefore, there does not exist any scale of penalties and Barbie is in prison only by virtue of crimes that he is supposed to have committed "against humanity." It seems that one of the circles that has been most touched by the still modest influence in France of historical revisionism is that of the lawyers and judges in Paris and Lyon.

*9. Increasing Concern for Simone Veil After the 26 April 1983 Verdict; For Her, There are Neither Proofs, Nor Witnesses for the Gas Chambers, Since the Nazis Supposedly Made Everything Disappear*

Simone Veil displays an increasing anxiety about what she calls the "banalization of Nazism." Two weeks after the verdict of the Court of Appeals in Paris on 26 April 1983, *France-Soir Magazine* published (7 May 1983, p. 47) an interview with Simone Veil; the title of it was: "Simone Veil's Warning About the Hitler Diaries: 'We are Taking the Risk of Banalizing Genocide'." Here is how she connected my civil trial to the affair of the Hitler diaries. The connection of the ideas is not very clear but you still see her anxiety:

What strikes me today is the paradox of the situation: they are publishing a diary attributed to Hitler with a great deal of publicity and money but without taking very great precautions to assure themselves of its authenticity. At the same time, in the course of a trial directed against Faurisson for having denied the existence of the gas chambers, those who have brought the suit are required to bring forward formal proof of the reality of the gas chambers. But everyone knows that the Nazis destroyed those gas chambers and systematically did away with the witnesses.

I would like to make a few remarks about that reaction to the civil trial:

1. "Everyone knows" is not a serious argument;
2. It is paradoxical that Simone Veil, with her legal training, is astonished that an accuser is asked by the French law to try to furnish the proof for his accusation;
3. The lawyers for the other side, among whom was one of Veil's sons, had maintained for four years that there was a mass of proof and an abundance of testimonies about the existence of the gas chambers; we demonstrated the fallacious character of those alleged proofs and testimonies. Would Simone Veil implicitly admit that we were right? Is she becoming a revisionist?
4. The reason that Simone Veil had found for that absence of



proof and witnesses is illusory; it consists, as a matter of fact, in substituting one unproven accusation for another unproven accusation. So my question becomes: where are the proofs that the Germans destroyed those gas chambers and systematically did away with the witnesses?

5. I would be curious to know what Simone Weil thinks now about those places today presented as gas chambers "in their original condition" or even in ruins, and what credence she gives to the innumerable testimonies, written or verbal, beginning with Filip Müller's *Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz* (French title)?

6. Finally, and most of all, if there are neither proofs, nor testimonies, where do we find ourselves?

### **V. Conclusion: The Foreseeable Future. It Is Dark for the Exterminationists and Especially for Elie Wiesel. The Historical Debate May Now Proceed Into the Open Light of Day**

In so far as one can foresee the future of a phenomenon that is in the midst of transformation, I would say that the future of the revisionist phenomenon will depend in great part on the international political situation and, in particular, on the situation in the Near East. The State of Israel is now obliged to find a way of dealing with the accelerated crumbling of the myth on which it was founded. We do not yet know whether the parties of the Arab-Islamic world are going to take up the discoveries of historical revisionism. It is certain that in the western countries the uproar made about the Holocaust will continue to grow louder. Still more billions of dollars are going to be devoted to an attempt to drown out the revisionist voices. Burned by the failure of judicial repression in France, the Holocaust lobby is going to hesitate to use that weapon again in a direct way. We must rather expect an uninterrupted series of Hollywood epics of all kinds. I personally am awaiting with curiosity the construction of the Holocaust Memorial in Washington. How are those people going to try to make us believe in the gas chambers? For them France has been a testing ground and they have suffered some serious reversals on all fronts. To take only one example: if the authorities of the Memorial decide to present visitors with some kind of document or photo pretending to establish the existence of a single homicidal gas chamber, it will be easy to show the hoaxes by means of a single leaflet. They will be obliged to beat a retreat at this point as did those in Paris who, with a great deal of money and a hundred official supporters, were forced to give up their exhibition.

We in France have undergone a trial by fire and the revisionist theses have proved their solidity, but we must not hide the negative side of the ledger: the wear and tear on nerves, on health, the losses of money and the considerable loss in time for continuing our research. For two years at least the gas chambers, as Professor Butz has said, have been "overkilled." For two years, I have been forced to waste my time and I no longer feel any intellectual curiosity on that subject.

I want to turn to the following question: "How many Jews died during the last war at the hands of the Germans?" I would undertake that investigation on bases other than those that have up until now generally been used, in particular by Paul Rassinier and Walter N. Sanning.

Finally, we will try to find the means of publishing three books in France: Dr. Butz's *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, which disturbs Vidal-Naquet very much; Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth*; and finally, the thesis by our Gerstein specialist. The difficulties that we encounter are illustrated by the fact that Dr. Butz's book was supposed to have already been published five years ago, and Dr. Stäglich's book three years ago.

In France the year 1984 will not be boring: an important meeting will take place between Elie Wiesel and Francois Mitterrand, who together, and probably with Max Gallo, will probably organize a vast operation of exterminationist propaganda. Wiesel comes to talk nearly every Sunday to French television viewers. You would think that his thoughts never leave the revisionists. In 1982, he published in French the book *Paroles d'étranger* (Editions du Seuil, 1982, 192pp). On pages 23, 91-94, and 103, he uses the following terms to talk about the revisionists:

indecent pamphleteers with morally deranged minds; [authors of] pamphlets; pseudo-historians; those hateful and vicious persons; it is to take leave of one's senses; this entire affair arises from lunacy; vulgarity; disgusting ugliness; indecent accusers . . .

Wiesel has settled into a role that he will not give up very soon: that of the professional witness. Applied to him, the word witness is to be taken in a particular sense. The witnesses he claims to have met are also of a special kind. In the same book, he writes about Babi-Yar, the place where the Germans shot some Russians, Jews and non-Jews. For him, Babi-Yar is above all a high point of Jewish martyrdom. There the earth itself, he assures us, found a way to protest against the Jewish blood that had been shed. Thus he writes:

Later, I learned from a witness that [after a massive execution of Jews], for month after month, the ground never stopped trembling; and that, from time to time, geysers of blood spurted from it (p. 86).



Those words did not slip out of Wiesel in a moment of hallucination. They were first written out in longhand, then verified in printed galley and page proofs and finally published. That's the kind of person who is President of the Presidential Commission on the Holocaust chosen by Jimmy Carter.

Elie Wiesel, if I may be allowed to use a familiar expression, is suffering from a terrible thorn in his foot: the thorn of revisionism. He has tried by every means to rid himself of it. He has not succeeded. He seems less and less hopeful of ridding himself of it. In that respect, he is like the revisionists who do not see any more than Wiesel does how he will get rid of the thorn of revisionism.

In conclusion, the important and lasting point of the events of the last four years in France is not that of the legal vagaries of the cases, the points of law and procedure involved. Not the law, but history—what is to be written, how it is to be written, by whom, and based on what evidence—this was the point at stake, a fact realized quite as well by our opponents as by ourselves. They chose the ground on which this point was to be contested. From the very beginnings of the challenges to their position, they consistently refused to debate this point of history in the open forums usually associated with such a challenge. They refused one-on-one confrontations. They refused even merely to discuss privately and politely the issues with the challengers. They would not defend their position in front of the challengers who would force them to answer questions and take unashamed responsibility for their answers—or lack of answers.

So it was that the issue was brought before the courts.

The exterminationists brought it there, not we.

They sought this situation where the deck was certainly stacked against us.

We had no choice but to fight on those grounds, in the first place because we were literally compelled to do so by legal fiat; in the second place because they simply would not meet us on any other ground. The situation was forced upon us, and we naturally would have wished it otherwise.

But fight we had to, and fight we did. The result: on our opponent's own grounds and with weapons of their choosing, we won. It is a victory to the benefit not so much of the legal precedent, but of the historical record—and the record of how historical conclusions are debated and reached.

If the exterminationists could not win, could not dispose of the problem of the revisionists in a situation in which all the odds were in their favor, how then will they fare in the debate that now proceeds into the open light of day?

## APPENDICES

### I. My Lawyers' Tactics

In the civil suit, which was brought against me for "damages to another" as the result of an alleged "falsification of history," I was defended by two lawyers of differing opinions: Eric Delcroix, a rightist, and Yvon Chotard, a leftist and friend of Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit. I owe them a great deal. Both of them had to face serious problems in their personal and professional lives after they dared to take up my defense.

In the lower court case, I left it to them to decide how best to defend me. They could use my book *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire* as well as a certain number of technical and scientific studies that I had written in response to the arguments of our adversaries. Eric Delcroix's tactics consisted of using all of that documentation, with which he had become completely familiar, in order to defend the following idea: a court is not competent to rule on a historical question. Yvon Chotard did not want to get into the technical debate but just to develop the following argument: even if Professor Faurisson is wrong, the court must protect his right to free expression.

When the cases came up for appeal, I asked my two lawyers to adopt a more aggressive stance and to take as their approach the following sentence: "Professor Faurisson says that gas chambers and genocide did not exist for the good and simple reason that gas chambers and genocide did not exist."

Eric Delcroix was in agreement, but Yvon Chotard refused. I think that Yvon Chotard was not sure of my honesty and that as a result of hearing my adversaries treat me as a falsifier he asked himself whether I actually was one. Yvon Chotard went so far as to send me a study, which he himself had written, of the diary of Professor Johann-Paul Kremer, the man who for several weeks had served as a doctor at Auschwitz. In that study, Yvon Chotard concluded that Kremer had witnessed gassings! I sent his study back to him after I had corrected it like the homework of a student. After long discussions and, in part, thanks to the arguments found by Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit in favor of my interpretation, Yvon Chotard was converted. The result of this turn-about was very important. As a matter of fact, Yvon Chotard went on to develop the revisionist thesis with so much conviction before the Court of Appeals that a lawyer for the opposing party, Mr. Rappaport, could not avoid showing his surprise as he began his plea with the following words:

You have changed a great deal, Mr. Chotard, since the last time; you have really changed a lot!



The judges on the court thus understood that in the first case, Yvon Chotard had shown his skepticism with regard to the revisionist thesis but that with time he had become convinced of the correctness of that thesis.

I likewise owe a great deal of thanks to my third lawyer, Francois Berthout, who was himself totally convinced of the correctness of the revisionist thesis and knew how to plead the case, sometimes with humor.

## **II. The Voluntary Intervention of Pierre Guillaume and of His Friends ("La Vieille Taupe") and the Support That I Found Outside France**

In France I had to confront such a powerful coalition of diverse interests that without Pierre Guillaume and his friends I would have been overwhelmed. Among his friends I owe a special debt of gratitude to Serge Thion and his wife, to Jacob Assous, Denis Authier, Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Maurice Di Scuillo, Jean-Luc Redlinski, Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, Claude Karnoouh, Jean-Louis Tristani, Jose Benhamou, Marc R.; to my former students Cécile D., Dominique M., Jean-Pierre C., and to many other French citizens whose names I cannot mention here. Overseas, I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my Dutch, Belgian, German and Austrian friends. In Australia, I have benefitted from two valuable sources of support, John Bennett and William S. In the United States, I owe a great deal to Dr. Arthur Butz and Mark Weber, not to mention, of course, other members of the Institute for Historical Review. It was Mark Weber who took the initiative of drawing up the following petition which, during a short period of time in 1979, collected 600 signatures:

DR. ROBERT FAURISSON HAS SERVED AS A RESPECTED PROFESSOR OF TWENTIETH CENTURY FRENCH LITERATURE AND DOCUMENT CRITICISM FOR OVER FOUR YEARS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LYON-2 IN FRANCE. SINCE 1974 HE HAS BEEN CONDUCTING EXTENSIVE INDEPENDENT RESEARCH INTO THE "HOLOCAUST" QUESTION.

SINCE HE BEGAN MAKING HIS FINDINGS PUBLIC, PROFESSOR FAURISSON HAS BEEN SUBJECT TO A VICIOUS CAMPAIGN OF HARASSMENT, INTIMIDATION, SLANDER AND PHYSICAL VIOLENCE IN A CRUDE ATTEMPT TO SILENCE HIM. FEARFUL OFFICIALS HAVE EVEN TRIED TO STOP HIM FROM FURTHER RESEARCH BY DENYING HIM ACCESS TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES.

WE STRONGLY PROTEST THESE EFFORTS TO DEPRIVE PROFESSOR FAURISSON OF HIS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION, AND WE CONDEMN THE SHAMEFUL CAMPAIGN TO SILENCE HIM.

WE STRONGLY SUPPORT PROFESSOR FAURISSON'S JUST RIGHT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND WE DEMAND THAT UNIVERSITY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENSURE HIS SAFETY AND THE FREE EXERCISE OF HIS LEGAL RIGHTS.

Dr. Noam Chomsky signed that petition and has unfailingly defended me although he is not in agreement with the revisionist thesis.

### **III. Key Excerpt\* from the 26 April 1983 Verdict of the Paris Court of Appeals: French Citizens Have Now the Right to Deny the Existence of the Alleged Gas Chambers**

"... Mr. Faurisson's research has dealt with the existence of the gas chambers which, if one were to believe the many testimonies, were supposedly used during the Second World War to systematically put to death some of the persons deported by the German authorities;

Limiting ourselves for the time being to the historical problem that Faurisson wanted to raise on this precise point, it is proper to state that the accusations of frivolity made against him are lacking in pertinence and are not sufficiently proven; in fact, Faurisson's logical approach consists in trying to demonstrate, by using a line of argument [that he thinks is]\*\* of a scholarly nature, that the existence of the gas chambers, as they have usually been described since 1945, runs into an absolute impossibility, which would be sufficient by itself to invalidate all of the existing testimonies or, at least, to make them suspect;

... it is not the job of the court to make pronouncements about the legitimacy of such a method or about the full significance of the arguments set forth by Faurisson, nor is it any more permissible for the court, considering the research to which he has devoted himself, to state that Faurisson has dismissed the testimonies frivolously or negligently, or that he has deliberately chosen to ignore them;

... furthermore, this being the case, no one can convict him of lying when he enumerates the many documents that he claims to have studied and the organizations at which he supposedly did research for more than fourteen years;

... the value of the conclusions defended by Faurisson rests therefore solely with the appraisal of experts, historians, and the public; ..."

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\*The entire text of the verdict may be found in J. Aitken, *Epilogue judiciaire de l'affaire Faurisson* (Judicial Epilogue to the Faurisson Affair), Paris, La Vieille Taupe Publishers, 1983, pages 12-13.

\*\*The words in brackets were a handwritten addition to the original printed text.



# IS THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK GENUINE?

Two examples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank. The texts are dated four months apart.

*Ik wil hoop ik ben nog alle kinderen  
beschutten, zoals ik het nog kan  
mijnand geef ik heb, in ik hoop dat  
ik kan grote dingen doen en welk zijn.*  
*Amsterdam, 18 June 1942.*

Robert  
Faurisson

so-called "death camp" at Auschwitz-Birkenau from which she was transferred in 1944 to Bergen Belsen. Anne's father also survived Auschwitz, where he had been hospitalized.

This booklet is a reprint of the article which appeared with the same title in the Summer 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. Dr. Faurisson opens his treatise with a critical internal analysis of the text of the *Diary*, followed by the details of an on-site forensic examination of the actual premises where Anne is supposed to have been in hiding (now a museum in Amsterdam). He then proceeds to a number of material discrepancies revealed during his interviews with the principal witness, Anne's father, Otto Frank, concluding the work with a bibliographic analysis and comparisons between two major texts of the *Diary*.

In reading this booklet you will not only discover the truth about the origins and evolution of this *Diary* attributed to a young girl, you'll also gain a healthy understanding of the incredible lengths to which people have gone to propagate and profit from this simple literary fraud—quite instructive as one delves deeper into the "Holocaust" literature.

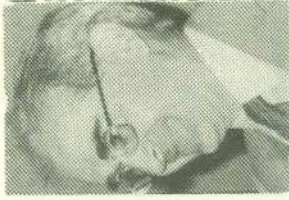
***Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* • Pb, 64pp, illus., \$5.00**

Available from the Institute for Historical Review

P.O. Box 1306 • Torrance, CA 90505

English language editions. The 1963 U.S. edition of *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl* came with an introduction by Eleanor Roosevelt. According to the publisher, Cardinal, more than 2,500,000 copies of the book had been sold by that year in American editions alone, and it had already been made into one of the most highly honored plays in Broadway history, capturing the Pulitzer Prize, the New York Drama Critics Circle Award and the Antoinette Perry Award. George Stevens had made it into a major motion picture starring Millie Perkins as Anne Frank.

ANNE FRANK is believed to have died at the Bergen Belsen concentration camp in March of 1945 from typhus, a common epidemic disease in many of the camps during the final phase of the war when the transport of food, clothing and medical supplies was virtually cut off by Allied bombardment. What is curious is that Anne evidently survived the



Prof. Faurisson

## **'Crystal Night' 1938: The Great Anti-German Spectacle**

INGRID WECKERT

*(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)*

“Crystal Night” is the name that’s been given to the night of 9-10 November 1938. In almost all large German cities and some smaller ones that night, store windows of Jewish shops were broken, Jewish houses and apartments were destroyed, and synagogues were demolished and set on fire. Many Jews were arrested, some were beaten, and some were even killed. The “Reich Crystal Night” (*Reichskristallnacht*) was one of the most shameful events of National Socialist Germany. Although the Jews suffered initially, the greatest harm was ultimately done to Germany and the German people.

Even people who are sympathetic to National Socialism cannot understand how this event could have happened. Julius Streicher, the so-called “number one Jew baiter,”<sup>1</sup> for example, was shocked when he first learned about the demonstrations and destruction the next morning.

The all-important question is: Who was responsible for the incident? It is generally accepted, especially by contemporary historians, that the Nazi gang organized and carried out the pogrom, and that the chief instigator was Propaganda Minister Dr. Joseph Goebbels. The truth of the matter is that Adolf Hitler was so disgusted by the incident that he forbade anyone from discussing the matter in his presence. Dr. Goebbels complained that he would now have to explain this terrible affair to the Ger-



man people and the world, and that he simply did not know what kind of credible explanation to give. If he had actually been responsible for the Crystal Night, he surely would have had a well-prepared explanation. The explanation he gave on the morning of the 10th was extremely unconvincing and was generally not believed by the German public. During my study of this subject, which resulted in my book on the Crystal Night, *Feuerzeichen*, I found many facts which do not agree with the generally accepted thesis. On the contrary, the evidence which I have found gives a completely different picture.

### The Story We Are Given

The generally accepted sequence of events, according to most writers on the subject, is this:

In early October 1938 the Polish government announced that all Polish passports would become invalid at the end of the month unless they received a special stamp before then, obtainable only in Poland. This measure was meant to rid Poland effectively for all time of all Polish Jews living in foreign countries, most of whom were in Germany. Many of the approximately 70,000 Polish Jews living in the Reich at the time had arrived after the First World War. Of course, the German government now feared that it would have to permanently accept these 70,000 Jews. The German government tried to negotiate this issue with the Poles, but they flatly refused.

On 28 October, just two days before the deadline, German police rounded up between 15,000 and 17,000 Polish Jews, mostly adult males, from across the Reich and transported them to the German-Polish border. The deportees traveled in regular German passenger trains with more than adequate space. Contrary to some claims, they were not crammed into cattle cars. The deportees were well provided with food and medical care. Red Cross personnel and medical doctors accompanied them on the trains.<sup>2</sup>

The Polish border officials were surprised when the first trainloads arrived at the border, and they let the Jews enter Poland. At about the same time, the Polish government was deporting German Jews back to Germany. The next day, 29 October, the Polish and German governments suddenly agreed to stop the deportations of their respective Jewish populations to each other's countries. The deportations were completely halted that night.

Among the Polish Jews deported was the family of Herschel Feibel Grynszpan (Gruenspan), a 17-year-old then living Paris. What followed next is generally reported either incorrectly or very one-sidedly. On 7 November Grynszpan went to the German Em-

bassy in Paris and shot Embassy Secretary Ernst vom Rath. It is said that Grynszpan did this because he was furious over the deportation of his family. The truth about his motivation is very different. It is also claimed that the German population, upset by the news of vom Rath's death on the 9th, organized anti-Jewish demonstrations, destroyed Jewish stores, and demolished or set on fire all the synagogues in Germany. Demonstrations and destruction did take place, but the truth is that they were not organized by the German people and did not affect most of the synagogues in the Reich. Finally, it is claimed that the Crystal Night was the beginning of the extermination of the Jews in Germany. This is entirely false.

### **German-Jewish Relations Prior to the Crystal Night**

Before explaining how the events surrounding the Crystal Night differ from what is generally believed, I must first give some background information about the peaceful years in Germany after Hitler came to power in 1933. Anyone who is aware of the true situation in Germany during the Third Reich era recognizes that the Crystal Night episode was quite extraordinary. It was a radical aberration from the normal pattern of daily life. The outburst was not in keeping with either the official National Socialist Jewish policy nor with the general German attitude towards the Jews. The Germans were no more anti-Semitic than any other people. In fact, Jews who had to leave other European countries preferred Germany as a place to live and work.

Within the National Socialist Party itself there were two distinct anti-Semitic factions. One was scholarly and one was vulgar. The scholarly faction was centered around the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question. It published several journals and gave lectures to civic and political groups. Its activities were consistent with the policy of peacefully removing the Jews from Germany and resettling them elsewhere. The SS was totally committed to this policy and rejected vulgar anti-Semitism. The vulgar anti-Semitic faction tried to influence popular feeling. The chief exponent of this approach was Julius Streicher, who published the unofficial monthly *Der Stuermer*. It used crude caricatures to portray Jews in the most horrible way in an effort to convince readers that the Jews were as evil as Satan. For years the motto "The Jews Are Our Misfortune" appeared on the front page of every issue. The *Stuermer* often employed improper and undignified means to make its point.

German National Socialism basically regarded the Jews as non-German aliens who had proven themselves destructive to any nation that permitted them to dominate. Therefore, the only way to



prevent further problems was to separate the Jews from the Germans. In other words, they had to emigrate. On this point the National Socialists and the Zionists were in full agreement. Although the Jews made up less than one percent of the total German population in 1933, they had power and influence in finance, business, cultural affairs and scientific life far out of proportion to their small numbers. Jewish influence was very widely regarded as harmful to German recovery after the First World War.

No legal measures were taken against the Jews in Germany until after the international Jewish "Declaration of War" against Germany, as announced, for example, on the front page of the *London Daily Express* of 24 March 1933. This "declaration" took the form of a worldwide boycott of German goods. A week later there was an officially sanctioned boycott of Jewish shops and stores throughout Germany. This action was in direct response to the international Jewish boycott of German goods already in effect. However, the German response was a rather absurd affair and it was therefore limited to a single day, the first of April 1933. Hitler and Goebbels privately recognized that the German counter-boycott was a failure and would only turn people against the new government. Furthermore, this one-day action came on a Saturday, the Jewish sabbath. Religious Jews took malicious pleasure at the discomfort of the Jews who normally kept their stores open on Saturdays and were now, in effect, forced by the government to obey the Jewish law against work on the sabbath. The National Socialist regime thereafter sought to diminish Jewish influence and power by strictly legal means. The first German law which could be considered anti-Jewish was dated 7 April 1933. Although the legal status of the Jews was restricted, each and every Jew knew what his legal rights were and to what he was still entitled. There were no secret or extra-legal measures against the Jews.

Ironically, it was precisely the official discrimination policy against the Jews which reduced the effectiveness of anti-Semitic propaganda to almost nothing. The Germans are a generally fair-minded people. When Germans saw their Jewish neighbors being treated unjustly, they considered that far worse than the dangers which the Jews supposedly represented simply because they were Jewish. Furthermore, the examples of Jewish criminality and perversion described in the *Stuermer* were widely regarded as exceptions to normal Jewish behavior. The average German was convinced that the Jews whom he knew personally were completely unlike the criminal types sometimes described in newspapers. In my home town of Berlin most of the doctors and lawyers were still Jewish. And even the public health officer for children in the district of Berlin where my family lived was a Jew who kept this job throughout the war. I still remember one day when my mother

returned from her Jewish doctor. She told us that she hadn't been able to see him because he was no longer there. He had been taken away—hailed off the previous night. My mother was very upset. A crowd of people had gathered outside his house. They were all shocked, and they discussed the injustice of this measure quite openly. My parents later talked about what had happened, and they both agreed that the doctor had never really done anything wrong. Their reaction was typical. A few days later our family pediatrician, who was also Jewish, was likewise taken away.

At the time I did not know what it meant to be taken away. It was only many years after the war, when I started reading the Holocaust literature, that I learned that I was supposed to believe that to be taken away meant deportation to a concentration camp and probable death. But like so many thousands of others, these two doctor families were not exterminated. One summer day in 1973, as I was walking through the streets of the German quarter in Tel Aviv, I came upon the name plates of both doctors on the doors of two houses. I immediately tried to visit them and found out that both families had migrated to Palestine in 1939. Although one of them had died in the meantime in Israel, I was able to speak to the other. He remembered my father very well and explained that when he and his family were arrested, they were taken to a camp and given the choice of either signing a document declaring their intention of emigrating from Germany or being taken to a labor camp. He and his family chose to emigrate. In fact, most German Jews survived the anti-Semitic measures quite well. That does not mean that those measures were not unfair to individual Jews, but they could usually manage to live with them.

### **The Haavara Agreement**

As already mentioned, the main goal of Germany's Jewish policy was to encourage the Jews to emigrate. After the beginning of the international Jewish boycott against German goods in March 1933, the Jewish community in Palestine contacted the German government and offered a break in the boycott as far as Palestine was concerned provided it was combined with Jewish emigration from Germany. As a result, the "Haavara" or "Transfer" agreement was signed by the Germans and Jews in May 1933.<sup>3</sup> The Jewish community thus concluded an extremely beneficial agreement with the National Socialist government only a few months after its formation. This agreement was a crucial phase in the creation of the State of Israel. When I made this claim in my book *Feuerzeichen*, which appeared in 1981, some readers considered it outrageous.<sup>4</sup> But then this same claim was made in *The Transfer Agreement*, a book by Edwin Black published in



1984. The final paragraph of his book concludes with the statement that the continuing economic relationship between the Jewish community of Palestine and National Socialist Germany was "an indispensable factor in the creation of the State of Israel."<sup>5</sup>

The Haavara agreement made it possible for any Jew to emigrate from Germany with practically all of his possessions and personal fortune provided that Jews could deposit all of their assets in one of two Jewish-owned banks in Germany which had branch offices in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Upon arrival in Palestine they could withdraw their assets according to the terms of the agreement. The German capital of these two Jewish banking firms was guaranteed by the German government. Even after the war these assets were fully available to the Jewish owners or their representatives.<sup>6</sup> If a Jew did not wish to emigrate immediately he could transfer all of his personal assets to Palestine where they would be safeguarded by a trustee while he remained in Germany for an indefinite period with emigration as his eventual goal. In the meantime his personal fortune was safe outside of Germany.

Even poorer Jews who did not possess 1,000 English pounds were able to emigrate to Palestine with credits provided through the Haavara. The British authorities generally required minimum assets of 1,000 pounds for each immigrant to Palestine if he was not entitled to a so-called worker's certificate. Only a limited number of these certificates were available and they were issued only to persons with special job skills. In addition, Jews emigrating to Palestine were exempt from the so-called "Reich flight tax," which all emigrating Germans normally had to pay. However, the Jewish companies which arranged the transfers charged the emigrants a fixed percentage of their total assets. The Haavara agreement remained in operation until the end of 1941 when the United States entered the war.

### **National Socialist Ethical Standards**

I am always amazed whenever I read books about the Third Reich published after the war. Most give an almost totally false impression of the reality of the Third Reich. The Germany of Adolf Hitler was not the Germany described by such books. It was quite different. I was brought up during the Third Reich. Along with my entire generation, I received an education of the highest ethical standards. We were brought up to love and respect our country and people. We were taught to be proud of its great history. The heroes of Germany's past represented our great ideals. They spurred us to honesty and responsibility in our own lives. In my opinion, the youth of Adolf Hitler's Germany was the finest of all Europe and perhaps of the entire world.

The same ethical standards applied to the SS and SA. The SA stormtroopers were not sophisticated men. They usually preferred to use their fists before using their heads, but they acted according to the ideals which they had been taught: honor, faithfulness, honesty and devotion to their people and country. They were not at all the sadistic beasts portrayed by so-called historians. It was their faithfulness and gallantry which saved Germany from chaos and Communism. It is sheer stupidity to describe the SA men as blood-thirsty killers, as is widely done today. Although some individual SA men may have committed acts of brutality, it is nonsense to blame the entire organization or the whole German people and its government for such behavior. Individual SA men were indeed involved in the Crystal Night incident. But far fewer actually participated than has been claimed. Of the 28 SA Groups which existed in Germany at the time, the available evidence identifies only three as having actually received orders to join the anti-Jewish demonstrations.

### **What Really Happened During the Crystal Night**

Now let us look at what really happened during that fateful night.

After 1945 any harm ever done to any Jew in National Socialist Germany has been described in great detail in many publications and combined with other stories to give exaggerated figures which have then become the so-called "historical truth." How strange it is then that despite the passage of more than forty years, no one has established the true extent of the damage done to the Jews during the Crystal Night. All one can learn from history writers is that "all" synagogues were demolished and that "all" shop windows were destroyed. Aside from this vague description, one is given almost no details.

On the basis of the so-called "historical truth" about the Crystal Night, the President of the World Jewish Congress, Nahum Goldmann, had the chutzpah in 1952 to claim 500 million dollars from German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer as reparation payment for the damage done during that November night. When Adenauer asked Goldmann for his justification for this enormous request, Goldmann replied: "You find the justification yourself! What I want is not the justification but the money."<sup>7</sup> And he got his money! Goldmann may have interpreted the willingness of the German Chancellor to pay a half billion dollars as proof for the claim that all synagogues had been destroyed. Why else would Germany be so foolish as to pay for something which never happened? All the same, the "historical truth" that "all" German synagogues were destroyed is a lie.



In 1938 there were approximately 1,400 synagogues in Germany, of which only about 180 were destroyed or damaged. Furthermore, Jews owned approximately 100,000 shops and department stores in Germany in 1938. Of this number, only about 7,500 had their windows broken. These figures show just how much the so-called "historical truth" differs from what actually happened. The damage and destruction that did actually occur was, of course, a terrible shame, but the exaggerations, especially by German historians who use them to condemn their own people, are also a shame.

History writers tell us that during the Crystal Night all the Jews were frightened, meekly accepted whatever happened to them and watched the destruction of their property with no resistance. The contrary is true. While going through the files on this subject, I found many documents which report precisely just the opposite of what is claimed. The fact is that in many cases Jews and their German neighbors fought together against the attackers, pushing them down staircases. Street mobs were beaten up and chased away in more than one case. Police and Party officials were generally on the side of the Jews. Some Jewish community leaders went to police stations the next morning and asked the police to investigate the damage done to their synagogues. The resulting police reports are still available in the files today.

Also contrary to what we have been told, most Jews were not directly affected by these events. In Berlin, for example, all of the teachers and pupils of the city's largest Jewish school, which served the entire Berlin area, appeared in their classes the next morning without having noticed anything unusual during the previous night. Heinemann Stern, the Jewish principal of that school, wrote in his postwar memoirs that he noticed a burning synagogue on his way to the school on the morning after the Crystal Night, but he thought it was just an accidental fire. It was only after he arrived at the school that he received a telephone call informing him of the destruction of the previous night. He then went on with his classes of the day and only during the first recess did he take the trouble to inform the entire student body about what had happened.<sup>8</sup>

How can such evidence be reconciled with the claim by Herman Graml, a prominent German historian and associate of the Munich Institute of Contemporary History, who wrote: "Every single Jew was beaten, chased, robbed, insulted and humiliated. The SA tore the Jews from their beds, mercilessly beat them in their apartments and then...chased them almost to death...Blood flowed everywhere."<sup>9</sup> Is it conceivable that thousands of Jewish children would have been sent to school by their parents on the morning after that fateful night if the attacks

against Jews had been so horrific or extensive? Would any parents have let their children go to school if they had thought there was even the slightest danger of them being attacked by roving gangs of SA men? I think the answer is clearly no! Deplorable things did indeed happen which were bad enough, but the fantasies of modern historians and history writers such as Graml are simply inexcusable.

### **The Grynszpan Story**

It was Herschel Feibel Grynszpan (Gruenspan) who initiated the entire Crystal Night affair by shooting the Secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, Ernst vom Rath. History writers tell us that the 17-year-old Grynszpan was merely a poor Jewish boy who had been driven to despair by the injustice done to his family and who, in his deep depression, shot the young German diplomat. The fact, however, is that Grynszpan had not shown any previous interest in his family's fate. He had wanted to be free of them and had gone to Paris to live on his own.

When the French police asked Grynszpan why he had shot vom Rath, he gave several contradictory explanations:

Version 1: He did not mean to kill vom Rath. He had wanted to kill the German ambassador but because he did not know the ambassador personally, he shot vom Rath instead by mistake.

Version 2: He had only wanted to kill himself, but wanted to do so directly beneath a portrait of Adolf Hitler. In this way he hoped to become a symbol for the Jewish people, who were being murdered daily in Germany.

Version 3: He had not intended to kill anyone. Although he had a pistol in his hand, he did not know how to handle it properly and it simply went off accidentally.

Version 4: He could not remember what had happened while he stood in vom Rath's office. All he remembered was that he was there, but did not remember why.

Version 5: He couldn't understand the question at all. He must have had a complete blackout because he no longer remembered anything.

And finally, version 6, which he gave several years later to German officials: Whatever the French police had written down about his reason was nonsense. The true story is that he used to procure young boys for the German embassy secretary because vom Rath had been a homosexual. And he shot vom Rath because he had not been paid for his services. This is the only explanation which he later retracted during interrogation. However, none of these explanations is correct.

The true story is far less heroic. Grynszpan had left his family in



Hannover, Germany, in 1936 after finishing elementary school but without graduating. His father had been a piece-work tailor who had moved from Poland to Germany after the First World War. Herschel had a reputation for disliking work and he hung out at the homes of his uncles in Brussels and Paris. In February 1938 his Polish passport expired and the French government refused to renew his residence permit. As a direct result, his Paris uncle insisted that Herschel leave his home because he was afraid of getting into trouble with the law. And now the story begins to get extremely interesting. Although Grynszpan had no job or money (his uncle refused to support him), he was nevertheless able to move into a hotel. His hotel happened to be just around the corner from the offices of an important and influential Jewish organization, the International League Against Anti-Semitism, or LICA. The questions which now arise are: Who supported him after February 1938 and who paid for his hotel room? Although he had no apparent means of support or even valid identity papers between February and November 1938, Grynszpan was nevertheless able to purchase a handgun for 250 francs on the morning of 7 November 1938 and then, about an hour later, go to the German Embassy and shoot vom Rath.

Grynszpan was arrested at the scene and was taken to a police station. Although he was a totally obscure Polish Jew with no money and no apparent supporters, nevertheless one of France's most famous lawyers, Moro Giafferi, appeared at the police station a few hours after the shooting and told the police that he was Grynszpan's attorney. Nothing could possibly have appeared about the shooting in any newspaper before his arrival. How then could Moro Giafferi have possibly known about the shooting? Why was he so eager to defend this young foreigner? And finally, who was going to pay his attorney fees? As it turned out, Giafferi took good care of Grynszpan during the following years. Before the Grynszpan case could come before a French court, the war broke out. After the Germans occupied France, he was turned over to them by the French authorities. He was taken to Germany where he was interrogated many times, but no trial ever took place. Moro Giafferi, who had moved to Switzerland in the meantime, still managed to take good care of Grynszpan.

Many German officials were actively interested in the case. They wanted Grynszpan brought to trial, but this never happened. Rumors circulated. A trial date was scheduled but then postponed again and again and again. Whenever any official asked why Grynszpan had not been brought to trial, he was given a different answer each time. The veil of mystery surrounding this case was lifted only slightly many years after the war when a note was discovered among the many hundreds of pages in the Grynszpan

file. This single short note stated simply that the trial against Grynszpan would not take place for "other than official reasons."<sup>10</sup> It gave no further explanation. Although the National Socialist regime supposedly committed the greatest imaginable crimes against the Jews, the murderer Grynszpan survived the war and returned to Paris. Why to Paris, where he could still have been arrested and tried for murder? But instead he received a new name and new identity papers there.<sup>11</sup> From whom? Who was in Paris to help him and once again take such good care of him?

Incidentally, the Grynszpan family also survived the war. The young man's father, mother, brother and sister were deported to Poland as a result of the Polish passport affair and shortly thereafter were somehow able to emigrate to Palestine. Amazingly enough, this took place at a time when immigration to Palestine was limited to persons who possessed at least 1,000 English pounds in cash. Grynszpan's father, a poor piece-work tailor, certainly never had a fortune of 4,000 English pounds. Many years after the war the father testified at the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem that he and his family had to give up all of their money except for ten marks per family member when they arrived at the German-Polish border in October 1938.<sup>12</sup> How did they ever raise the 4,000 English pounds only a short time later for their migration to Palestine? Who organized their move?

Perhaps the answer to all of these questions is. . . Moro Giafferi! He was not a sorcerer, but someone even more powerful: he was the legal counsel of the LICA. The LICA was founded in Paris in 1933 by the Jew Bernard Lecache and operated as a militant propaganda organization against real or imagined anti-Semitism. Its main office is still in Paris at the same address it was at in 1938. (Now known as the LICRA, it unsuccessfully sued Robert Faurisson a few years ago.) Moro Giafferi was well worth the fees LICA paid him as its legal counsel. He apparently enjoyed spectacular scenes. He had already achieved international renown at a mass meeting in Paris following the Berlin Reichstag fire of February 1933. Without knowing at all what had happened, he nevertheless delivered a spiteful speech against National Socialist Germany in which he accused Hermann Goering of setting the fire. In February 1936 Giafferi hurried to Davos, Switzerland, where the Jew David Frankfurter had shot and killed Wilhelm Gustloff, the head of the Swiss branch of the German National Socialist Party. During the subsequent trial it was clearly established that Frankfurter had been a hired murderer with backing from an unidentified but influential organization. All clues pointed to the LICA, but with Moro Giafferi as his defense counsel, Frankfurter remained silent about who, if anyone, had hired him. Amazingly enough, Frankfurter's answers to questions



about the shooting showed the same pattern as Grynszpan's answers almost three years later after Giafferi arrived to help following the shooting of Ernst vom Rath.

### **Who Could the Provocateurs Have Been?**

Like a medal, the Crystal Night has two sides. One side lies in the shining glare of historical research while the other remains in the shadows. Until now no one (at least as far as I know) has tried to examine the hidden side.

In the wake of the Crystal Night, almost everyone wanted to know who the culprits were. Dr. Goebbels had to give an official explanation which was, in effect, that the German people had been so enraged by the murder of Ernst vom Rath that they wanted to punish the Jews and therefore started the pogrom. But Goebbels did not really believe this story himself. To several persons he expressed his suspicion that a secret organization must have instigated the entire affair. He simply could not believe that anything so well organized could have been a spontaneous popular outburst.

One must understand the broad popularity of the National Socialist regime at that time to realize how incredibly difficult it was to imagine that any secret, well organized opposition movement could have instigated such a pogrom. We now know about some of these so-called resistance organizations. But at that time such well-organized opposition groups seemed preposterous, so overwhelming was the popularity and self-confidence of Hitler and the National Socialist government. Although the National Socialists were probably more aware of the danger of Jewish power and influence than anyone else, they nevertheless totally underestimated it. In a real sense, they were far too naive. One consequence of this enormous popularity and self-confidence was that the Party leaders themselves simply could not imagine that it was not one of their own colleagues behind the whole affair. Among the Party leaders fingers were being pointed in all directions. Apparently to avoid internal wrangling and the harm that this would do to their public image, an investigation to determine the instigators never took place. Hitler believed that Dr. Goebbels, his closest confidant and the one man he could never abandon, had been the instigator.

The only persons actually punished were individual SA men who had participated directly in the pogrom and been accused in German courts of murder, assault, looting or other criminal acts by Jewish or German witnesses to these crimes. But before any of these cases ever actually came to trial, Hitler issued a special decree ordering the postponement of all such cases until after the

accused individuals were first prosecuted by the Supreme Party Court, an internal court concerned with discipline within the National Socialist Party organization. The most severe punishment which the Court could impose was expulsion from the Party. In this way the Party hoped to remove any guilty members from its own ranks before they appeared as defendants in the criminal courts. In February 1939 the Chief Judge of the Supreme Party Court, Walter Buch, reported his findings to Hermann Goering. From an examination of the Buch report as well as many documents from some of the thousands of trials of so-called Nazi criminals held after the war, and corroborating testimony by thousands of defendants and witnesses, I have been able to gain a detailed and accurate understanding of what actually happened during those fateful days and nights of November 1938.

Already on 8 November 1938, one day before the Crystal Night, strange persons who had never been seen there before suddenly appeared in several small towns in Hessen near the French-German border. They went to mayors, Kreisleiters (district Party leaders) and other important officials in these towns and asked them what actions were being planned against the Jews. The officials were rather startled by these questions and replied that they didn't know of any such plans. The strangers acted as if they were shocked to hear this. They shouted and complained that something had to be done against the Jews and then, without further explanation, they disappeared. Most of those who were approached by these strangers reported the incidents to the police or discussed them with friends. They usually regarded the strangers as crazy anti-Semites and promptly forgot about the incidents—until the next evening. Some of these apparently crazy individuals really outdid themselves. In one case two men, dressed as members of the SS, went to an SA Standartenfuhrer (Colonel) and ordered him to destroy the nearby synagogue. To understand the absurdity of this one must know that the SS and SA were completely separate organizations. A real SS member would never have tried to give orders to an SA unit. This case shows that the strangers were foreigners who did not even understand the distinctions of German authority. The SA Standartenfuhrer rejected the demands of the self-styled SS men and reported the incident to his superiors.

When the provocateurs realized that their efforts were not working with local officials, they changed their tactics. Instead they tried to incite directly the people in the streets. In another town, for example, two men appeared at the market place and began making speeches to the people there, trying to incite them against the Jews. Eventually some people did indeed storm the synagogue, but by then the two provocateurs had, of course, disappeared.



Similar incidents occurred in several towns. Unidentified strangers suddenly appeared, gave speeches, started throwing stones at windows, stormed Jewish buildings, schools, hospitals, and synagogues, and then disappeared. These unusual incidents had already started on the 8th of November, that is, before Ernst vom Rath was dead. His death was only reported late on the evening of the 9th. The fact that this strange pattern of incidents had already begun one day earlier proves that the death of vom Rath was not the reason for the Crystal Night outburst. Vom Rath was still alive when the pogrom began.

And this was only the beginning. Well organized and widespread incidents began on the evening of 9 November. Groups of generally five or six young men, armed with bars and clubs, went down the streets smashing store windows. They were not Jew-hating SA men, enraged over the murder of a German diplomat. They operated too methodically to have been motivated by anger. They carried out their work without any apparent emotion. Nonetheless, it was their destruction that encouraged certain other individuals from the lowest social classes to become a mob and continue the destruction.

There is another mysterious aspect to all this. Several district and local Party leaders (Kreisleiters and Ortsgruppenleiters) were awakened from their sleep in the middle of the night by telephone calls. Someone claiming to be from the regional Party headquarters or the regional Party propaganda bureau (Gauleitung or Gaupropagandaleitung) would ask what was happening in the official's town or city. If the Party official answered "Nothing, everything is quiet," the telephone caller would then say in German slang that he had received an order to the effect that the Jews were going to get it tonight and that the respective official should carry out the order. In most cases the Party leader, disturbed from his sleep, did not even understand what had happened. Some simply dismissed the call as a joke and went back to bed. Others called back the office from where the telephone voice had pretended to be calling. If they managed to reach someone in charge, they were often told that nobody knew anything about such a call. But if they reached only a lower official they were often told: "Well, if you got that order, you'd better go ahead and do what you were told." These telephone calls caused considerable confusion. All this came out months later during the trials conducted by the Supreme Party Court. The Chief Judge concluded that in every case a misunderstanding had arisen in one link or other of the chain of command. But when they were confronted with apparently genuine orders to organize demonstrations against the Jews that night, most of the Party leaders had simply not known what to do.

The pattern of seemingly sporadic anti-Jewish incidents in small towns, followed only later by a carefully planned outburst in many large cities throughout Germany, clearly suggests the work of a centrally organized group of well-trained agents. Even shortly after the Crystal Night, many leading Party officials suspected that the entire affair had been centrally coordinated. Significantly, even Hermann Graml, the only West German historian who has written in detail about the Crystal Night, carefully distinguished between provocateurs and people who were simply carried away by their emotions and spontaneously took part in the riot and destruction. Without providing the slightest shred of real evidence, Graml claims that the provocative agents were directed by Dr. Goebbels.

### **Munich on the Ninth of November**

While all this was happening across the Reich, a special annual commemoration was being held in Munich. Fifteen years earlier, on 9 November 1923, a movement led by Adolf Hitler, Erich von Ludendorff (a leading First World War General), and two major figures in the Bavarian government tried to depose the legal government and take responsibility themselves as a new national government. The uprising or putsch was put down and 16 rebels were shot down next to the Feldherrnhalle, a famous old monument building in central Munich. Accordingly, the 9th of November had been commemorated every year since 1933 as the memorial day for the martyred heroes of the National Socialist movement. Adolf Hitler and the Party veterans, as well as all of the Gauleiters (regional Party leaders) met every year in Munich for the occasion. Hitler would usually deliver a speech to a select audience of Party veterans at the famous Buergerbraeukeller restaurant on the evening of the 8th. On the morning of the 9th Hitler and his veteran comrades would reenact the 1923 "March to the Feldherrnhalle." On the evening of the 9th the Fuehrer always held an informal dinner at the Old Town Hall ("Alte Rathaus") with old comrades as well as all the Gauleiters. At midnight young men who were about to enter the SS and the SA were sworn in at the Feldherrnhalle. All of the Gauleiters and other guests participated in this very solemn ceremony. After it was over they left Munich and returned to their homes throughout the Reich.

It is clear that the 9th of November date was chosen very cleverly. The annual commemoration ceremony of that day insured that almost all of the Gauleiters would be away from their home offices when the anti-Jewish demonstrations began. In other words, the actual decision-making responsibilities that were normally carried out by the Gauleiters were temporarily in the hands of lower



ranking individuals with less experience. Between 8 and 10 November, subordinate officials stood in for the Gauleiters who were either in Munich or en route to or from the annual commemoration there. This temporary transfer of decision-making authority is very important because it contributed to much of the subsequent confusion and thus helped the provocateurs. Another contributing factor was the fact that no one expected any trouble. At that time Germany was one of the most peaceful countries in the world. There was no reason to expect any kind of unrest. It was only during dinner at the Old Town Hall that the first sporadic reports of riot and destruction reached Munich from some of the Gauleiter's home offices. At the same time it was learned that Ernst vom Rath had died in Paris from his wounds.

### **What Was Goebbels Doing?**

After the dinner was over, the Fuehrer left at about 9 p.m. and returned to his apartment. Dr. Goebbels then stood up and spoke briefly about the latest news. He informed the audience that vom Rath had died and that, as a result, anti-Jewish demonstrations had spontaneously broken out in two or three places. Goebbels was renowned for his passionate and inspiring speeches. But what he gave that evening was not a speech at all but only a short and very informal announcement. He pointed out that the times were over when Jews could kill Germans without being punished. Legal measures would now be taken. Nevertheless, the death of vom Rath should not be an excuse for private actions against Jews. He suggested that the Gauleiters and the head of the SA, Viktor Lutze, should contact their home offices to make sure that peace and order were being maintained. It's very important to understand that Dr. Goebbels had no authority to give any orders to the others present.

As fellow Gauleiters they were colleagues of equal rank. Anyway, what he said was apparently considered so reasonable that the others agreed and did what he suggested.

You may have heard the widespread allegation that Goebbels started the Crystal Night pogrom with a fiery speech on that evening of 9 November. This widely accepted story is false. The following facts will clarify this point:

1. As Gauleiter for Berlin, Dr. Goebbels had no authority outside of his Berlin district. Although he was also the Propaganda Minister of the German government, this did not give him any authority over Party officials. Furthermore, he had no authority whatsoever over the SA or the SS.

2. Of all the National Socialist leaders, Dr. Goebbels would have understood better than anyone else the immense damage

that an anti-Jewish pogrom would cause for Germany. On the morning of 10 November, when he first learned about the extent of the damage and destruction of the previous night, he was furious and shocked at the stupidity of those who had participated. There is substantial evidence for this.

3. How could a speech given after 9 p.m. on the evening of 9 November have possibly incited a "pogrom" which had already begun the day before when the first provocateurs appeared at municipal and Party offices to persuade officials to take action against the Jews?

4. Although we do not know exactly what Dr. Goebbels said in his supposedly fiery speech, we do know what the Gauleiters and the SA commander did after the speech had ended: they went to the telephones and called their respective home offices to order their subordinates to do everything necessary to maintain peace and order. They emphasized that under no circumstances must anyone take part in any demonstrations. These telephone instructions were written down at the home offices by whoever was on duty. The orders from each Gauleiter were then passed on by telex to other offices within the Gau or district. These telex messages are still in various records files and are available to anyone who wishes to examine them.

### **Orders to Stop the Pogrom**

While the Gauleiters were calling their home offices, the head of the SA, Viktor Lutze, ordered all of his immediate subordinates, the SA Gruppenfuehrers, who were together with him in Munich, to call their home offices as well. Lutze ordered that under no circumstances could SA men take part in any demonstrations against Jews, and that furthermore the SA was to intervene to stop any demonstrations already in progress. As a result of these strict orders, SA men began to guard Jewish stores that very night wherever windows had been broken. There is no doubt about this order by Lutze because we have the postwar court testimony of several witnesses confirming it. The SS and the police were given similar orders to restore peace and order. Himmler ordered Reinhard Heydrich to prevent all destruction of property and to protect Jews against demonstrators. The telex communication of this order still exists. It is in the files of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. However, during the Nuremberg trial this telex order was presented in three different forms, with forged amendments to change the original meaning. In my book *Feuerzeichen* I undertook to restore the original text.

Adolf Hitler joined the midnight celebration at the Feldherrnhalle. It was only after he returned to his apartment about one



o'clock in the morning that he learned about the demonstrations which had been taking place in Munich, during which one synagogue had been set on fire. He was furious and immediately ordered the police chief of Munich to come see him. Hitler told him to immediately stop the fire and to make sure that no other outrages took place in Munich. He then called various police and Party officials throughout the Reich to learn the extent of these demonstrations. Finally, he ordered a telex message sent to all Gauleiter offices. It read: "By express order from the very highest authority, arson against Jewish businesses or other property must in no case and under no circumstances take place." Synagogues were not specifically mentioned, apparently because Hitler was still unaware of the burning of synagogues, apart from the one in Munich.

### **How Did the SA Get Involved Despite the Orders From Its Own Leaders?**

How was it possible that in spite of all these emphatic orders, so much damage and destruction could have been done and that so many SA members could have participated? According to the records, at least three of the 28 SA Groups did not obey the orders of SA chief Lutze. Instead, they sent out their men to destroy synagogues and Jewish buildings. In effect they did precisely the opposite of what Lutze had ordered. What actually happened is clear from the testimony and evidence presented at postwar trials against former SA men accused of participating in the riot. The trials, held between 1946 and 1952, were based to a large extent on the report of SA Brigade 50 chief Karl Lucke and begins with these words: "On 10 November 1938, at 3 o'clock in the morning, I received the following order: 'By order of the Gruppenfuehrer, all Jewish synagogues within the Brigade district are to be immediately blown up or set on fire'." Lucke then included in his report a listing of synagogues which had been destroyed by members of his Brigade. This report has been cited by the prosecution at the Nuremberg Tribunal and by practically all of the consensus historians ever since as proof that the SA was given orders to destroy Jewish stores and synagogues.

The contradiction between the orders actually given and the statement made in the Lucke report requires a detailed explanation. On 9 November the leader of SA Group Mannheim, Herbert Fust, was in Munich together with the other SA Group leaders and the SA Chief of Staff, Viktor Lutze. When Lutze ordered the Group leaders to contact their home offices to stop all anti-Jewish demonstrations, Fust, along with the other SA leaders, did just that. He called his office in Mannheim and passed on the orders

he had received from Lutze. The man who was on duty that night at the Mannheim SA office telephone and who received Fust's order confirmed that he understood it and then hung up. But he never passed on the order he had received. Instead, he transmitted precisely the opposite order. The normal procedure would have been for the man on duty at the telephone to immediately call the deputy group leader, Lucke, who was in nearby Darmstadt. But instead he called SA Oberfuehrer (senior colonel) Fritsch and asked him to come to the office. Fritsch had a reputation for not being particularly clever. When he arrived, the man who had received the telephone call showed him a small paper slip with a few notes on it which said that the synagogues within the Mannheim SA Group district were to be destroyed. The man who had received the call explained to Fritsch that the order had just arrived from Munich. Slow-minded as he was, Fritsch did not know what to do and called the local Kreisleiter (district Party leader) and his deputy. These two men then arrived at the SA office and discussed the situation, while at the same time the telephone duty man notified other SA leaders, but still not the deputy Group leader Lucke. In the meantime the small paper slip disappeared and the SA men now arriving at the headquarters met only the Kreisleiter, who told them about the order which he thought had come from Munich. No one asked for any further confirmation. The SA men then left to begin the destruction. Hours later, when the whole action was almost finished, the telephone guard finally called Deputy Group Leader Lucke and passed on the false order. He also informed Lucke that the action had already been going on for several hours. Since it was almost all over by this time, Lucke also neglected to ask for confirmation of the order. It was already 3 o'clock in the morning. Lucke then alerted the Standartenfuehrer of his Brigade and carried out the destruction within the Darmstadt district.

At 8 o'clock the next morning Lucke sat down and wrote the report which was later cited at the Nuremberg Tribunal. In fact, as already shown, there was no order to commit arson or carry out destruction against any Jewish property from the Gruppenfuehrer in Munich, but only from the telephone guard. Who he was remains a mystery. During the postwar trials against members of this SA unit, none of the judges asked for the name or identity of this telephone guard. This mysterious man was very probably an agent for those who were actually behind the entire Crystal Night affair.

### **The Fine Imposed on the Jews**

Early in the morning following the Crystal Night, Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels announced in a radio broadcast that any ac-



tion against Jews was strictly prohibited. He warned that severe penalties would be imposed on anyone who did not obey this order. He also explained that the Jewish question would be resolved only by legal means. As already mentioned, German government and Party officials were furious about what had happened. Hermann Goering, who was responsible for Germany's economy, complained that it would be impossible to replace the special plate glass of the broken store windows because it was not manufactured in Germany. It had to be imported from Belgium and would cost a great deal of precious foreign currency. Because of the Jewish boycott against German goods, the Reich was short of foreign exchange currency. Goering therefore decided that because this shortage was caused by the Jews, it was they who would have to pay for the broken glass. He imposed a fine of one billion Reichsmarks on the German Jews. This fine is always mentioned by anyone who writes about the Crystal Night. But historians and history writers invariably neglect to explain the reason for the fine.

It was certainly unjust to force Jews to pay for damage which they had not caused. Goering understood this. However, in private he justified the fine by citing the fact that the 1933 Jewish declaration of war against Germany was proclaimed in the name of the millions of Jews throughout the world. Therefore they could now help their co-religionists in Germany bear the consequences of the boycott. It should also be pointed out that only German Jews with assets of more than 5,000 Reichsmarks in cash had to contribute to the fine. In 1938, when prices were very low, 5,000 Reichsmarks was a small fortune. Anyone with that much money in cash would certainly have had far more wealth in other assets and could therefore well afford to pay their assessed portion of the fine without being reduced to poverty, despite what history writers have maintained.

### **The Consequences of the Crystal Night**

It is often said that the Crystal Night incident was the official start of the German "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." This is quite true, but "Final Solution" did not mean physical extermination—it meant only emigration of the Jews from Germany. Immediately after the Crystal Night, Hitler ordered the creation of a central agency to organize the emigration of the Jews from Germany as rapidly as possible. Accordingly, Goering set up the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration ("Reichszentrale fuer die juedische Auswanderung") with Reinhard Heydrich as director. This agency combined the various government departments which had been involved with Jewish emigration. It simplified of-

ficial procedures for Jewish emigration, but its work was severely hampered by the unwillingness of almost all countries to admit Jews. The only country to which Jews could still easily emigrate was Palestine, provided they possessed one thousand pounds sterling each, as required by the British authorities there.

Despite the favorable terms of the Haavara or Transfer Agreement, only a few German Jews were willing to emigrate to Palestine. In those days Palestine was only at the beginning of its development. It was still an agrarian country with very little industry. It was only after the arrival of thousands of German Jews with their capital and experience that industrial development really began there. The Jews in Germany were generally employed in trade, industry, or the professions. There were little or no opportunities for them in Palestine. For example, there was virtually no financial structure in Palestine in the 1930s. There was no money market, no stock exchange, and no investment banking. How could businessmen operate in such an environment?

Because so few Jews wanted to migrate to Palestine, special efforts were made to open the doors of other countries, but this proved very difficult. Prosperous nations did not want Jewish immigrants and poor countries were very unattractive. In the summer of 1938 an Inter-Governmental Refugee Committee was established with the American lawyer George Rublee as its director. In January 1939 (that is, after the Crystal Night), Rublee and the German government signed an agreement by which all German Jews could emigrate to the country of their choice. Interestingly enough, it was the father of a future American president and the father of a future German president who nearly torpedoed this agreement: Joseph Kennedy, the U.S. Ambassador to Britain, and Ernst von Weizsaecker, State Secretary of the German Foreign Office and father of the current president of the German Federal Republic. Adolf Hitler personally intervened in the negotiating process and saved the agreement by sending Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht to London to negotiate with Rublee.

Rublee himself later called it a "sensational agreement"—and it was indeed sensational. Special arrangements between the Inter-Governmental Committee and governments of individual countries would guarantee the financial security of the migrating Jews. Training camps would be established to prepare emigrating Jews for new jobs in their future homelands. Jews in Germany who were more than 45 years old could either emigrate or remain in Germany. If they decided to remain, they would be exempt from discriminatory restrictions. They would be able to live and work wherever they wanted. Their social security would be guaranteed by the Reich government, the same as for any German citizen. As



Rublee later noted, there were practically no incidents against Jews during the time between the signing of the agreement and the outbreak of war in September 1939.

The Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, which was organized shortly after the Crystal Night, was based on the provisions of the Rublee plan. A parallel Jewish organization, the Reich Union of Jews in Germany ("Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland"), was established. Its task was to advise Jews on all questions of emigration and to act on behalf of Jews with the Reich Central Office. The two agencies worked closely together to facilitate Jewish emigration as much as possible. In addition, the SS and certain other National Socialist organizations worked with Zionist organizations to facilitate Jewish emigration. Jewish groups greatly appreciated the cooperation of the SS. For example, the SS established training centers where prospective Jewish emigrants learned new job skills to prepare them for their new lives.

With the help of the Transfer Agreement and the Rublee plan, hundreds of thousands of Jews migrated from Europe to Palestine. In September 1940 the Jewish news agency in Palestine, "Palcor," reported that 500,000 Jewish emigrants had already arrived from the German Reich, including Austria, the Sudetenland, Bohemia-Moravia, and German-ruled Poland. Nevertheless, after 1950 it was claimed that the total number of Jewish emigrants to Palestine from all European countries was only about 80,000. What happened to the other 420,000 Jews? In 1940 they probably had no idea that later on they were supposed to have been "gassed"!

## Conclusion

I have tried to point out just a few unmentioned aspects of the Crystal Night issue which, in my opinion, give a picture of what actually happened that is entirely different than the one generally accepted. I am convinced that neither the German government nor the leaders of the National Socialist Party instigated the Crystal Night. Ultimately it was not the Jews but the Germans who suffered most as a result of this event. Even persons sympathetic to National Socialism are still appalled when they think of the Crystal Night. Many are under the impression that murder and arson were quite common under National Socialism and that no Jew could be sure of his life or property. Nazi Germany was supposedly a country without any civil rights. The Crystal Night incident was indeed one of the darkest episodes of German history in the era of 1933 to 1945. But based on all of the available evidence, these demonstrations were neither thought up nor organized by

German Party or government officials. In fact, they were completely surprised and shocked when they learned of the riot and destruction. The pogrom must have been thought up and organized by those who actually benefited from it and who wanted to create havoc in Germany.

Who could they have been? If we keep in mind the deep involvement of the Jewish organization LICA in the murder of vom Rath, we may ask: Could the Jews themselves have hoped to benefit from a pogrom? In the aftermath of the Crystal Night, the world press became overwhelmingly sympathetic to the Jews, which is precisely what they wanted above all else. The Zionists in particular counted on worldwide support in their struggle against England, which then ruled Palestine as a British mandate. Jewish immigration to Palestine was strictly limited at that time by the British because of vehement Arab opposition to the arrival of ever larger numbers of Jews. As a result, the number of Jewish immigrants dropped in 1938 to the lowest level since the beginning of the century, when the Zionist mass migration to Palestine began.

To stabilize the situation, the British formulated a partition plan dividing Palestine into Arab and Jewish portions. Despite serious reservations, the Jews agreed to the plan, but the Arabs did not. They responded with an uprising known as the Arab Revolt. In March 1938 the British government sent Sir Harold MacMichael as High Commissioner to Palestine. He succeeded in suppressing the uprising, but to appease the Arabs he promised to urge his government to abandon the partition plan and halt further Jewish immigration. MacMichael returned to London in October 1938 to discuss his proposals with the British parliament. The scheduled date for the final decision was 8 November 1938, the day on which the Crystal Night violence actually began.

German Embassy Secretary Ernst vom Rath had been shot just one day earlier, on 7 November. The conspirators no doubt hoped that vom Rath would die immediately, in which case the anti-Jewish demonstrations would probably have also started on the 7th. Could someone have hoped that a pogrom in nearby Germany would influence the British to change their Palestine policy? Or that it would induce the outside world to exert pressure on Britain to open Palestine to the Jews who were being so terribly treated in Germany? I cannot give any definite answers. I can only speculate as to who conspirators behind the Crystal Night really were and as to their motives. To me it seems entirely plausible that certain Jewish groups were involved. The LICA was almost certainly involved in the murder of vom Rath. In any case, the Crystal Night incident was not an expression of the will of the German people. Nor was it organized by Dr. Goebbels or any of the other German



leaders. On the contrary, it was carefully organized by people who worked in the shadows.

### Notes

1. William P. Varga, *The Number One Nazi Jew-Baiter: A Political Biography of Julius Streicher* (New York: 1981).
2. Even Helmut Heiber, a prominent contemporary German historian, had to admit these facts. Helmut Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," *Vierteljahrshäfte fuer Zeitgeschichte*, 5. Hg., 1957, pp. 154-172.
3. See: Werner Feilchenfeld, Dolf Michaelis, and Ludwig Pinner, *Haavara-Transfer nach Palaestina* (Tuebingen: 1972); and, Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (New York and London: 1984).
4. Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen: Die "Reichskristallnacht," Anstifter und Brandstifter—Opfer und Nutzniesser* (Tuebingen: 1981), p. 225.
5. Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement*, p. 382.
6. W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer Nach Palaestina*, p. 71.
7. Nahum Goldmann, *Das Juedische Paradox: Zionismus und Judentum nach Hitler* (Cologne: 1978), p. 181.
8. Heinemann Stern, *Warum Hassen Sie Uns Eigentlich?* (Duesseldorf: 1970), pp. 298-299.
9. Hermann Graml, *Der 9. November 1938* (Bonn: 1958), p. 47 f.
10. H. Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," p. 164.
11. H. Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," p. 172.
12. Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem* (New York: 1968), p. 41.

# Nationalism and Genocide: The Origin of the Artificial Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine

VALENTYN MOROZ

(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

An indicative feature of the mass media's portrayal of modern history is the striking contrast between the heavy volume of "Holocaust" material and the silent treatment given to the appalling record of Soviet mass slaughter, even though the number of Stalin's victims alone vastly exceeds even the most exaggerated figures of alleged "Holocaust" victims. While names like Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau have been unforgettably engraved into our collective consciousness, few Americans recognize Vorkuta, Kolyma, or any of the many other Soviet camps where at least twenty million people are conservatively estimated to have perished. And whereas Americans have been taught to instantly recognize the name of Heinrich Himmler, hardly anyone has heard of Soviet secret police chiefs Nikolai Yezhov or Genrikh Yagoda, each of whom murdered many more people, and in less time, than Himmler is reputed to have killed.

The gruesome record is well documented. Nobel prize-winning author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has detailed the horrors of the Soviet concentration camp system, which held up to fifteen million prisoners at a time. In **The Great Terror**, British historian Robert Conquest cautiously estimated the number of Stalin's political victims at 20 to 30 million. (Stalin once privately admitted to Churchill that some ten million kulaks had been killed for resisting the confiscation of their farms.) In **Stalin's Secret War**, Nikolai Tolstoy ex-



poses as a fraud the official Soviet claim, widely parroted by the Western media, that 20 million Soviet citizens were killed by the Axis during the Second World War. Tolstoy demonstrates that most of those 20 million were actually victims of the Soviet regime. Russian historian Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko estimates in **A Time of Stalin** that the Soviet rulers have killed more than eighty million of their own people to keep themselves in power.

Stalin's single most horrific campaign was probably the organized mass starvation of 1932-1933, which he used as a weapon to totally crush peasant resistance to the forced collectivization of agriculture. Soviet military units confiscated all available food in vast areas, condemning the inhabitants to death by hunger. As Conquest points out, this is perhaps the only case in history of a purely man-made famine. He estimates that the campaign claimed five to six million lives, including more than three million Ukrainians. Other historians have put the number of Ukrainian famine victims at six or even seven million. An important new work on this subject is Miron Dolot's moving memoir, **Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust** (W.W. Norton, 1985, available from IHR, \$18.00), which includes a valuable introduction by Adam Ulam.

In the following essay, Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz dissects the origins of the imposed famine of 1932-1933. He takes exception to the generally accepted view that the campaign was carried out for purely socio-economic reasons, and holds instead that the decisive motivation was Moscow's need to maintain the multinational Soviet Russian empire. Stalin destroyed the independent Ukrainian peasantry, Moroz writes, because it was the foundation and lifespriing of Ukrainian nationalism. (Mark Weber)

**I**n 1921, at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was resolved that the country's non-Russian nations (nationalities) required assistance:<sup>1</sup>

a) to develop and strengthen locally Soviet statehood in such forms as are applicable to the national and social conditions of these nations;

b) to develop and strengthen locally, in their native languages, the legal system, administrative and economic organs, and government organs, consisting of local people who are acquainted with the living conditions and mentality of the local population;

c) to develop locally the press, schools, the theater, social clubs, and all cultural and educational institutions in their native languages;

d) to create and develop a wide spectrum of courses and education institutions in both the humanities and the technical and professional fields in their native languages . . .

Thus began the policy known as "korenizatsiia" or "return to the roots," which is an instructive and very interesting phenomenon in the history of the modern Russian empire. In Ukraine this policy became known as "ukrainizatsiia" or "Ukrainianization." In fact, this term was widely used in official documents during the 1920s. The Edict of 1923 described Ukrainianization with these words:<sup>2</sup>

... The people's government acknowledges the necessity ... of concentrating the attention of the state in the near future on broadening the knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The formal equality of the two most widely used languages in Ukraine—Ukrainian and Russian—has so far been insufficient. The processes of life, as experience has indicated, in reality favor the predominance of Russian. To remove this inequality the government will implement a series of practical measures which, while guaranteeing the equality of every language used on Ukrainian territory, must safeguard a position for Ukrainian corresponding to the size and strength of the Ukrainian nation on the territory of the Ukrainian nation on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

These days there is a tendency to regard this policy of Ukrainianization as a tactical ploy by Moscow to expose and destroy all patriotic Ukrainians. This is an extreme view. Obviously, Moscow had tactical considerations in introducing this policy. But it should be understood that Moscow was forced to adopt this policy. The impulse behind Ukrainianization came from far beyond the walls of the Kremlin and emerged from quite different sources.

The Revolution of 1917 stimulated a powerful renaissance among the non-Russian nations of the Russian empire and this process continued even after these peoples were militarily subdued by the Soviet Russian forces. National development found means of self-expression even under the conditions of Soviet rule. While the facts and figures of the expansion of Ukrainainization are of interest for their own sake, even more interesting is the story of how the people involved found the means of carrying out this process of national development under the conditions of totalitarian one-party rule. This was possible because a kind of second political party, which was never proclaimed and formalized as such, existed during the 1920s. This alternate party was private enterprise.

The 10th Congress of the Communist Party symbolically announced the introduction of the "new economic policy" or NEP in 1921 and shortly thereafter was also forced to proclaim the "korenizatsiia" policy of a return to native roots. New opportunities for private enterprise in economic life automatically also brought about a national renaissance among the non-Russian



peoples. The "new economic policy" (NEP) not only meant a total change in economic life but in social and cultural life as a whole. Private entrepreneurs began demolishing totalitarianism in countless different ways. A shop owner operating his own business or a doctor with his own practice quickly became independent of the commissar with the red cloth on his table. They were soon also regarded as socially higher. And although these entrepreneurs had to recite the Communist slogans and jargon whenever required, the free market and not the Party came to govern their lives. Like the legendary genie suddenly released from his bottle, free enterprise spread swiftly.

This meant that, in practice, life became pluralistic, despite the protests of orthodox Communists concerned about the purity of party doctrine. And all this gave subconscious moral strength to the national movements. One felt able to "breathe" and express oneself at last. In Ukraine many associations of artists and writers were formed. An innovative and experimental theatrical life began to develop. In such conditions it was natural that legally sanctioned competition between the Ukrainian and Russian national influences would eventually develop. Among those who recognized this was Dmytro Lebed, who coined the theory of the "struggle between two cultures" in which the state should not intervene.

From the outset the Russians regarded Ukrainianization as a temporary political phenomenon and accordingly sought to make it a purely formal letter, not to be taken seriously. For example, during a certain party conference an economic administrator from an outlying district, after listening to resolutions on the necessity of having administrators use Ukrainian in their official work, began speaking to his district director in Ukrainian. To this the official replied in Russian: "Speak like a human being!" But despite such resistance, a virtual army of patriotic Ukrainian academics and other culturally and politically active individuals greatly furthered the process of Ukrainianization. Supporters of this process of national renaissance came into high and sometimes even key positions.

Because of Russian chauvinist resistance, Ukrainianization didn't really begun to develop until 1925. A 1927 letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to the Communist International (Comintern) dealt with numerous "distortions" regarding the Ukrainianization process:<sup>3</sup>

These distortions lie in the ignoring of and failure to value adequately the national question in Ukraine (which is frequently masked by internationalist phrases), particularly:

- 1) in the belittling of Ukraine's significance as a part of the USSR, in the attempt to interpret the creation of the USSR as the actual liquidation of the national republics;

2) in the instruction that the party remain neutral towards the development of Ukrainian culture, in the interpretation of it as backward and "rural" compared to Russian "proletarian" culture;

3) in the attempt to maintain at all costs the dominance of the Russian language in the governmental, social, and cultural life of Ukraine;

4) in the formalistic attitude towards the development of Ukrainianization, which is often accepted only theoretically;

5) in the uncritical repetition of chauvinistic and imperialistic views about the so-called artificiality of Ukrainianization, the unintelligibility of the "Galician" language for the nation, and so forth, and in cultivation of these views within the party;

6) in the attempt to hinder the implementation of the policies of Ukrainianization in the towns and among the proletariat, confining it only to the villages;

7) in the frequent tendency to exaggerate isolated cases of distortion in the implementation of Ukrainianization, and in the attempt to portray these as an entire political system which violates the rights of national minorities (Russians, Jews, etc.).

It was characteristic of the time that the Communist Party of Ukraine could bypass the Central Committee in Russia and appeal directly to the Communist International, even though it was still a part of the all-encompassing "Soviet" Communist party. This is another indication of the pluralism and national self-expression which *de facto* manifested itself under conditions of Soviet rule, despite and in opposition to totalitarian doctrine.

The record shows that Ukrainianization was an important and very real development. Its impact may be compared to a torpedo exploding a dangerously threatening hole in the hull of the imperial ship of state. Millions of Ukrainian children were now being taught in Ukrainian. This was something for which several generations of Ukrainians had fought. In 1930 an astonishing 89 percent of the books published in Ukraine were printed in the Ukrainian language. That same year, the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine reported:<sup>4</sup>

... A turbulent increase in Ukrainianization is apparent among the proletariat, particularly among its chief groups. Along with this there is an indisputable and systematic increase in the number of Ukrainians in the proletariat. ... During the past three years the number of people who can read, write, and speak in Ukrainian has greatly increased. ... The professional associations of Ukraine should take it upon themselves, as leaders of the masses, to ensure the availability of cultural services in Ukrainian for the working masses and also to make certain that the movement inspires the workers towards cultural and national development. ...

These three elements—the schools, the press, and the Ukrainianization of the proletariat—are a strong base which will guarantee a rapid and unprecedented development of a Ukrainian culture which is national in form and proletarian in content.



All this created unease in Moscow, where it was understood that the continuation of this process would eventually mean the end of Russian hegemony in Ukraine. Two tendencies became apparent during the years of Ukrainianization which raised ominous questions about the future of the Russian empire.

Firstly, the major role of the village in the process of Ukrainianization became obvious. The village had long been recognized as the conserving bastion of national traditions. But now it was also clearly a powerful impetus for Ukrainianization in the towns and cities as well. The most talented Ukrainian national authors and cultural leaders of the 1920s were from the villages, which provided a solid base of some forty million people for the development of Ukrainianization. Ukrainian blood from the villages flowed into the veins of new Ukrainian social and cultural institutions developing in the cities. As these structures grew visibly stronger it became increasingly evident that this powerful and turbulent stream would eventually sweep aside all Russian influence. Joseph Stalin, the most important Bolshevik theoretician on the national question, clearly understood the crucial importance of the village in this process. In a speech to the 10th Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1921 he pointed out:<sup>5</sup>

It is obvious that although the Russian element is still predominant in Ukrainian cities, within a short period of time these cities will doubtlessly be Ukrainianized. Forty years ago Riga was a German city, but because the village population moves to the cities and determines their character, Riga is now a Latvian city. Fifty years ago every city in Hungary had a German character, but now each is Hungarian. *The same can be said for the cities of Ukraine because the village population will move to the cities.* The village is the representative of the Ukrainian language and this language will penetrate every Ukrainian city and there become the dominant language.

Secondly, a clear distinction developed between archaic and modern nationalism. The first could express itself only in traditional and limited forms. It was thus able to co-exist for many years within a colonial structure, within the framework of an alien empire, and dominated by a foreign dynasty. In contrast, the modern form of nationalism was aggressive and dynamic, intolerant of colonial structures and inclined to demolish them. It was characterized by an alliance of the village and a national intelligentsia which emerged from native ethnic roots. (This modern form of nationalism brought down the European colonial empires in Asia and Africa during the 1940s and 1950s, and was accompanied by major conflicts and social upheaval.)

The process of Ukrainianization during the 1920s gave birth to a concept which had the potential of becoming an umbrella or

screen behind which meaningful Ukrainian nationalism could develop under the new conditions of Soviet rule. This concept was best formulated by the writer Mykola Khvyloviy, who coined the slogans "Away from Russia!" and "We can do without a Russian conductor." Even the titles of his essays (such as "Russian Slops") convey the new atmosphere and direction which emerged from Ukrainianization. With this concept, Ukrainian cultural, social and even political development could be furthered using acceptable "proletarian" jargon. In his polemical dispute with Russian newspapers, Khvyloviy wrote:<sup>6</sup>

Today, as Ukrainian poetry follows its own direction, Moscow is no longer able to tempt it with baubles. . . . And this is not because this or that Ukrainian participant in the dispute is more talented than this or that Russian (God forbid!) but because the Ukrainian reality is more complex than the Russian, because we have before us different tasks, because we are the young class of a young nation, because our literature is young. . . .

Because our literature has at last found its own path of development, the question now lies before us: Which of the world's literatures should we follow? In any case, not Russian literature. That is absolutely crucial. We must not confuse our political union with literature. Ukrainian poetry must move away from Russian literature and its influence as soon as possible. The Poles would never have given us Mickiewicz if their orientation towards Russian art had not ceased. The fact is that Russian literature has been weighing us down for centuries, like a master who has trained our mentality into slave-like imitation. So, to feed our young art with Russian literature is to restrain its development. We are aware of proletarian ideas without the help of Russian art. To the contrary, we, as representatives of a young nation, will more easily sense these ideas and will more quickly recreate them in suitable works of art. We will orient ourselves towards western European art, towards its style and methods.

We have philosophized enough. Let us at last use our guide. We do so not with the intention of harnessing our art to yet another foreign wagon, but in order to free it from the suffocating atmosphere of backwardness. We will go to Europe to learn, but in a few years we will return burning with a new light. Do you hear what we want, Moscow-lovers with your Russian slops? So, death to the Dostoyevskys! Let us begin a cultural renaissance!

It is also characteristic of the time that Khvyloviy came from a Russified milieu. This itself was his inspiration. Khvyloviy, who had been named Fitylov, knew from personal experience the swamp-like world of Russified Ukrainians. He thus knew best how to fight against it. The most effective preacher is a Saul converted into a Paul.

As Moscow watched, new institutions were developing which were both Communist and Ukrainian. Along with others,



Khvyloviy exclaimed: "We are aware of proletarian ideas without the help of Russian art." The next and inevitable stage in the realization of the slogan "Away from Russia!" would have been the political separation of Ukraine from Russia. And that would have meant the collapse of the Russian empire. As everyone realized, Russia without Ukraine would automatically be reduced to the small realm (khanate) of Moscovy it had once been in the 16th century before Tsar Peter I.

The successful development of Ukrainianization (and of parallel national developments in other Soviet republics) was not limited to literary life. The non-Russian nations of the USSR chalked up other important achievements which threatened Russian hegemony. One was the establishment of "native" (territorial) armies. Out of a total of 17 army divisions based in Ukraine in the late 1920s, eight were "native" divisions consisting almost entirely of Ukrainians. These divisions also used Ukrainian as the language of communication and military command. Ukrainian was also the language of instruction in some military schools. Other non-Russian peoples had similar military formations. There were two Byelorussian divisions, two Georgian, and one Armenian, as well as one Tatar regiment, one Tadzhik regiment, and so forth. National non-Russian educational systems also developed. Under the direction of the Ukrainian minister of education, Hryhory Hrynko, an educational system developed in Ukraine which differed in every way from the Russian form. In economic life Volobuyev introduced the concept by which Ukraine would develop a national economy separate from Russia. And so it went in every sphere of Ukrainian life.

Moscow understood that if this process was allowed to continue for another decade the Soviet Russian empire would break up along national lines, much as the Austro-Hungarian empire had at the end of the First World War. The Kremlin rulers realized another essential reality: the empire could only be held together with totalitarianism. And that meant totalitarianism in every sphere of life. Only absolute state power could guarantee a unified empire. Although Russian chauvinistic opposition to the Ukrainian renaissance never completely disappeared, it was ineffective during the 1920s for two reasons. Firstly, private enterprise automatically brought with it pluralism in other spheres of life. It was comparable to fresh rain falling on the young shoots of the national movement. Secondly, the national awakening unleashed by the revolution of 1917 burgeoned during the decade of the 1920s.

The historical pendulum began to swing in a different direction at the close of the 1920s. The energy of the national renaissance was depleted, indicating the beginning of a decline. The regrouped imperial forces sensed that the time had come to strike

back. Their revenge took three forms: 1) The elimination of private property in the villages and the imposition of totalitarian agriculture in the form of the collective farm ("kolhosp" or, in Russian, "kolkhoz"); 2) The uprooting of private enterprise in industry and trade; 3) The annihilation of pluralism in the arts. All cultural associations were replaced by unitary cultural unions, one each for writers, artists, journalists, and so forth.

The crucial essence of this program was the annihilation of the traditional village structure which had always been the nation's foundation. Stalin recognized the key role of the village in the movement for national liberation. "The village is the major army in a national movement," he wrote. "Without the village the movement becomes impossible. This is what we mean when we say that the national question is, in effect, the village question."<sup>7</sup>

In planning the artificial famine of 1933, Moscow sought to strike a fatal blow at the village structure, not because it was socially troublesome or economically disadvantageous, but because it was the lifspring and resource foundation of the vital national spirit. Postishev, who was sent to Ukraine in 1933 as Moscow's plenipotentiary, stated this clearly: "The mistakes and oversight of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the realization of the nationalities policy of the party was one of the major reasons for the collapse of agriculture in 1931-1932."<sup>8</sup>

This one sentence is enough to show that the national question triggered the catastrophe of 1933. The Plenum in 1933 and the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in January 1934 both declared that "the greatest danger in Ukraine is local Ukrainian nationalism."<sup>9</sup> This marked a turning point in the Kremlin's nationalities policy. Until then the greatest danger in the nationalities question was officially "Russian imperialistic chauvinism." At the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Postishev declared that "1933 was the year of the defeat of Ukrainian nationalist counter-revolution."<sup>10</sup> Moscow thus regarded the catastrophe of 1933 as an aspect of the struggle against Ukrainian national renaissance. The village and national aspects of this catastrophe were closely interconnected. In the spring of 1933, when millions of Ukrainian villagers were starving to death, Soviet forces carried out mass executions across Ukraine. Two population groups were targeted for extermination: the intelligentsia and Ukrainain Communists who had once belonged to other parties. The census figures of 1926 and 1939 indicate that the Ukrainian population decreased by ten percent during this period, while the number of Russians increased by 27 percent.<sup>11</sup> The reason for this startling contrast was explained by a witness of the 1933 famine: "There were two villages on the border between the Ukrainain Soviet Socialist Republic and the



Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. On the Ukrainian side everything was taken away, on the Russian side there were normal corn taxes and everything went according to plan. The Ukrainians climbed onto the roofs of passing trains and traveled to Russia to buy bread."<sup>12</sup>

Historians have concluded that Ukraine lost 80 percent of its creative intelligentsia during the decade of the 1930s.<sup>13</sup> Thus, Ukrainian culture suffered even more acutely than Ukrainian village life. While 80 percent of the books published in Ukraine in 1930 were printed in Ukrainian, in 1934 this figure had fallen to only 59 percent.<sup>14</sup> At the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1930 there was talk of "the turbulent rise of Ukrainization" and of the necessity for its continuation. In 1934, at the 12th Congress quite a different tone prevailed:<sup>15</sup>

Before the November Plenum alone, 248 counter-revolutionaries, nationalists, spies and class enemies—among them 48 enemies who were party members—were exposed and expelled from Ukrainian research institutes and the Ministry of Education. Since then, many more of these people have been unmasked. For example, not long ago, in December, we were compelled to close down the Bahaliy Research Institute of History and Culture because we discovered that this institute, like numerous other academic organizations (such as the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia and the Shevchenko Institute where Pylypenko was administrator), was a nest of counter-revolution.

A key question in this entire issue is this: To what extent were the repressions of the 1930s carried out for socio-economic reasons? Certainly the social and economic motivations behind this policy of repression cannot be ignored or overlooked. But these motivations must be understood within historical context. Although these repressions were social in application, they were carried out primarily to preserve Russian imperial power.

The central thesis of this essay is that socio-economic considerations played only an instrumental and auxiliary role in the policy of repression of the 1930s. The drastic socio-economic changes of this period were motivated primarily by the desire to maintain Russian imperial hegemony and only secondarily by economic considerations. In the struggle between orthodox dogmatists and pragmatists within the Communist party in the early 1930s, the defenders of doctrine were victorious. At the same time, however, the momentum of their attack against the pragmatists gave them their imperialistic and chauvinistic impulse.

The history of the Soviet system until the Second World War is normally divided into three phases: 1) Military Communism, 1917–1921; 2) Temporary tactical retreat in the form of the NEP, 1921–1929; 3) Further development of Communism according to

Marxist doctrine, from 1929. However, few historians have considered that the characteristics of the third phase are hardly pragmatic.

I would describe these three phases somewhat differently. The first phase may be called a naive Communist experiment. During this period of military Communism the principle of private enterprise was totally extinguished. The new Soviet state confiscated as much of the villagers' production as it desired. (In practice this was usually as much as it could find.) A black market operated and without it life could not have continued even though officially it was illegal even to sell one's own shoes. The economy quickly fell into chaos. Suffice it to mention that only one blast furnace was functioning in Ukraine in 1921.

It was obvious that this "pure Communism" would soon result in the total collapse of the new system unless the new Soviet rulers recovered quickly from their "orthodox" intoxication. The abrupt turn to pragmatism in 1921 proved effective. This NEP phase permitted extensive private enterprise in agriculture and other aspects of economic life. It ended in 1929 with a sharp return to the collectivized system. This change has been generally regarded as a return to Marxist orthodoxy after a temporary retreat. However, this view is erroneous. The socio-economic policy of the 1930s was not a return to "pure" Communist orthodoxy. It was rather a synthesis of the principle of collectivization and pragmatism dictated by exclusively imperial interests.

The Communism described in Marx's *Das Kapital* is not realistic. As with any ideology, Communism in practice must take into consideration concrete national interests. The first Soviet phase of military Communism was only an experiment. The new Soviet rulers believed that the mythical "world revolution" and the utopian ideal of Communism would quickly usher in a worldwide proletarian paradise. These fantasies utterly ignored national considerations. The second NEP phase was a concession forced by individualistic and national factors. Only in the third phase was Communism integrated with Russian national interests. Marxist doctrine was adapted to the needs of the "Third Rome" (Moscow). (A similar process occurred in China. After a series of uprooting experiments, a variant form of Communism was finally developed which might successfully serve Chinese imperial interests.)

A careful study of the Soviet collective farm system makes clear that it is not consistent with pure Communist doctrine. While the land and all agricultural implements are group property, houses, gardens, chickens, pigs, cows and many other items remained the property of individual villagers. In urban areas individuals continue to own such basic items as homes, holiday houses, and automobiles.



Beginning with the Stalin era, the Soviet system has been characterized by an ongoing combination of the collectivization principle and pragmatism. However, the nature of this pragmatism is not at all economic. If economic considerations were paramount, Moscow would long ago have disbanded the collective farms and reintroduced private enterprise in economic life. The collective farm system has brought Soviet agriculture to its knees and the Soviet economy has still not recovered from the chronic depression caused by Stalin's drastic experiments during the 1930s. Soviet pragmatism is thus dictated by imperial and not economic interests. The relationship between the principle of collectivization and pragmatism is adjusted according to the interests of the empire. The collective farm worker category is not a socio-economic category as much as it an imperial category, similar to the "colon" class of the late Roman era. If villagers live according to the principles of individual self-reliance and private enterprise, they maintain a vital national awareness. This consciousness makes the collapse of any empire inevitable. Imperial self-interest necessitates the destruction of the villagers' traditional way of life. The villager is transformed into a "proletarian" who is neither tied to his land nor to his national heritage. Such rootless people easily lose touch with their native localities and migrate to the endless wastes of Siberia or Kazakhstan—from one end of the empire to the other—in search of higher wages. Moscow's intention has been to assimilate the non-Russian half of the Soviet empire. It is also interesting to note that even during the worst economic periods of Soviet rule, there has always been sufficient liquor available in the stores. This is one Soviet product which has never been in short supply. In destroying national consciousness, liquor has been as important as official Soviet propaganda. It's not difficult to persuade a drunk "proletarian" that as far as his national heritage is concerned "What's the difference?"

The collective farms are essential to the Soviet system, not because of Marxist economic doctrine (Yugoslavia gets along without them), but to maintain the empire. It is the Soviet Russian empire and not Communist orthodoxy that bans private enterprise. This is a key fact in understanding the nature of the Soviet system.

Thus, economic principles are ignored in favor of imperial interests. Not even the catastrophic economic consequences of this policy induce Moscow to change. Accordingly, the orthodox "purity" of Marxism has been abandoned. Of course, Soviet textbooks and newspapers repetitiously insist that everything is advancing "according to Marxist principles." But whoever has the patience to read past the third page of Marx's *Das Kapital* (almost no one in the Soviet Union has done so) realizes that the Kremlin

ignores numerous Marxist principles. One example is the notion of "the total collapse of capitalism" which has not occurred as Marx "scientifically" predicted. Another is the Leninist thesis that the Soviet Union would not require a standing army (only a limited "people's militia"), nor secret diplomacy, and so forth. These things are never mentioned in the USSR. While using Communist slogans for its own ends, the Soviet Russian empire has simply discarded everything about Communism which might prove advantageous to the non-Russian peoples.

The introduction of the collectivization and industrialization programs at the end of the 1920s meant that the empire once again held the reins of power tightly in its hands. During the chaos of the revolution these reins were temporarily torn from its control. State policy shifted in different directions during the 1920s in response to various forces. But when Moscow recovered and fully realized the situation, it once again adapted to the needs of the empire.

Although the impetus for the repressions of the 1930s is widely considered to have been socio-economic, often even by those who made policy, the real motivation behind the repression was a subconscious and unexpressed need to preserve the imperial system. The imperial instinct prompted the concrete social forms of the repression as well as the kind of totalitarianism which could be effective during the 1930s. If there had been no pressing imperial interests or Russian chauvinism, the repressions of the 1930s would have been only a tenth as severe. This is shown by comparing the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the Armenian massacre of 1915. Foreigners who were in Petrograd in late 1917 were astonished at how little blood was shed in the Bolshevik seizure of power. When one class fights another, many shots are fired but few people are killed. In contrast, an estimated two million Armenians were slaughtered in 1915 in an effort by the Turkish (Ottoman) empire to put an end to the Armenian national question. It is estimated that one half of the Armenian nation was murdered.

These elementary analogies are enough to show that the murder of seven million Ukrainians in 1933 could not have been motivated by socio-economic or "class" reasons alone. Conflicts claim millions of victims only in struggles between nations, as in wars, colonial struggles, and so forth, when the national question is paramount. Moscow needed a holocaust. The imposed famine of 1933 and the whole range of repressive mass killings during the 1930s were an expression of the empire's struggle for self-preservation. It was this instinct, and not the economic doctrine of collectivization, which impelled the Kremlin to carry out the horrors of the 1930s. No one can say how "real" socialist economics are supposed to work in practice. For example,



Sweden calls itself a socialist society and some regard it as a model of socialism. But Sweden has never abolished private enterprise. And although Poland has been under complete Soviet domination since 1945, collectivized agriculture has never been introduced there.

An article entitled "The Ethnocide of the Ukrainians in the USSR," signed by pseudonym Maksym Sahaydak, appeared in 1974 in the underground journal *Ukrainian News*. After quoting from Stalin's speech to the 10th Soviet Communist Party Congress of 1921, predicting that the cities of the Ukraine will inevitably become Ukrainianized, the author concludes: "The invaders dreaded this as they would an inferno and they still dread it today. Bolshevik Moscow, headed by 'the father of all nations' (Stalin) did everything it could to stop the Ukrainian city from becoming Ukrainianized. This was the central reason for the famine in Ukraine in 1932 and 1933."<sup>16</sup>

From a historical perspective the year 1933 in the history of the Russian empire is analogous to 1848 in the Austrian empire, when the rulers in Vienna preserved the realm from dissolution by taking effective measures to repress the centrifugal national movements. This was the last great convulsion and the last effective effort for self-preservation before the final earthquake in 1918 brought about the collapse of the Habsburg empire.

### Notes

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## A Challenge to Thought Control: The Historiography of Leon Degrelle

ROBERT J. CHAPMAN

*(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)*

**I**t has been often said that the first casualty of war is truth. Belligerents have always had their own versions of history, particularly with regard to responsibility for wars. And yet certain basic facts and events have not been totally suppressed, if only due to the lack of total media technology and control. Roman statesmen never hid their intense hostility towards Carthage, yet historians have been able to produce rather reliable accounts of the Punic wars. Rome was the absolute military victor, but does not appear completely blameless and righteous in history books. Although Carthage was utterly destroyed by Rome, the feats of Hannibal were duly recorded, his heroism and his integrity were not denied, his character was not assassinated, his genius was not called madness and his motives were understood and respected in the context of his duty to his country.

For four thousand years historians were rather able to keep track of human events. Despite the triumph of victorious nations, the vanquished were not eternally execrated. If the victor was particularly vindictive, honest historians might have to maintain discreet, low profile research for a time but they were eventually able to record the facts without fear of retribution. Defeated nations were not prevented from rendering their versions of history. Historians, like accountants, could gather facts and figures as well as give their own interpretations.



The phenomenon of distorting or suppressing facts from the historical ledger is relatively recent. In conjunction with forced military conscription and absolutist ideology, it first appeared with the advent of the French Revolution.

While the *ancien regime* tolerated even those who were determined to abolish it, and men like Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu were feted in the royal salons, the French revolutionaries stamped out dissent with the guillotine. Suspected opponents of the revolutionary regime were simply put to death.

Historians were among the first victims of this democratic reign of terror. Millions were murdered and historical truth became a casualty. Fortunately for the world, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre did not prevail, but instead fell victim to their own terror.

It proved only a short respite. The virus was out of the bottle. During the nineteenth century, many tyrants and would-be tyrants became infected. Yet truth, or at least diversity of opinion, survived in countries not subjected to ideological tyranny.

Marat's ideological heirs, nurtured by the teachings of Marx and Engels, took control of Russia in 1917. Another major country fell under the absolutist rule of ideological fanatics. Once again historians became victims. Events were erased from memory, "facts" were invented, and whole classes of people were exterminated or classified as non-persons in the re-written history books produced for the new Soviet man. Recalcitrant historians were quickly liquidated as counter revolutionaries or anti-Semites.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the facts about this modern-age tyranny filtered out and Western historians were able to record them.<sup>2</sup>

Tyranny took a quantum leap between 1917 and the present. What the French and Marxist revolutions were not able to accomplish—namely, control of history to perpetuate their own regimes—has become the norm around the world. The wartime alliance of the Anglo-American Allies and Soviet Russia did not make the Kremlin's rulers more democratic. Instead, the "democratic" Allies accepted the practices of Soviet tyranny.

For the first time in history virtually the entire world found itself subjected to the same tyrannical ideology, including a common version of modern history. Gone were the sanctuaries of countries where dissident historians could take refuge to record history or wait until passions had abated. Even the freedom of historians of the defeated countries to write history from the perspective of the vanquished disappeared. The victorious Second World War alliance stopped the clock of history in 1945, unconditionally and universally.

It is certainly not without irony that the joint triumph of the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American democracies over Ger-

many, all in the name of peace, freedom and democracy, should have ushered in a dark era of intellectual tyranny. An era dawned during which anyone daring to express dissident opinions did so at the risk of his life and livelihood. Never before has absolute dogma been so widely imposed around the globe.

It is this exclusivist historical perspective of Marxism, Capitalism, and Zionism which has kept the world in intellectual darkness during the last forty years. Revisionist historians are hounded around the world by the new grand inquisitors of this intolerant dogma.

More than any other country, Germany remains an occupied and divided land under illegitimate governments with legal prohibitions against even modest challenges to the official dogma.

Since 1945 laws have multiplied in many countries to punish recalcitrant historians. And if legal measures fail, inflammatory and lying propaganda produced by modern media technology is used.

But in spite of murder, arson and persecution of every possible kind, the powerful forces of repression and obscurantism have not completely extinguished the spark of freedom. In fact, forty years of persecution have made its defenders stronger and more determined than ever that truth and freedom shall prevail. The annual revisionist conferences sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review are a manifestation of the indomitable spirit of human freedom.

It is ironic indeed that our persecutors behave in a worse fashion than the "Nazis" they execrate. In fact, they have imposed upon the world all the evils, and then some, that they accuse National Socialist Germany of perpetrating. The roles have been completely reversed: the allegedly persecuted are the real persecutors. The historical truth, of course, is that Germany has been viciously oppressed since the First World War onwards, and that those historians who have attempted to set the record straight have likewise been persecuted.

Although historical revisionism is not at all limited to the Second World War era, it has been necessary to emphasize this critical period because the total falsification of modern history was imposed by the Soviets and their wartime democratic Allies. For the past forty years they have controlled historiography to perpetuate their rule through an absolutist worldwide ideology. They operate according to the Orwellian axiom: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."

Today, however, defenders of First Amendment rights and general freedom of speech have joined with historians to battle for the basic right to express oneself without fear of sanctions.



As the falsifiers openly admit, their greatest fear is historical revisionism. They have thus also revealed their greatest weakness: the scrutiny of revisionist historians. It is a matter of constant amazement that the historical falsifiers do not rebut revisionism with facts but with abuse, threats or punishment. The normal exchange of scholarly information common to other intellectual disciplines has also been absent.

The challenge to the tyranny of worldwide thought control has been issued. After four decades of lies, we say: Enough. We can be grateful that the United States is still a bastion where freedom of expression has not been legally eradicated, but time is running out. If today historians are muzzled by denial of their First Amendment rights, who may be next? The freedom of us all is at stake.

The imperative of historians to tell the truth is inextricably linked to freedom of speech. It is a dual role and a dual burden which we cannot shirk. At the same time it is a unique and tremendous opportunity to unravel the falsifications that have held the world captive since 1945.

It would have been of benefit to history if the central figure of the Second World War, Adolf Hitler, had been retired like Napoleon, to write his memoirs and answer the questions of history. The contrast between the way Napoleon and Hitler were treated following their defeats is a measure of how far the world has fallen into totalitarian tyranny.

Defeat on the battlefield cost Napoleon his throne, but he kept his life and honor. To this day he is honored as a personality of prominence in the country he once ruled as well as in the world. In contrast, for Hitler military defeat meant annihilation in a war of total destruction. This pitiless hostility began during the First World War and was institutionalized by the Versailles Treaty. The time is gone when the ultimate price a leader had to pay for military defeat was the loss of his power and prestige.

The Soviets and their democratic allies, who introduced the concept of total war, unconditional surrender and unconditional hatred, have institutionalized bigotry and retribution on a macabre and perpetual basis. This fanatical stance has brought historical inquiry to a standstill.

The corrosive legacy of censorship and suppression will only end if there is free debate, inquiry, research, and scrutiny. The perspective of the vanquished must be given—not by Nuremberg inquisitors—but by those who actually made history on the other side. The academic world and the general public are entitled to examine both sides of the Hitler era.

More than 200,000 books have been written since 1945 about the Second World War, but have they let us know the authentic story?

For example, only a handful of those who had any personal knowledge of Hitler have written about the man. Unfortunately, their ability to tell the truth has been subordinate to their primary obligation for sheer survival.

The Institute for Historical Review believes that the time has now come to understand the man who was the central figure of the most momentous era of modern history: Adolf Hitler. Unfortunately for historians, Hitler and all his lieutenants can no longer be questioned. All, save one.

In its quest to produce a monumental record of this missing side of history, the Institute has commissioned the last wartime National Socialist leader who is still alive and free to fill the gap: Leon Degrelle, the Catholic leader of the Belgian Rexist movement and wartime leader of the Waffen SS volunteer legion "Wallonie."

Degrelle knew Hitler intimately and was one of his most trusted colleagues. One of the most decorated heroes of the Eastern Front, he may also be uniquely qualified to observe history objectively. He is not a German. Along with the people of Belgium and France, he was brought up in an officially anti-German atmosphere.

In the years before the outbreak of war Degrelle was a young Belgian intellectual who published a daily newspaper and organized a national political party which won elections and sent representatives to the Belgian parliament. The popular enthusiasm he generated was reflected in the turnout of millions who applauded his message and supported his program.

When Degrelle returned to Brussels after fighting communism for four years on the Eastern Front, he was given the largest mass welcome in Belgian history. Two million Belgians lined the streets of Brussels to cheer the returning general only two months before the Allies invaded that country.

One of the outstanding writers in the French language, he has published more than forty books and essays ranging from poetry to economics, from architecture to history. He has been acknowledged as a passionate orator and a soldier of rare valor. He joined the ranks of the 600,000 foreign volunteers of the Waffen SS as a private and earned all his stripes at the front. After four continuous years in the inferno of battle, his legion was one of the last to retreat from Russia.

This titanic struggle is described in his famous epic, *Campaign in Russia*, which earned him renown in Europe as the "Homer of the Twentieth Century." (This book has been recently published in English by the Institute for Historical Review.)

During his final meeting with Adolf Hitler, as bombs rained across Germany, Degrelle recalled that Hitler was calm and composed. They shared a last supper together. Hitler served him, cutting his bread and pouring him a glass of wine. He gazed con-



fidently into Degrelle's eyes: "We will all die, but you, Leon, must live. You must live to tell the world the truth."

In 1945, Degrelle escaped from Germany to Norway where he boarded a single-engine plane and flew over Allied-occupied Europe to crash land on the Spanish border as his craft ran out of fuel. He suffered multiple injuries in the landing including several broken bones. He spent a year in the hospital recuperating, most of it in a plaster cast, unable to move. Typically, as soon as his right arm became free he began writing his masterwork, *Campaign in Russia* ("The Lost Legion"). It has appeared in two French editions.

The Allies threatened to invade Spain unless Degrelle and wartime French premier Pierre Laval were not immediately turned over for execution. Franco compromised. He turned over Laval but kept Degrelle on the grounds that he could not be physically removed from the hospital.

A year later Degrelle was given refuge in a monastery. Members of his family and many friends and supporters were arrested and tortured to death by the "democratic liberators" of Belgium. His six children were forcibly shipped to detention centers in different parts of Europe after their names were changed. The authorities ordered that they were never to be permitted contact with one another or with their father.

The new Belgian government condemned him to death in absentia on three separate occasions. A special law was passed, the *Lex Degrellana*, which made it illegal to transfer, possess, or receive any book by or about Degrelle. The IHR's *Campaign in Russia* is automatically banned in Belgium.

Completely alone, Degrelle went on to rebuild his shattered life from nothing. With the energy and burning spirit that had never left him, he worked as a manual laborer in construction. And just as he had risen from private to general on the battlefield, Degrelle rose to build a major construction company with important contracts. The quality and efficiency of his company became so well known that the United States government commissioned him to build major defense projects, including military airfields, in Spain. Meanwhile his emissaries searched Europe for his kidnapped children. All were found in the most amazing circumstances and returned to their father.

On twelve separate occasions over the last forty years Degrelle has challenged the Belgian government to put him on public trial with a jury. His repeated demands to be tried in a legitimate court of law (as opposed to an inquisitorial Nuremberg-style show trial) have been met with embarrassed and guilty silence.

The Institute has commissioned this giant historical figure and first-hand witness and participant to momentous events to write a

definitive, fourteen volume revisionist historical account. Degrelle's first-hand experience, as well as his acquaintance with Churchill, Mussolini and every other major figure of the Second World War, makes this a project of tremendous historical significance.

Will these books be biased in favor of Hitler? General Degrelle was already provided the answer in his other published works. He writes without fear or favor. His facts have been cursed by his opponents, but never disproved. It is this approach combined with encyclopedic knowledge that assures a valuable end result.

The first manuscript of 1268 pages is divided into three parts and is entitled: *Hitler: Born in Versailles*. It is the foundation of the thirteen succeeding books which will average 400 pages each, complete with reproductions of previously unpublished documents and photographs of key personalities. Each volume will deal with a specific aspect of Hitler's legacy. They will be entitled: *Hitler the Democrat*, *Hitler and the Church*, *Hitler and the Germans*, *Hitler and the United States*, *Hitler and Stalin*, *Hitler and England*, *Hitler and France*, *Hitler and the Banks*, *Hitler and the Communists*, *Hitler and the Jews*, *Hitler the Politician*, *Hitler the Military Strategist*, and *Hitler and the Third World*.

"There would never have been a Hitler without the Versailles Treaty," Degrelle says. The vested interests joined to eviscerate Germany with unprecedented iniquity. Hitler emerged as an unlikely champion from the depths of his nation's misery and despair. He was a graphic artist with a passion for music. His battle uniform was his only worldly possession. He had never been involved in politics. From the abyss of hopelessness and against the combined forces of established power Hitler created, directed, and lived his revolution from beginning to end. He broke through all prejudices and opposition to the German people, and they responded. He earned every vote he received by tirelessly addressing people in town after town and city after city. Hitler was democratically elected. When he proceeded to implement his mandate, the combined forces of Capitalism, Communism, and Zionism once again declared war against Germany.

Degrelle's comprehensive historical survey reviews all the facts in the chain of events that led to Hitler's election and the beginning of the Second World War. He also provides a rare look behind the scenes of the Versailles conference.

Degrelle maintains that Hitler's social reforms will ultimately be remembered even more than his military feats. He reviews Hitler's innovation of paid vacations and profit-sharing for work. The German leader introduced affordable and decent housing for all citizens. Hitler insisted that every German family was entitled to a home with a garden for flowers and vegetables. He required



safe and pleasant working conditions. Every factory was to have a sports field, swimming pool, trees, flowers, and a pleasant architectural design. He insisted that working conditions must not impair the physical and spiritual wellbeing of the workers. He organized the mass production of the cheap "People's Car" or Volkswagen for every German family and offered them on low payments to every worker. Hitler constructed modern and beautiful freeways. He abolished usury on the principle that a nation's wealth is in its work force, not its hoard of gold. The state, Hitler emphasized, is the exclusive servant of the people and recognizes no other master. The list of Hitler's social innovations and achievements goes on and on.

In 1933 all this was unheard of. His dynamic social revolution of deed, not rhetoric, infuriated Germany's enemies and united them in hatred.

The Versailles mutilation of Germany and Austria-Hungary parceled out many millions of Germans (including German Austrians), Hungarians, and others like cattle to the hostile rule of alien neighboring countries. General Degrelle surveys the Franco-British intrigues in the affairs of Central Europe, the systematic betrayal of Wilson's Fourteen Points, the secret treaties that doomed Wilson's mission from the start, and the cynical Franco-British dividing up of vast territories without regard to the will of the millions of hapless inhabitants.

Degrelle points out that the history of Hitler and Germany can be understood only within the context of the Versailles Treaty and the harsh subjugation of Germany by implacable enemies. "Whenever I hear the Allied side of history," he adds, "I am often reminded of the reporter sent to report on a brawl. He scrupulously recorded all the blows delivered by one side and none from the other. His story would truthfully bear witness to the aggression of one side and the victimization of the other. But he would be lying by omission. I do not deny anything that Hitler did, but I also point out what the Communists and their Western allies did, and I let the public be the judge."

I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to read the first volume of Degrelle's multi-volume survey. I can vouch for its momentous importance. With members of my family I have visited him at his home in Spain. This project will be a milestone of historical writing that will shatter the foundations of the great historical lies of our time. It will be a definitive survey for generations to come. I believe that its magnitude will change the course of human affairs.

## Notes

1. For example, the intrepid Roman Catholic scholar J.B. Pranaitis, a formidable Hebraist, was executed in 1917 by the Cheka (Soviet secret police) for "thought crimes."
2. Cf. Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*, Stefan Possony, *Lenin The Compulsive Revolutionary*; Raymond Arthur Davies, *Odyssey Through Hell* and Jean Fontenoy, *Frontier Rouge—Frontier d'Enfer*.



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# EXECUTION

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## by HUNGER

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### The Hidden Holocaust

**MIRON  
DOLOT**

Seven million people in the "breadbasket of Europe" were deliberately starved to death at Stalin's command. This holocaust has been suppressed for half a century. Now, a survivor speaks.

This poignant eyewitness account of the Ukrainian famine by one of the survivors is the story of the young Miron Dolot's day-to-day confrontation with despair and death—his helplessness as friends and family were arrested, abused, and tortured—and his gradual realization, as he matured, of the absolute control the Soviets had over his life and the lives of his people. But it is also the story of personal dignity in the face of insurmountable horror and humiliation. And it is an indictment of the communist slave system which has since embarked upon new genocide in Afghanistan.

In 1929 Joseph Stalin ordered the collectivization of all Ukrainian farms in an effort

to destroy the well-to-do peasant farmers. In the ensuing years, a brutal Soviet campaign of confiscations, terrorizing, and murder spread throughout Ukrainian villages. What food remained after the seizures was insufficient to support the population. In the resulting famine as many as seven million Ukrainians starved to death—a holocaust deserving of study and commemoration.

*Execution by Hunger* will stand as one of the classics of a genre that continually reminds us of the cruelty and corruption of Soviet communism.

Miron Dolot is a teacher of Slavic languages and lives in California.

"Official spokesmen and journalists still go on denying that there ever was an appalling famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, brought about deliberately by Stalin when he ordered the collectivization of agriculture. As it happens, I was a correspondent in Moscow at the time, representing, as it then was, the *Manchester Guardian*, and managed to find my way to the famine area and report thereon. It was a scene of unimaginable suffering and starvation, which Miron Dolot's book brings back very vividly to me. The book is based on the author's Ukrainian childhood and his studies of Soviet policy which, whatever the Soviets may call it, is nothing but imperialism at its most ruthless. Ukrainian exiles now are scattered about the world: *Execution by Hunger* will help them to go on cherishing their national identity and hoping for the day of delivery from their country's present servitude."

—Malcolm Muggeridge

*Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust* • 231pp, Clothbound, \$18.00  
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## Book Reviews

**QUIET NEIGHBORS: PROSECUTING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS IN AMERICA** by Alan A. Ryan, Jr. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1984, 386pp, \$15.95, ISBN 0-15-175823-9.

*Reviewed by Ted O'Keefe*

**I**t's been six years since the Office of Special Investigations was established in the Justice Department to gather up the few loose ends remaining after Operation Keelhaul and similar actions in 1945, when the United States, Britain, and France rounded up millions of hapless refugees from the Soviet empire and its satrapies to send them back to be hanged, shot, or worked to death in the archipelago of the Gulag. Alan Ryan, who headed the OSI for three years, has written this book to justify his and his office's part in one of the most serious abuses of American justice in this century, by which hundreds of immigrants who have lived blameless and productive lives in their adopted country are to be stripped of their rights and dragged off to show trials and certain death in Israel and the USSR.

Despite Exterminationist supermaven Raul Hilberg's characterization of Ryan as "an outstanding lawyer with the mind of a philosopher," by the evidence of *Quiet Neighbors* Ryan is a prosecutorial shyster whose mind is nimble and devious enough to carry out the duties his masters (don't worry, he tells us who they are) have entrusted him, but is clearly overtaxed at the writing of a brief for the prosecution both coherent and discreet.

Ryan's legal training was evidently good enough to land him a clerkship with Supreme Court Justice Byron "Whizzer" White, but his style of writing and the quality of his reasoning supply yet another instance of why those vocations once known as "the learned professions" are now called simply "the professions." A Yuppie-type who knows how to pander to the left-liberal galleries by adducing the well-cropped lawns and lawabiding habits of his prey as further grounds for suspecting them, Ryan is a master of the wrong word and the botched historical reference. For him, trials "appear and fade away like astronomical phenoma"; for the OSI the prolonged round of hearings and appeals necessary to dispatch its victims is a "lugubrious process," Ryan assures us that the Croats are Teutonic, and at one point informs us that the Sicherheitsdienst of the SS was commanded by Reinhold Heydrich.



Nevertheless, these are almost minor peccadilloes in the context of the grotesque and willful travesty of history Ryan serves up in *Quiet Neighbors*. Not surprisingly, his attempts at a history of the "Holocaust," the flight of the alleged war criminals to America, and the rise of the OSI are encysted between an "indictment" (of America) and a "verdict" (guilty as charged), clothed as a lengthy brief for the prosecution.

Ryan begins his story with an account of the DP's, or displaced persons, in which he manages to write an entire chapter about the post-war fate of the refugees and concentration-camp survivors from Eastern and Central Europe without once mentioning the forced "repatriation" of millions of them to the USSR. To the flight of hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine, which was represented by Zionist organizers and propagandists of the day as European Jewry's sole salvation, Ryan devotes half a line, for he has a different ax to grind. In the face of nine-tenths of the historical evidence, as well as all probability, he claims that Jewish DP's were second-class citizens, discriminated against in favor of Balts, Ukrainians, and ethnic Germans. Deftly picking and choosing among such evidence as seems to serve his case—the biased reports of Jewish officials seeking to obtain even further favoritism for the Jews who were moving by the hundreds of thousands into the American-occupied zone of Germany—the author waves away the rigid standards laid down against considering Germans and their "collaborators" as displaced persons, and implies, without actually saying so (for he knows better), that the number of Jews who came to America under the several special immigration laws passed after the war, was less than that justified by their numbers in the DP centers.

Ryan says nothing of the intense pressure which was being generated by Zionists at the time, pressure directed against the migration of Jews to America and their remaining in Europe as well as in favor of their admission to Palestine. If Dorothy Thompson, for most of her career as relentlessly a pro-Jewish publicist as was to be found in the morass of American journalism of her day, were still among the living, she could enlighten Mr. Ryan on this matter with not a little poignancy, for that erstwhile "righteous Gentile" was ruined by her pleas not only on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine, but by her "powerful plea . . . made to the United Nations to open the allied countries to the displaced European Jews. There are Zionists, however," she continued, "who did not like that column. They don't want any alternative except Palestine . . ." (Connoisseurs of the swift rises and precipitous declines in the fortunes of public men and women, as well as of the fine line which separates a Just Goy from just a goy, are advised to consult Marion K. Sanders's *Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time*).

Ryan's efforts to stir up sympathy for the Jews of post-war Europe are at the expense of the various peoples of Eastern Europe, for none of whom he seems to have any compassion. Despite a few transparent efforts to assure the reader of his fair-mindedness, Ryan generally sees Balts and Ukrainians, in particular, as anti-Semitic and vitiated by treason against the Soviet Union and collaboration with the invading Germans. For him, the issues of the war in the East were clearcut: the Germans were conquerors and enslavers, the Soviets were liberators. He chafes at the vestigial attempts of the U.S. State Department to refrain from diplomatic acquiescence in the Soviet annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which to him merely obstruct the condign justice to be meted out to traitors and "war criminals." He continually falls into locations such as "the despised Ukrainians" and approvingly cites such references as "the notorious Nazi Fifth Column" (referring to the ethnic Germans of Central and Eastern Europe).

Ryan's disdain for the complex lot of the peoples of the vast belt between Russia proper and the nations of East-Central Europe, sucked inexorably into a hellish vortex of a quarter-century of war, revolution, famine, and purges is magnified when he comes to consider the cases of the individuals he claims have committed "war crimes." The reader should understand that for Ryan and the OSI a seemingly complicated standard for evaluating and punishing the conduct of immigrants in far-off lands four decades ago, is in force. Ryan finds great fault with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the jurisdiction of which over this sort of case was removed in the putsch engineered by Congressperson Elizabeth Holtzman and Felonperson Joshua Eilberg in 1979, for proceeding in the 1950's with three cases against Jews charged by other Jews with beating and otherwise mistreating them, as well as in one case rounding up Jews for deportation as a member of the ghetto police. Although each of the accused Jews was allowed to remain in America, Ryan speaks plaintively of the INS finding "Jews who were Nazis" (as if brutality in the service of an authoritarian power were intrinsically "Nazi").

As to the non-Jews implicated in "war crimes" (at one place Ryan disclaims the phrase "war crimes," following Simon Wiesenthal and other propagandists, but he uses it throughout), the author's standard of evidence, as well as of basic equity, is selective indeed. He accepts without qualm lists and documents supplied by the Soviet Union, and one of the most revealing chapters of *Quiet Americans* recounts his journey to Moscow in 1980, where the trembling lawyer was duly cowed and impressed by several functionaries of the Soviet's vast terror and prison machine (he accepts a cigarette from one, although he's a non-



smoker; sweats through the firm, potentially bone-crushing handshake of another; and returns breathless and ecstatic at the Reds' deigning to help out in what can only be a vast propaganda bonanza for the Kremlin).

A cardinal instance of the way Ryan and the OSI deal with historical evidence, as well as of their contempt for American ideals of fair play and justice, is Ryan's handling of the case against John Demjanjuk, whom Ryan and the U.S. government hold guilty of the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews in 1942-43 at Treblinka, a German camp in Poland. The case against Demjanjuk, whose accusers say was called "Ivan the Terrible" in the days when he was allegedly operating a diesel engine hooked up to the Treblinka gas chambers, is clearly Ryan's *chef d'oeuvre*. He begins his "indictment" with an account of Ivan's supposed doings at the camp, and goes on to deal at further length with Ivan's crimes at Treblinka in a chapter devoted entirely to Demjanjuk, the first of several chapters dealing with specific "war criminals."

In his Demjanjuk chapter Ryan goes to some pains to display his newly acquired mastery of Exterminationism. His account of the establishment and workings of Treblinka is drawn from several sources, as well as the testimony of a number of professed eyewitnesses, the discrepancies in whose testimony "do not seriously detract from their accounts," according to our lawyer-cum-historian. Ryan has enough grasp of the more refined account (let us call it the "Revised Standard Version") of the "Holocaust" story to be aware that Jean-Francois Steiner's Treblinka has been banished from the ranks of canonical works on Exterminationism to the Exterminationist Apocrypha, although he archly announces that the book is "accurate enough for the lay reader."

Despite Ryan's mention of the Steiner book's shortcomings, he latches on greedily to one of the book's central theses, that Treblinka was a crowning achievement in the Nazi technology of death, and that its establishment was a triumph for cost-effective mass-murder. Not for Ryan is the emphasis of some "Holocaust" experts on the squeamishness, both on the part of the firing squads and the Nazi hierarchy, which resulted in a more "humane" method of killing: killing the Jews with rifle-fire was far "too primitive, too costly, too time-consuming . . . there were too many of them, and not enough bullets." The reader may make his own calculations as to the probable expenditure of bullets by a nation which fielded an army of several million men for the better part of six years, for much of that time in heavy combat, as well maintaining an air force in combat over the skies of Europe during the same time period, and judge Ryan's reasoning here accordingly.

Ryan believes that "Treblinka was not only murder's main factory but its first research and development center" (sort of a demonic Silicon Valley). Great strides were made, according to Ryan. 450 to 500 persons could be crowded into a 25-meter square gas chamber, a particularly notable achievement in view of the fact that previously, as the author informs us, the technicians of death had been unable to cram more than thirty or forty Jews—"no matter how tightly packed"—into specially modified "mobile killing vans." If Ryan's figures are to be believed, the trucks must have had carrying capacities of something less than two square meters—possibly less than that of their cabs—rendering the gas chambers of Treblinka a great advance indeed. If this premiere murder factory lacked crematoria to dispose of the bodies (something of an anomaly, in view of the great secrecy which Ryan alleges shrouded the camp), technology, we are left to assume, like nature, *non facit salta*.

Certainly Ryan's villain, Ivan the Terrible Demjanjuk, must have cut an outlandish figure among the austere technocrats who built and managed Treblinka, since it is alleged by the author (following the testimony of several sworn witnesses) that Ivan was wont to sally forth from his engine room whenever the mood struck him to carry out bestial assaults on his victims' ears, anuses, and genitalia. Whether Ivan was compelled, by his superiors or through some super-human exercise of self-discipline, to stick to his tank engine on those mornings when twenty thousand Jews arrived, were gassed, and "were dead by noon" is not made clear by Ryan, although he approvingly quotes several witnesses, one of whom has Ivan driving a cart as Jews are being driven into the gas chambers, another of whom claims that the spry Ukrainian met every train at the station, and another of whom claims Demjanjuk's duties included driving his victims into the chambers himself.

Despite Ryan's skills in reconstructing the technological and historical background to Treblinka, and in squeezing the last tear from his witnesses, and their roccoco atrocity stories, he was cognizant of the need of some supporting documentary evidence. With the help of a Soviet agent living in the United States, whom Ryan declines to name other than with a pseudonym, U.S. officials were provided with a reference to a document which purports to show that Demjanjuk served as a concentration camp guard, and then, later, during the proceedings against Demjanjuk, the document itself, an ID card from a training camp for concentration camp personnel located at Travniki in Poland, with a picture of what seems to be a young Demjanjuk prominently displayed.

Much has been written about the propriety of accepting any sort



of evidence from a regime which is unsurpassed in the dissemination of forgeries and faked documents of all kinds, and justifiably so. What makes the Demjanjuk ID card interesting, however, in the light of the testimony and allegations against him, is the fact that the ID, a picture of which is reproduced in *Quiet Neighbors*, has no reference to a posting at Treblinka at all. We learn that, according to the card, the holder was "abkommandiert" to a place called "LG. Okzow" on 22 September 1942 (at close to the height of Treblinka's mass-murder season) and then sent off to Sobibor on 27 March 1943. There is no mention of Treblinka, an anomaly which evidently troubles Ryan not in the least. He makes no reference to what "LG. Okzow" might have been, and aside from his puzzled ruminations over the discrepancy in the initial Soviet report that placed Demjanjuk at Sobibor and the identifications of Jewish "survivors" of Treblinka, the obvious disparity between the evidence of the ID card, real or fake, and the testimony of the witnesses is passed over in silence.

What to make of a procedure so clumsy, and so shabby, that it would be laughed out of a police court if it ever so much as came to a hearing? Clearly it has little to do with the norms of justice in America. Then again, the OSI is scarcely an American body. It serves no American purpose, its investigations are dependent almost entirely on evidence supplied by the USSR and witnesses produced from abroad, mainly from Israel, and nine-tenths of its activity is focused on events which occurred in countries far from America and which didn't involve Americans. Only two aspects of the OSI's activities are American: Americans foot the bill, and several hundred Americans are being stripped of their rights and driven from their country.

Ryan is fairly explicit, despite certain efforts to portray the OSI as of vast moment to America's conscience, in acknowledging to whom it is he owes allegiance. As he tells us, when he became head of OSI he was concerned about his not being a Jew. "Could a good lawyer who was not Jewish have the same commitment (to round up and deport alleged war criminals—ed.)?" As he told his Jewish boss at the Department of Justice, Assistant Attorney General Philip B. Heymann: "I believed that Jewish leaders would be fair enough to give me—and Heymann—enough time to judge whether that commitment was there, and whether I could produce results. If I could, my religion would not matter; if I could not, I deserved to get the sack." So much for separation of church and state; so much for justice in America.

Ryan's allegiance to Israel and his fawning compliance with Soviet officials might be more than enough to disqualify him for any position in an American government and enough to result in the abolition of the OSI immediately, particularly by an ad-

ministration that at least gives lip service to American nationalism and anti-Communism. The fact that several Americans have already been banished from a country that they served loyally (witness Bishop Viorel Trifa's establishment of an anti-Communist Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in America to counter the existing, Bucharest-controlled body), the fact that at least two have been driven to suicide, and the glaring violations of justice and the rights of several hundred other Americans, whom the OSI is busily investigating and indicting even now, would seem to spur the Reagan administration even more vigorously. The fact that these haven't occurred teaches us more about the present reality of government in America than the leaders of the current administration would like us to know, just as Ryan's book teaches us more about the author and the OSI than was his purpose in revealing.

**EICHMANN INTERROGATED: Transcripts from the Archives of the Israeli Police** edited by Jochen von Lang in collaboration with Claus Sibyll. Translated from the German by Ralph Manheim. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, 1983, 293pp.

*Reviewed by Ted O'Keefe*

**T**he kidnapping, trial, and execution of Adolf Eichmann, the German officer alleged by the Israelis to have played a central role in the killing of six million Jews in the years 1941 to 1944, have attracted vast attention and endless comment. Much of this has dealt with ethical or even metaphysical issues: Eichmann's justification in claiming that he was merely carrying out his orders, "the banality of evil," and the like. This book, which purports to be a translation of selected transcripts of Eichman's nine-month interrogation by the Israeli Police, presents a fairly detailed account of Eichmann's alleged misdeeds and attempts to establish that he was "in fact the flywheel of [the] merciless extermination machine."

The transcripts, which were translated from German to English by Ralph Manheim, well known for his translation of *Mein Kampf*, are conceded by their editors, Jochen von Lang and Claus Sibyll, to have been "collated . . . so as to present the record in logical and chronological order." Like anything which comes out of Israel, particularly when it touches on the "Holocaust" tale, their authenticity is open to considerable doubt. Nevertheless, despite the pains of the Israelis, as well as the editors and translator, the Eichmann transcripts, when carefully studied, offer considerable ammunition to revisionists of the Extermination myth.



The reader will doubtless be surprised to learn that Eichmann's interrogation was carried out by the Israeli Police Force, a national organization comparable in its duties and function to the British national police headquartered at Scotland Yard. The details of Eichmann's surveillance and capture remain murky, despite several accounts, at least one of them purportedly by former Mossad chief Isser Harel, but few doubt that Harel's shadowy spy and terror directorate played a commanding role in the affair. The most interesting conversations between Eichmann and the Israelis were between the former SS Obersturmbannführer and the Mossad, particularly in light of his many dealings with Zionist leaders and agents, from his trip to Palestine in 1937 with Haganah operative Feivel Polkes to his contacts with Raoul Wallenberg in 1944.

It is interesting to learn from the introduction by Avner Less, the German-born policeman who questioned Eichmann, that of the thirty-man team charged with preparing the interrogation "no one . . . had detailed knowledge of the Holocaust." Since the interrogation team had to "plow through" the voluminous records of the Nuremberg trials, as well as material supplied by the Yad Vashem center, it is clear that Less and his helpers lacked a coherent account of the activities Eichmann had been arrested for, and were conducting an investigation and an interrogation simultaneously. This goes far to explain the ineptitude often exhibited by Less in this edition of the transcripts, which doubtless were edited to put the Israeli case in the best light.

Captain Less's ignorance of Eichmann's career (he admits in his introduction that Gerald Reitlinger's *Final Solution* "became almost a bible" for him), didn't stop him from attempting to create an all-encompassing role for his prisoner as architect of the "Final Solution," which for Less means the systematic murder of the Jews of German-occupied Europe. The documentary evidence presented by Less as to Eichmann's role in promoting Jewish emigration from Austria, the Czech lands which then formed the "protectorate" of Bohemia and Moravia, and Germany proper, as well as for his part in organizing the deportation of Jews from various European countries to ghettos and camps in territories to the east of the German Reich, is for the most part credible. As to Eichmann's activities in other facets of the "Final Solution," however, there is grave doubt, even when Eichmann is presented as admitting to them, as he does often in these transcripts. In inflating Eichmann's role in the "Holocaust" story to the stature claimed for it in the testimony of a number of his subordinates in the "war crimes" proceedings, the Israelis have created a dilemma for themselves from which escape is a difficult matter indeed.

In this effort to build up Eichmann as the managing director of Exterminationism they've been more poorly served by the editors, Lang and Sibyll, and their translator, Manheim, than they may imagine. All three are fussy pedants of a particularly Teutonic mold who seldom miss an opportunity to catch an error, no matter how minor, if it will detract from the credibility of an Eichmann or a Hitler (readers of *Mein Kampf* in Manheim's translation will recall his quibbling at the author's every minor lapse, and his assurance that Hitler's use of classical allusions carries no proof that he's familiar with the original works). If Eichmann's forgotten a date or mixed up a time sequence, the editors' intervention is swift and implacable.

All the more damning, therefore, that Eichmann is unchallenged by interrogator, editors, or translator in a whole series of ludicrous mistakes about the version of the "Holocaust" that currently enjoys the imprimatur of recognized Exterminationist experts. The ex-SS officer claims to have witnessed mass slaughter on a grand scale at Auschwitz in the fall of 1941, where the camp commandant, Rudolf Hoess, informed him that the great, factory-like buildings, the chimneys of which belch smoke, are "working to capacity: Ten thousand!" This months before the Auschwitz crematoria were constructed, let alone in use. In a Cook's tour of mass murder sites which Eichmann claims he took that memorable Fall, on the urging of Gestapo chief Heinrich Mueller and Reich Security Main Office head Reinhard Heydrich, he obligingly admits to visiting half a dozen places where killings are already being carried out, including Treblinka—although he's not sure if it's Treblinka—where gassings are being carried out with a submarine engine; places near Minsk and Lemberg, where mass shootings are taking place (including one mass grave from which "blood was gushing out . . . like a geyser," although it had already been filled in); and again Treblinka (this time there's no doubt: phony railway station and all) where gassings are being carried out with the insecticide Zyklon-B. The gushing geysers are a nice touch, and jibe well with the propensity of other "Holocaust" mass graves to quake and spew forth blood, sometimes for months after the killings; Treblinka, however, is supposed not to have been functioning as an extermination center until the summer of 1942, nor was Zyklon-B ever claimed to have been employed there.

As has been stated, these minor absurdities don't seem to have perturbed Captain Less, who throughout the remainder of *Eichmann Interrogated* skips merrily from document to document, confronting his prisoner time and time again with allegedly damning accusations culled from affidavits and bills of lading, passenger lists and confessions, in his efforts to have Eichmann



own up to his full guilt. Although the prisoner does his best to be obliging throughout the transcripts (Eichmann even offers substantiation for the six-million claim—he says he's worked out the numbers from reading Jewish almanacs), he persistently rejects the accusation that he was the organizer of the "Final Solution" or the "flywheel of the extermination machine." Indeed, Eichmann is allowed to score occasionally some telling points. Why carry several weeks provisions, footgear, and blankets, as one deportation order provides, if the deportees are to be gassed as soon as they alight, is Eichmann's plaintive question, to which Less has no good reply. These transcripts, organized and collated as they may be, offer no all-embracing confession.

What has been worked out, however, with Eichmann's seeming agreement, is a role as a sort of presiding genius of Exterminationism, intimately involved somehow in all its grisly details, sometimes to be sure only in the role of a voyeur, gaping at mass slaughters from Kulmhof (which Eichmann calls in these transcripts Kulm, for the most part), at other times implicated by bits of paper which have flowed through his office or across his desk; in a word, an Erich Dorf *avant la lettre* (and the reader will surmise that the fictional Dorf was awarded his subsidiary but all-encompassing part in the *Holocaust* of the novel and the docudrama because Greater Ones than he were privileged to be giving out orders, and more brutal men than he were allowed to carry them out).

The propaganda bonanza which Israel reaped from the Eichmann affair was necessarily transitory. Unfortunately for the proponents of the "Holocaust" tale, *Eichmann Interrogated* will be around for a long time.

**THE FATEFUL TRIANGLE: THE UNITED STATES, ISRAEL & THE PALESTINIANS** by Noam Chomsky. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1983, 481 pp, \$10.00, Pb, ISBN: 0-89608-187-7, (available from IHR, \$11.00 postpaid)

Reviewed by L.A. Rollins

**T**he *Fateful Triangle* is a fact-filled, insightful look at the "special relationship" between the United States and Israel. Noam Chomsky, professor of linguistics at M.I.T., examines the origins of this "special relationship," its disastrous consequences for the Palestinian (and other) Arabs, and its danger for everyone.

Concentrating mainly on Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Chomsky provides a wealth of ideas and information in conflict with the Zionist mythology which pretty much predominates in

the mass media and academia. The result is a devastating debunking of one-sided Zionist propaganda.

The pro-Zionist bias of most American journalists and scholars is one particularly obvious aspect of the aforementioned "special relationship." As Chomsky puts it, "The truth of the matter is that Israel has been granted a unique immunity from criticism in mainstream journalism and scholarship, consistent with its unique role as a beneficiary of other forms of American support" (p. 31). He cites numerous examples of this immunity from criticism, including the silence and/or misrepresentation about Israel's terrorist attacks on U.S. facilities in Egypt (the Lavon affair) and the "clearly premeditated" attack on the "unmistakably identified" U.S.S. *Liberty*, an attack which, according to Chomsky's count, left 34 American crewmen dead and another 75 wounded. Chomsky asks, "Can one imagine that any other country could carry out terrorist bombings of U.S. installations or attack a U.S. ship killing or wounding 100 men with complete impunity, without even critical comment for many years?" (p. 32)

Of course, as Chomsky acknowledges, Israel did come in for an unprecedented amount of criticism because of "Operation Peace for Galilee," the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. But he debunks the attempt by some die-hard Zionist apologists to blame such criticism on—get this—media bias against Israel! As Chomsky shows, there was (and is) no widespread anti-Israel bias in the American mass media, although there was, temporarily at least, a reduction in the usual degree of pro-Israel bias. As Chomsky writes:

The charge that the American media were "pro-PLO" or "anti-Israel" during the Lebanon war—or before—is easily unmasked, and is in fact absurd. It suffices to compare their coverage of the occupied territories, the war, the treatment of prisoners, and other topics, with what we find in the Hebrew press in Israel, a comparison always avoided by those who produce these ridiculous charges. Again, the annals of Stalinism come to mind, with the outrage over Trotskyite "critical support" for the "workers' state." Any deviation from total obedience is intolerable to the totalitarian mentality, and is interpreted as reflecting a "double standard," or worse. (p. 289)

Among those accusing the media of anti-Israel bias was the self-styled Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which, as Chomsky points out, "... specializes in trying to prevent critical discussion of policies of Israel by such techniques as maligning critics, including Israelis who do not pass its test of loyalty. . . ." (p. 14). Chomsky has himself been a victim of defamation by the Anti-Defamation League and knows whereof he speaks.

It is somewhat unusual for an American author, especially a Jewish one, to blow the whistle on the ADL's propaganda antics.



But it is even more unusual to see public criticism of big-time "Holocaust" survivor and pseudo-saint Elie Wiesel and his Wiesel-words regarding Israel's less lovely activities.

Regarding Israeli policies in the occupied territories, for example, Wiesel has said:

What to do and how to do it, I really don't know because I lack the elements of information and knowledge . . . You must be in a position of power to possess all the information . . . I don't have that information, so I don't know . . . (p. 16)

Similarly, after the Sabra and Shatila massacres, Wiesel said, "I don't think we should even comment [on the massacre in the refugee camps] since the [Israeli judicial] investigation is still on. . . . We should not pass judgment until the investigation takes place." (p. 386)

Wiesel, of course, is well known for passing judgment on the actions of other governments, but when it comes to the State of Israel he whistles a different tune. In fact, Wiesel has said, "I support Israel—period. I identify with Israel—period. I never attack, I never criticize Israel when I am not in Israel." (p. 16)

Chomsky points up Wiesel's hypocrisy in the following passage:

Recall Wiesel's unwillingness to criticize Israel beyond its borders, or to comment on what happens in the occupied territories, because "You must be in a position of power to possess all the information." Generalizing the principle beyond the single state to which it applies for this saintly figure, as we should if it is valid, we reach some interesting conclusions: it follows, for example, that critics of the Holocaust while it was in progress were engaged in an illegitimate act, since not being in a position of power in Nazi Germany, they "did not possess all the information." (p. 387)

Of course, one of Wiesel's repeated accusations against "the world" is that it did not say (or do) enough about "the Holocaust" while it was in progress. One wonders how Wiesel will weasel out of this contradiction in his position.

In any case, as you may have noticed, Chomsky does not dispute the historical reality of "the Holocaust." But even so, I think that anyone who will publicly criticize the hypocrisy of such a sacred cow (or should I say, sacred weasel?) as Elie Wiesel, merits the attention of revisionists.

It should be noted that while Chomsky is highly critical of Israeli policies and actions, he is not fundamentally anti-Israel. He supports "a two-state political settlement that would include recognized borders, security guarantees, and reasonable prospects for a peaceful resolution of the conflict." (p. 3) From this position, he criticizes Israel's consistent "rejectionism"—the re-

jection of any political settlement accomodating the "national rights" of the Palestinian Arabs.

Chomsky also criticizes the American policies which make Israeli rejectionism possible. And he points out the hypocrisy involved in criticizing Israeli policies while supporting their subsidization with billions of dollars of American aid each year. As Chomsky puts it:

Clearly, as long as the United States provides the wherewithal, Israel will use it for its purposes. These purposes are clear enough today, and have been clear to those who chose to understand for many years: to integrate the bulk of the occupied territories within Israel in some fashion while finding a way to reduce the Arab population; to disperse the scattered refugees and crush any manifestation of Palestinian nationalism or Palestinian culture; to gain control over Southern Lebanon. Since these goals have long been obvious and have been shared in fundamental respects by the two major political groupings in Israel, there is little basis for condemning Israel when it exploits the position of regional power afforded it by the phenomenal quantities of U.S. aid in exactly the ways that would be anticipated by any person whose head is not buried in the sand. Complaints and accusations are indeed hypocritical as long as material assistance is provided in an unending and ever-expanding flow, along with diplomatic and ideological support, the latter, by shaping the facts of history in a convenient form. Even if the occasional tempered criticisms from Washington or in editorial commentary are seriously intended, there is little reason for any Israeli government to pay any attention to them. The historical practice over many years has trained Israeli leaders to assume that U.S. "opinion makers" and political elites will stand behind them whatever they do, and that even if direct reporting is accurate, as it generally is, its import will gradually be lost as the custodians of history carry out their tasks. (p. 2)

Chomsky's got a point here, and it's an important one. What better way would there be to moderate Israeli policies than to cut off (or at least drastically reduce) American aid to Israel? But even if so, how is such an aid cut-off (or reduction) to be accomplished? That is the question. Unfortunately, I don't know the answer. And, as far as I can see, neither does Chomsky.

Of course, there is much more to *The Fateful Triangle* than I have been able to indicate in this review. To mention just one more subject, those who are interested in some of the more extreme examples of Zionist thinking will find them here, especially in the section on "The Rise of Religious-Chauvinist Fanaticism." In this section, Chomsky quotes the following notable statement:

We will certainly establish order in the Middle East and in the world. And if we do not take this responsibility upon ourselves, we are sinners, not just towards ourselves but towards the entire world.



For who can establish order in the world? All of those western leaders of weak character? (p. 155)

No, this is not a passage from the plagiaristic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The statement was made by Rabbi Elazar Valdman of Gush Emunim in the pages of *Nekudah*, the journal of the religious-chauvinist West Bank settlers. There is a pop song on the radio these days which says, "Everybody wants to rule the world." I don't know if everybody wants to rule the world, but obviously the good rabbi wants to do so. I wish him the worst luck possible in getting what he wants.

Despite some shortcomings, *The Fateful Triangle* is one of the best exposes of Zionist mythology now available. Even those who have read Alfred Lilienthal's *The Zionist Connection* will probably find Chomsky's book an excellent supplement. It is, in any case, a worthy example of what James J. Martin has dubbed "inconvenient history."

**THE EASTERN FRONT: THE SOVIET-GERMAN WAR, 1941-45** by J.N. Westwood. New York: The Military Press, with maps, photographs, index, 1984, 192pp, \$12.95, ISBN 0-517-42314-6

*Reviewed by Charles Lutton*

This Spring marked the 40th Anniversary of VE-Day. In the United States, Britain, and other Western countries, there has been much self congratulation about how "we" won the Second World War. Yet, it was on the Eastern Front that the outcome of the war was decided. Had the best of Hitler's forces not been fighting the Soviets, it is unlikely that there would have been any Allied victory in 1945, or anytime foreseeable thereafter. And it is well to recall that it took the Western Allies, despite their overwhelming superiority in men and materiel, eleven months to subdue the Germans. By way of contrast, in the Spring of 1940, inferior German forces conquered the same territory in about six weeks.

J.N. Westwood, a British military historian with over twenty published titles to his credit, has written a survey of the titanic struggle between Germany and the Soviet Union. Despite some flaws in interpretation, it provides a useful enough introduction to the fighting that went on in this crucial theater of the Second World War.

Westwood reviews the background to the conflict, pointing out that Stalin, confident that he was in a position of strength, took more of Eastern Europe than had been agreed to in the Russo-

German agreements of 1939—including parts of Lithuania and Romanian North Bukovina. But the swift German victories in the Balkans in the Spring of 1941 alarmed Stalin and led him to adopt a softer line. This was too late, for Hitler, long suspicious of the Soviets, had already made up his mind to launch a preventive war against the USSR, before Stalin posed a greater threat to Western Europe.

In his discussion of the opposing balance of forces, the author cites their high standard of training as the key to German success. In terms of military hardware, much German equipment was run of the mill and there were relatively few Panzer and mechanized divisions in the Wehrmacht. Adding to this was the dispersal of German forces necessitated by commitments in the Mediterranean, the Battle of the Atlantic, and occupation duties in Western Europe. In fact, relatively modest German forces, along with units from Finland, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, and later, Spain and Italy, took part in the Eastern campaign.

Despite their shortcomings, the Axis forces captured thousands of square miles of Soviet territory during the opening months of the war and by November 1941 reached the suburbs of Moscow. Westwood is correct in charging Hitler with having failed in the planning stage to agree upon a long-term objective. The author summarizes the problem thusly:

This situation in fact doomed Operation Barbarossa. . . . It was a plan without a conclusion, as the victorious German commanders discovered in September 1941. The foundation of the plan, a three-pronged attack against Leningrad and the Baltic, Moscow and the center, Kiev and the Ukraine, was agreed by all parties, although this had not been the first intention of the planners. But the objectives of the invasion were not laid out in any order of priority. Essentially, the trouble was that Hitler wished to achieve too many things and, even when asked, refused to say which he regarded as the most important, on the grounds that all were achievable. That is, it seemed that there were at least three "first" priorities.

The dispersal of Axis military resources over a broad front with multiple objectives was responsible for its failure to capture Moscow in 1941. By the end of that year, the United States entered the war and the Red Army launched a successful counter-offensive. A number of men close to Hitler even then concluded that Germany had bitten off more than it could chew. Among these insiders was Dr. Fritz Todt, Hitler's armaments minister, who predicted that victory would go to the most primitive contestant, the Russians, because their endurance, especially of cold, was greater.

Indeed, the Soviet Union proved to be a far more resilient opponent than predicted. The Red Army was much larger than anticipated. Terror was deliberately employed to stiffen Soviet



resistance. Westwood points out that, "From the top generals, subject to Stalin's capriciousness, right down to the wavering foot soldiers executed by detachments placed in their rear for that very purpose, the Red Army was characterized by the large number of its men killed by Russian bullets."

This touches on one of my reservations with what is, by and large, an even-handed narrative. Westwood admits that many Soviet casualties were inflicted by NKVD murder squads; by Red partisans against civilians who they feared might cooperate with the Germans; and by the Red Army commanders' reliance on massed frontal attacks which took a heavy toll of front-line troops. Yet, in his final chapter, "The Drive to Berlin," the author tries to excuse the brutalities perpetrated by the Red Army on the conquered people of Central Europe by repeating the claim made by apologists for Soviet behavior, that twenty million Soviet soldiers and civilians were killed in the course of the war: "By 1945 self-restraint could hardly be expected," writes the author. Careful research, chiefly that of Nikolai Tolstoy, has unmasked this particular hoax. On many counts Stalin's government can be held accountable for the frightfully high number of deaths suffered by Soviet subjects during the Second World War. Tolstoy's thesis has been developed in his important book, *Stalin's Secret War* (1981), which appeared in print before Westwood's manuscript was completed.\*

Westwood believes correctly, in my opinion, that the Soviet victory at Stalingrad in early 1943 was not the military turning point of the war. The monumental battle of Kursk in the Summer of 1943 confirmed that ascendancy had irrevocably passed to the Soviets. But even through the last weeks of the war, German regular troops and officers were, on average, superior to their opponents in the East and the West. The Wehrmacht was simply overwhelmed by the forces of the Soviet Union and her Western Allies.

Those looking for a summary of the war on the Eastern Front, describing the battles, equipment, and personalities involved, will likely find this lavishly illustrated volume useful. More detailed accounts of this epic struggle include: *Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict, 1941-45* by Alan Clark (1965/85); *The Russo-German War 1941-45* by Albert Seaton (1970/71); and John Erickson's two-volume study, *The Road to Stalingrad: Stalin's War with Germany* (1975), *The Road to Berlin* (1983) and Leon Degrelle's epic, *Campaign In Russia: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front* (1985) published by the IHR.

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\*See my dual review to *Stalin's Secret War* and *Pawns of Yalta* by Mark Elliott, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring 1984, pp. 84-94.

**DRESDEN 1945: THE DEVIL'S TINDERBOX** by Alexander McKee. New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1982, 1984, with maps, photographs, index, \$18.95, ISBN 0-525-24262-7.

*Reviewed by Charles Lutton*

**T**he destruction of the virtually undefended German city of Dresden by bombers of the Royal Air Force and U.S. Army Air Force, in mid-February, 1945, remains one of the most controversial episodes of the Second World War. In 1963, British historian David Irving published a pathbreaking study on this topic. Another widely-published British military historian, Alexander McKee, has produced a new account of the Dresden bombing, based in part upon an examination of official records recently declassified, as well as interviews from survivors of the attack and Allied airmen who flew in the raids.

McKee had doubts about the efficacy of area bombing when, as a soldier with the 1st Canadian Army, he witnessed the results of the Allied bombing of "friendly" French towns. Following visits to the cities of Caen and Lisieux, he wrote in his personal war diary:

Lisieux and Caen are examples of the inflexibility of the four-motor heavy bombers: it cannot block a road without bringing down a city. I'm not surprised that our troops advancing between Caen and Lisieux were fired on by French civilians. No doubt many Frenchmen found it hard to be liberated by a people who seem, by their actions, to specialise in the mass murder of their friends.

McKee was an eye-witness to the final destruction of the towns of Emmerich and Arnhem. He related that, "In Emmerich I saw no building whatever intact. . . . This process, when the town was an Allied one, we referred to with bitter mockery as 'Liberation.' When you said that such-and-such a place had been 'liberated,' you meant that hardly one stone still stood upon another."

The bombing of urban areas which *might* contain targets of military importance was a policy advocated by leading British air strategists long before the outbreak of the war. McKee reviewed the writings of the air power theorists of the 1920s and 30s, observing that "re-reading them now is like browsing through a British *Mein Kampf*. The horror to come is all there between the lines. What they are really advocating is an all-out attack on noncombatants, men, women, and children, as a deliberate policy of terror."

After sifting through the evidence, the author refers to these proffered justifications as the "standard white-wash gambit." There was a military barracks in Dresden, but it was located on the out-



skirts of the "New Town," miles away from the selected target area. There were some hutted camps in the city—full of starving refugees who had fled from the advancing Red Terror in the East. The main road route passed on the west outside the city limits. The railway network led to an important junction, but this, too, passed outside the center of the "Old City," which was the focal point for the bombing attacks. No railway stations were on the British target maps, nor, apparently, were bridges, the destruction of which could have impeded German communications with the Eastern Front. And despite the claims of U.S. Air Force historians, writing in 1978, that "The Secretary of War had to be appraised of . . . the Russian request for its neutralization," the author has unearthed no evidence of such a Soviet request.

What the author has discovered about the attack is that:

- By the end of Summer, 1944, "there is evidence that the Western Allies were contemplating some terrible but swift end to the war by committing an atrocity which would terrify the enemy into instant surrender. Without doubt, the inner truth has still to be prised loose, but the thread of thought can be discerned."

- "The bomber commanders were not really interested in any purely military or economic targets. . . . What they were looking for was a big built-up area which they could burn . . . . The attraction Dresden had for Bomber Command was that the centre of the city should burn easily and magnificently; as indeed it was to do."

- At the time of the attacks on February 13/14, 1945, the inhabitants of Dresden were mostly women and children, many of whom had just arrived as refugees from the East. There were also large numbers of Allied POWs. Few German males of military age were left in the city environs. The author cites the official Bomber Command history prepared by Sir Charles Webster and Dr. Noble Frankland, which reveals that "the unfortunate, frozen, starving civilian refugees were the first object of the attack, before military movements."

- Dresden was virtually undefended. Luftwaffe fighters stationed in the general vicinity were grounded for lack of fuel. With the exception of a few light guns, the anti-aircraft batteries had been dismantled for employment elsewhere. McKee quotes one British participant in the raid, who reported that "our biggest problem, quite truly, was with the chance of being hit by bombs from other Lancasters flying above us."

- Targets of genuine military significance were not hit, and had not even been included on the official list of targets. Among the neglected military targets was the railway bridge spanning the Elbe River, the destruction of which could have halted rail traffic

for months. The railway marshalling yards in Dresden were also outside the RAF target area. The important autobahn bridge to the west of the city was not attacked. Rubble from damaged buildings did interrupt the flow of traffic within the city, "but in terms of the Eastern Front communications network, road transport was virtually unimpaired."

- In the course of the USAF daylight raids, American fighter-bombers strafed civilians: "Amongst these people who had lost everything in a single night, panic broke out. Women and children were massacred with cannon and bombs. It was mass murder." American aircraft even attacked animals in the Dresden Zoo. The USAF was still at it in late April, with Mustangs strafing Allied POWs they discovered working in fields.

- The author concludes that, "Dresden had been bombed for political and not military reasons; but again, without effect. There was misery, but it did not affect the war." Some have suggested that the bombing of Dresden was meant to serve as a warning to Stalin of what sort of destruction the Western Powers were capable of dealing. If that was their intent, it certainly failed to accomplish the objective.

Once word leaked out that the Dresden raids were generally viewed as terrorist attacks against civilians, those most responsible for ordering the bombings tried to avoid their just share of the blame. McKee points out that:

In both the UK and the U.S.A. a high level of sophistication was to be employed in order to excuse or justify the raids, or to blame them on someone else. It is difficult to think of any other atrocity—and there were many in the Second World War—which has produced such an extraordinary aftermath of unscrupulous and mendacious polemics.

Who were the men to blame for the attacks? The author reveals that:

It was the Prime Minister himself who in effect had signed the death warrant for Dresden, which had been executed by Harris [chief of RAF Bomber Command]. And it was Churchill, too, who in the beginning had enthusiastically backed the bomber marshals in carrying out the indiscriminate area bombing policy in which they all believed. They were all in it together. Portal himself [head of the RAF], Harris of course, Trenchard [British air theorist] too, and the Prime Minister most of all. And many lesser people.

An aspect of the Dresden bombing that remains a question today is how many people died during the attacks of February 13/14, 1945. The city was crammed with uncounted refugees and many POWs in transit, when the raids took place. The exact number of



casualties will never be known. McKee believed that the official figures were understated, and that 35,000 to 45,000 died, though "the figure of 35,000 for one night's massacre alone might easily be doubled to 70,000 without much fear of exaggeration, I feel."

Alexander McKee has written a compelling account of the destruction of Dresden. Although the author served with the British armed forces during the war, his attitude toward the events he describes reminds this reviewer of McKee's fellow Brit, Royal Navy Captain Russell Grenfell, who played a key role in the sinking of the battleship *Bismarck*, but who, after the war, wrote a classic of modern Revisionism, *Unconditional Hatred: German War Guilt and the Future of Europe* (1953). Likewise, *Dresden, 1945*, deserves a place in any Revisionists' library.

**THE MIGHT THAT WAS ASSYRIA** by H.W.F. Saggs. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, with maps, photographs, index, xii + 340 pp, 1984, ISBN 0-283-98961 (hardcover), 0-283-98962 (paperback), (available in the United States through the History Book Club).

Reviewed by Charles Lutton

For approximately two-and-a-half centuries, the Assyrian empire exerted tremendous influence upon developments in what biblical accounts called the "land of Canaan." At the height of its power, Assyria absorbed the kingdoms of Syria, Israel, Judah, and Egypt as far as Thebes. Jonah, after being disgorged by a whale, is said to have called upon the inhabitants of Ninevah, the Assyrian capital, to renounce their sins and worship the Hebrews' god. Isaiah viewed Assyrian imperialism as an instrument used for divine purpose.

Over the centuries, the Assyrians have suffered from a "bad press." True, they pursued policies of often ruthless conquest, made possible in part by their army, noted for its ferocity and fighting efficiency. As Professor Harry Saggs points out in his new study, *The Might That Was Assyria*, "Largely in consequence of the Bible and of Byron's poem,\* the Assyrians have a reputation in the English-speaking world for ruthless barbarity. They have been maligned. Certainly they could be rough and tough to maintain order, but they were defenders of civilization, not barbarian destroyers."

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\*Byron wrote about the Assyrian attack on Jerusalem, capital of Judah. The opening lines read:

*The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,  
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold.*

Dr. Saggs, Professor of Semitic Languages, University College, Cardiff, and author of many works, including *The Greatness That Was Babylon*, has spent over half his life studying the Assyrians. He sets out to present them as real human beings. For example, Professor Saggs has his readers meet the king who took time off from a military expedition to go harpooning dolphins in the Mediterranean, and the royal governor who regarded the introduction of bee-keeping in his province as his most notable accomplishment. We learn how Assyrians dressed, their marriage customs, religious views, and medical practices, which mixed magic with medical treatments—much as people today often call for divine intervention for people undergoing surgery or who suffer from severe illness. The author warns in the preface that, "The reader will soon notice that I actually like the Assyrians, warts and all: I make no apology for this. Though the Assyrians, like the people of every other nation ancient and modern, were sometimes less than kind to their fellow humans, I feel no compulsion to be continually advertising my own rightmindedness by offering judgment upon their every action or attitude in terms of current liberal orthodoxy."

In his chapter reviewing the background and beginnings of Assyria, Professor Saggs mentions the influence of the Sumerians in that part of the world. Of this remarkable people, he writes, "Altogether, there is a good deal of evidence in favor of the view that a particular ethnic group played a major part in the creation of what we know as Sumerian culture, although this sticks in the gullet of many younger archaeologists, who have been politically conditioned to regard it as wicked even to consider the possibility that one race or ethnic group may be more able than another."

This is a well-written introduction to one of the major formative influences on the history of the ancient Near East. It also serves as a barometer marking the progress of revisionism. After all, the Assyrian capital of Ninevah fell in 612 B.C. to the combined forces of the Medes, Scythians, and Babylonians under Nabopolassar. Yet, it was not until 1984 A.D. that a major work describing the Assyrians as something other than Satanic tools appeared, and gained a measure of acceptance, as shown by its being a selection of the very establishment History Book Club. At this rate, I can well imagine a fearless historian of the year 4580 A.D. writing in his preface to *A History of the German Empires to 1945*: "The reader will soon notice that I actually like the Germans, warts and all. . . . Though the Germans, like the people of every other nation ancient and modern, were sometimes less than kind to their fellow humans . . . they were defenders of civilization, not barbarian destroyers."



**THE PERIODIC TABLE** by Primo Levi, Translated from the Italian by Raymond Rosenthal. New York: Schocken Books, 1984, 233pp, ISBN 0-8052-3929-4.

Reviewed by Dr. William B. Lindsey

**I**n the deluge of printed matter which competes today for our time and attention as well as our dollars, one is required to use all the selective skills at his disposal to discriminate and thereby eliminate as much chaff from the grain as is possible. Even then, it is highly unlikely that anyone would ever be able to read all that which one might consider worthy of one's time.

One of the selective criteria, of course, is whether the author knows whereof he writes. On this point, Primo Levi is certainly no late-comer, as are numerous others in the present glittering array of professional "Holocaustorians." His initial opus, *If This Is A Man* (1959), fits the general pattern of writing of this type and this period. It has a shaky, often imperceptible skeleton of autobiographical fact heavily clothed with the grossest and often the most shameless fiction posing as fact. At a time when a gullible, German-hating, sensation-hungry, grossly-misinformed public was eager to believe that every German concentration camp was erected to kill Jews, his first book was one of those effective, inundative fictional diatribes which reassured the uncertain and helped stampede the mesmerized herd into the inevitability of the post-war dismemberment of Central Europe.

But as I say, some of Levi's words are true. He is an Italian Jew, and was trained as a chemist ("summa cum laude," he tells us in the section entitled "Nickel"). As any self-respecting "lover of freedom" would do, he joined the (communist) underground in the Piedmont and was finally caught and delivered to the Germans. Instead of shooting him on the spot ("Gold"), the recognized and sanctioned penalty to which non-uniformed guerrillas were subject in military law, the labor-short Germans shipped him off to the Auschwitz complex in 1944 (prisoner No. 174517) where, he reveals, he eventually worked in the I.G. Farbenindustrie Monowitz industrial laboratory ("Cerium") which supported the huge German effort to manufacture sorely needed synthetic gasoline and rubber. When the Germans were forced to evacuate the Auschwitz area, Levi was one of those who chose, or was chosen, to remain with those unable to be evacuated—those who were to be captured or "liberated" by the Russians. (Some inmates apparently preferred death to such "liberation.") After "liberation," Levi remained for quite some time either willingly or—as he now states—because of a Russian "bureaucratic snarl-up," traveling in Poland and Russia before returning to Italy to

resume activities as a chemist ("Chromium"), apparently in an Italian varnish firm.

An inquiring mind will at this point, I believe wonder why, if the Germans intended to kill all Jews, Primo Levi was spared? He had, after all, been caught red-handed as a communist partisan. He was a Jewish intellectual. He knew of the "exterminations" going on at Auschwitz. Any one of those categories, according to Exterminationist dogma, should have qualified him for immediate, certain "liquidation," as the Soviets prefer to put it. If the Germans had intended killing anyone, he should have been one of the very first to go. But he, along with countless others, survived. Indeed, unlike Levi, most did so because they were evacuated by the very Germans who were later to become the victims of the very evacuees they'd saved, as an ironic result of fantastic and tainted testimony given by the evacuuees. In an endeavor which became very lucrative, Levi, proceeded, as did many others, to "get his" in the traditional manner. As might have been predicted, he has produced a number of profitable "I was there" books which led eventually to the current *The Periodic Table*.

Having established the position of the author as an "expert" on his subject, one must then be concerned with the credentials of the translator, Mr. Raymond Rosenthal. In this case, it seems appropriate to consider the judgment of Nobel Laureate Saul Bellow who exudes the following: "There is nothing superfluous here, everything this book contains is essential. It is wonderfully pure, and beautifully translated."

I cannot attest to the "beauty" of the translation, but I do not share Bellow's unrestrained enthusiasm for this book. It might better have been entitled *The Periodic Accusations*, since they, indeed, do seem to return almost as periodically as do Israeli needs for U.S. Dollars and German Marks. Levi's ploy this round has been to select a skeleton of twenty-one very real chemical elements and then to proceed to "clothe" them with his standard sentimental "Holocaust" reminiscences and fancies on a series of subjects. These subjects range from his ancestry ("Argon") through his schooling, demonstrations of his linguistic prowess, a fling at creative writing ("Lead" and "Mercury"), Greco-Roman mythology, a smattering of chemistry, his war experiences, an expected dash of braggadocio and, of course, his undying hatred of the inhuman Fascists—all intended, I conclude, to impress the conditioned reader.

To demonstrate Levi's genius in more detail, I have chosen to review his "Potassium" more completely. In ten pages, he describes how, as a result of reading Lion Feuchtwanger's *The Oppermanns* (published in the U.S. early in 1934) and a *British White Book*, along with hearing stories from Polish and French



refugees, he was in January 1941 already well aware of the Jewish slaughter occurring and still in store for the remaining European Jews. (At this point the Wannsee Conference was still a year away!) Already, the "I alone have escaped to tell you the story" anecdotes were the refugee's stock and trade. These stories didn't really improve with age, of course, they just got more numerous, as did the refugees, and more audacious as the stories were accepted without question, setting the stage for the anxious, guilt-ridden accounts of post-war raconteurs like Levi.

In school ("fourth year of pure chemistry"), he decided chemistry would no longer solve his problems and resolved to pursue physics. As an assistant, he was called upon to prepare pure, dry benzene for an experiment by distilling the solvent over sodium, a rather simple undergraduate operation. Using potassium instead of sodium, and apparently as adeptly as one might expect "Dr." Szymon Wiesenthal to practice "Inzyniera Architekta" (architectural engineering), he caused a laboratory fire which propelled him into his next literary effort, "Nickel."

Properly, the book contains no index. For any inquiring mind, however, there is little within its covers which is worth looking for. Compared to other "I was there" books, those of Langbein, Kraus, Kulka, Kogon, and Adler to name but a few, it is nothing. In an era characterized by its plethora of dogmatic, sterile, thought-torpidifying "books," it may make it in some circles as a "best seller" and thereby qualify as the authoritative basis of a Hollywood "docudrama" on the "Holocaust." For anyone who is looking for fresh information, intellectual stimulation, or for that matter beautiful prose, the book, even by Exterminationist standards, is a failure. If intended as a contribution to culture, perhaps Dr. Levi's prose lost much of its beauty in translation.

## About the Contributors

ROBERT CHAPMAN has been a stockbroker specializing in North American and South African gold and silver stocks for 25 years. He currently has over 4,000 clients and manages more than \$80 million on a discretionary basis. For over 21 years he has written numerous articles on history, economics, international finance and gold and silver stocks. He is 49 years old, attended Northeastern University, majoring in business, and worked in U.S. Counterintelligence in the mid 1950's. He also lived in South Africa and Rhodesia studying the mines in the early 1970's.

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WILLIAM B. LINDSEY received his B.Sc. degree from the University of Texas and his Ph.D. in Chemistry from Indiana University. He has been a professional research chemist with a major corporation for 31 years. As a chemist he has for some years been interested in the question of the alleged role of the chemical fumigant Zyklon B in the "Holocaust" story.

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VALENTYN MOROZ is a prominent Ukrainian dissident and fighter for human rights and national freedom. He spent 13 years (1965 to 1979) in Soviet prisons and concentration camps for his political beliefs. Moroz was born in 1936 in western Ukraine. After graduate studies in history at the University of Lvov (Lviv) in 1958, he worked as a secondary school teacher in his native region. From 1963 to 1965 he taught modern history at teachers colleges in Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk while completing his Ph.D. thesis. He was arrested in September 1965 on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda designed to undermine or weaken Soviet power" for urging the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. He was sentenced in 1966 to four years in a labor camp with a strict regime. While in solitary confinement in a labor camp prison, he completed a lengthy essay in 1967 entitled *Report from the Beria Reserve*, which was smuggled out and later published in the West. He was transferred to the central KGB prison in Kiev in late 1967 and then, in 1969, to the notorious Vladimir prison. Moroz was released in late 1969 but was arrested again nine months later on a new charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was sentenced in November 1970 to six years of prison in strict isolation, plus three years in a prison camp with a strict regime, and five years of internal exile. He was badly mistreated during this new term of imprisonment and went on several hunger strikes in protest. Moroz was released in 1979 along with four other Soviet spies. After his arrival in America he worked for a year as a Senior Research Fellow at the Harvard University Department of History. He completed his Ph.D. in 1982 at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. Dr. Moroz now lives and works with his wife in Toronto, where he edits a quarterly Ukrainian journal. He is a prolific contributor to numerous Ukrainian publications in Canada and the United States, and has lectured and taught widely in North America, Europe and Australia.



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**International Revisionist Conference papers read by Robert Faurisson, Ingrid Weckert, Valentyn Moroz and Robert Chapman published in their printed version in this issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* are available on audio cassette from the Institute at \$8.95 per lecture.**

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**Correction:** An error appears on page 255 of the Summer 1985 issue of *The Journal*. In the biographical summary about Dr. Valentyn Moroz, the eighth and ninth lines from the bottom should read: "Moroz was released in 1979 along with four other Soviet dissidents as part of an exchange with the United States for two Soviet spies." (Italics indicate the missing words.)



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# The Pro-Red Orchestra Starts Tuning Up In the U.S.A., 1941\*

JAMES J. MARTIN

## Opinions and Opinion Makers in the U.S.A. as the German-Russian War Begins

On June 22, 1941, in the 22nd month of World War Two, an event occurred as important in the history of the United States and its relations with the rest of the world as the bombing attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, a little less than six months later. This was the invasion by the German armies of Hitler's National Socialist Germany of the portions of Eastern Poland occupied by the armies and political machinery of Stalinist Communist Soviet Russia, and then on deeply into Russia itself. Upon this act most of that portion of American opinion ranged to the left of center joined in the war psychologically and emotionally, and spent much of its energy from that point on in trying to induce general American sympathy with the cause now heavily weighted in the direction of the interests of Stalinist Communism and its global satellites and sympathetic forces and concerns.

A vast sea of printer's ink and a galactic volume of radio babble engulfed the U.S.A. upon the outbreak of formal hostilities between Germany and Russia, most of which concerned whether or not this country should aid the forces of Josef Stalin against those of Adolf Hitler. Eight years of towering and unremitting anti-Hitler propaganda in the U.S.A. had resulted in reducing the pro-

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\*Chapter One from the forthcoming book, *Hands Across the Volga: American Mass Communication and the Wartime Affair with the Soviet Union, 1941-1947.*



German elements in the land to a minority so small as to be, in modern parlance, "statistically irrelevant."

One of the factors which conditioned this discussion was the persistence of a powerful and probably dominant body of opinion opposed to becoming involved in the war as a belligerent. It included an enormous contingent of those who had always been hostile to Soviet Communism and which now were more firmly convinced than ever before that abstention be demanded of the national policy makers. Also included in the citizenry which had a rigid position against collaboration with the Soviet Union were various sects of the Left, particularly the Socialist Party, and the Social Democratic Federation, the inheritors of the anti-Bolshevik faction of Russian Marxists known in the time of the upheaval in Russia as the Mensheviks. Their company was augmented by the anarchists and syndicalists, such as the I.W.W., tiny fragments of the radical spectrum in the U.S.A. implacably opposed to Stalinism on ideological, not nationalistic, grounds.

Still another source of anti-Red sentiment stemmed from those of all persuasions who had been affronted by the diplomatic revolution performed in August 1939 by the joining of Russia and Germany at that time, which wrecked almost a decade of fatuous, simple-minded gabble, both oral and printed, that such an event was the most unlikely thing ever to take place. And yet another sector of anti-Stalinism derived from the war fought against Finland by Stalin's legions in 1940-41, many of whose camp having also become incensed at the division of Poland between the Germans and the Soviet in September-October 1939, a Fourth Partition of that unhappy land. It required substantial powers of forgetfulness on the part of sentimental partisans of the Poles, however, whose belligerence and sabre-rattling, mainly with real sabres, had preceded for a decade and a half their sudden and humiliating collapse before the forces of two flanking lands. Polish warmongers had long predicted that both could be beaten simultaneously by Polish arms, to be followed by the recreation of a Polish state with boundaries close to those which allegedly prevailed in the 15th century days of glory.

Had Russian Communism's friends been as few in America as were those of German National Socialism, there would not have been much of a story to tell, and granted American entry into World War Two in the same manner it eventually took place, the ultimate fighting of the war would have been considerably different and an outcome and postwar consequence would have ensued which would coincide with very little the world has seen in the last 40 years. However, the Soviet Russian state enjoyed the support of a large and growing contingent of admirers, well-wishers and lovers in America, including, here as in most other

countries in the world, an element so enamored of Bolshevik Communism that they customarily and consistently placed Soviet welfare and interests ahead of those of the land in which they lived. The unique aspect of this mountainous propaganda in behalf of the welfare of a foreign state was not the call for military cooperation with it to overcome a common enemy but the widespread promotional efforts on behalf of its internal programs, its domestic system and its philosophical and psychic foundations.

The Second World War was the high water mark of this phenomenon, unmatched by anything similar in the history of the national state system, and still a factor in world politics well over 60 years after the Russian Revolution. During World War Two, the scope and impact of this immense multitude of "loyal Russians" living elsewhere than in the Soviet Fatherland added up to results of such immensity that their full effect still remains to be chronicled properly. Part of what happened in the U.S.A. is the subject of this book.

Hitler's attack on Stalin occurred at a moment when most of the politicians in the U.S.A. were enlisted emotionally on the side of the British and French, at war with Hitler since September 1939. Along with them were the largest part of the management and those employed in the newspaper, magazine and book publishing industries, motion picture production, and radio broadcasting (television was in its infancy in 1941, confined mainly to brief local broadcasts weekly in New York City.) Arrayed with them were an overwhelming majority of the American populace, although their sentiment in favor of a victory over the Germans did not extend to participation in the hostilities to the same degree, over 80% indicating unwillingness to join in the war as belligerents at about the time of the outbreak of the Russo-German phase of the war.

Stalin's involvement in June 1941 brought to an end a period of neutrality which extended back to the outbreak of the war, preceded by the incredible diplomatic pact of "non-aggression" between him and Hitler which heralded the outbreak of hostilities between the Germans and Poles by a week and a half. Committed to come to the aid of Poland by a clumsy bit of diplomatic adventurism dating back to March 31, 1939, the British demonstrated an incompetence which was outmatched only by their French collaborators in declaring war on Germany, the succession of British defeats being dimmed by the calamitous collapse of the French in June 1940, following which their country was partially occupied and the remainder governed by a regime subservient to German policies.

The Communist regime in Russia had always looked forward to



a general war in Europe which would find them playing the role of spectators exclusively. The events of September 1939 to June 1941 were cut precisely to their specifications. The principal price paid for this comfortable situation was a sharp decline in the esteem of the countries involved against the Germans under Adolf Hitler, not only the Franco-British belligerents, but also in militarily uninvolved but emotionally enlisted America.

After 15 years of diplomatic isolation, the U.S. had recognized the Soviet Union in 1933, and there followed a spectacular blossoming of pro-Communist propaganda and special pleading, especially in American intellectual centers. Beginning in 1935, the Stalin regime encouraged the creation of a political alignment called the Popular Front, a sidling up to any other country or to political forces in that country which would advance with the Reds a common anti-German position. The local Communist parties in lands other than Russia made this their principal enterprise, though the scope of the Popular Front would have been exceedingly small had it not been for the sympathetic collaboration of a substantial number of formal non-Communists whose exploits and contributions to the Communist cause dwarfed those of the formal Party activists. Many of these were deeply offended by discovering on August 23, 1939, that the Popular Front was not the beginning of a perpetual political alliance presaging the eventual triumph of the planetary proletarian state, but a temporary phase in Russian foreign policy. As a consequence, zeal for the protection of Communism in Stalin's Workers' Fatherland cooled perceptibly between September 1939 and June 22, 1941. A very large part of those previously involved went over to an anti-German position based on British and French interests, a few joined the anti-interventionist cause, a tiny handful continued to support Stalinism, which now espoused strict neutrality, but many were so paralyzed by the betrayal represented by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pakt that they ceased involvement in politics. Four years later a *New Republic* editor, Malcolm Cowley, disclosed, "Psychiatrists tell me that in some circles there was almost an epidemic of nervous breakdowns after the Russo-German pact."<sup>1</sup>

Virtually the only analysis of and literature on World War Two from Communists which merits any attention is that produced during the period of Stalinist neutrality, between September 1939 and June 1941. Prior to that time it is mainly a crafty and carefully cultivated alarmist hysteria, calculated to produce panic among the "democracies" and encourage alliances with Soviet Russia in the "popular front" against the anti-communist states. After 1941 it was mainly florid patriotic Soviet raving. But in both instances the Stalinist ploy gathered a rich harvest of "conservatives"

(nearly fifty years after Munich, essentially an anti-communist action engineered by Chamberlain and Daladier, right wingers were still mouthing the communist derogation of it as "appeasement," one of the most successful dupings of the Right by communist propaganda in seventy years.) It is significant that the only sustained period of conservative criticism of communists during 1939-45 occurred in the 1939-41 lull when the latter chose to stand back and watch what they correctly interpreted as a civil war among the capitalist powers.

All this ended with the entry of Stalinist Russia in the war. Most of Communism's friends rapidly recuperated and were back at their familiar stations, pleading for American involvement on Russian lines, a matter of serious embarrassment to the Anglophile and Francophile warrior elements, in the same way the Red sympathizers as neutralists had been an exasperation to the anti-war and anti-involvement people between September 3, 1939 and June 22, 1941. Though Americans had been carefully nursed in their Germanophobia for more than eight years by the radio, movies and the printed word, as well as by pedagogical oratory from coast to coast, the job of making them belligerents was not as easy as it might have appeared to be. Only in the areas most heavily settled for three centuries by British stock, New England and the South, was the eagerness for combat at the side of Britain preponderant.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere a vast selling job had to be done, and it was never successful. The attack on Pearl Harbor and not intellectual conviction brought the overwhelming mass of Americans into World War Two.

In essence then the Anglophile and Russophile warmongers were minorities, but very active and persuasive ones, though their main impact was felt after December 7, 1941. The former concealed their impatience for immersion in the war behind calls for "defense of democracy" and "the democratic way of life,"<sup>3</sup> in every enterprise available to propaganda, including a flood of books. In the late summer such works as Professor Edward Meade Earle's *Against This Torrent* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press<sup>4</sup>), Francis Hackett's *What Mein Kampf Means to America* (Reynal & Hitchcock) and Henry R. Luce's *The American Century* (Farrar and Rinehart) characterized the outpouring from this camp. But it was being matched by a similar flow from leftists and pro-Communists, now that Hitler and Stalin were at war, of the likes of Pierre van Paassen's *The Time is Now!* (Dial Press), Ralph Ingersoll's *America is Worth Fighting For* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill), and Max Werner's *Battle for the World* (Modern Age Books).

Luce and his formidable publishing empire of *Time*, *Life* and *Fortune* was by far the most influential interventionist voice favor-



ing teamwork with Britain, and his American Century proposal for a joint straddling of the world with Anglo-American power indefinitely had already had a dress rehearsal before American readers months before Soviet Russia entered the war. Where the sentiments and loyalties of many of his writers, reporters and editors lay was another matter, as will be examined at length.<sup>5</sup>

Still another stream of pro-war literature, sometimes subtle, and at other times not so subtle, was represented by such massively promoted and widely read works as William L. Shirer's *Berlin Diary* (Knopf) (Shirer's political affections were not frankly laid out for some time), Douglas Miller's heated tract, *You Can't Do Business With Hitler* (Boston: Little, Brown), and the now-disenchanted former pro-Soviet publicist Louis Fischer's *Men and Politics* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce). These three titles had been given top billing and frenetic praise in the house organ of the interventionist Council on Foreign Relations' quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, in the early fall of 1941.<sup>6</sup>

In the meantime, probably the oldest of the literary calls to war, the output of refugees, continued its steady representation in U.S.A. bookstalls with such examples of leftist anti-German central European journalist output as *A Thousand Shall Fall*, by Hans Habe (Harcourt Brace), and *The Darkest Hour* by Leo Lania (Boston: Houghton Mifflin).<sup>7</sup>

### **Winston Churchill as a Factor Influencing Americans at the Outset, June 1941**

By far the most spectacular and fateful extension of hands across the Volga occurred at the very start of the Russo-German war. Winston Churchill, prime minister of Great Britain, flung himself into the arms of Josef Stalin the very day the Red premier became involved in war with Hitler, a few hours after the German attack. Churchill, head of Britain's war coalition government since May 1940,<sup>8</sup> had managed to achieve two main things since then: the supervision of an unbroken string of disastrous military defeats, and the dazzling, if not the gassing, of the English-speaking world with an incredible volume of turgid rhetoric. If 19th century declamatory talk could have won wars, World War Two would have ended in British victory a few weeks after it began.<sup>9</sup>

On June 22, 1941, Churchill was on the world's radios before the first day's gunfire had ceased reverberating across Eastern Poland, repudiating over two decades of ferocious anti-Bolshevik oratory and journalistic writing, promising unstinted aid to Stalinist Russia and announcing a single war aim: the physical destruction of Adolf Hitler and his government. In view of the

hapless British wartime performance and its even more dim promise, it was a desperate moment and Churchill's eager grasping for what was surely a drowning man's straw can be understood, since he had categorically ruled out ending the war by negotiation.

But this unqualified transfer of the initiative to Stalin was also the act which guaranteed the swift expulsion of Britain from its centuries-old key spot in European balance of power manipulation, precipitate evaporation of its global empire, its reduction first to the status of a stationary American aircraft carrier off the coast of Europe, and then to a tottering and precarious second rate status in a steady forty-year decline upon achieving its most costly "victory" in its national history.<sup>10</sup>

The tardiness of Stalin and his circle of Red functionaries in responding to Churchill's generous offer of unstinted support reflected the discount to which British "aid" was subject, in view of the near-zero impact of such assistance supplied to Poland in its grave predicament in September 1939. Though Stalin got around to a radio address on July 3, 1941, welcoming the British to the Communist side in a "struggle" "for democratic liberties" in a "united front of the people standing for freedom and against enslavement," which latter should have been grand news to the many millions in Stalin's slave labor camps, he was too much of a realist to expect British military help or supplies in any great hurry.

The importance of the flight of Churchill to Stalin's side was not the practical situation attending immediate material support. It was rather in the effect of this impulsive action on the sympathetic Roosevelt administration, which had to become involved under far more obstructive circumstances, namely, the national non-belligerence of the moment, and the national irritation with Communist-dominated labor unions and their record of industrial trouble-making during the period of Russian neutrality since September 1939. This had been a grave nuisance to the non-interventionist elements during the time. Now, Soviet eagerness for American intervention was to nag their adversaries, whether interested in the welfare of British or Russians.

On the official side of the aid-to-the-Soviet question, the President had as close advisors in favor of such help a goodly collection. It included Secretaries of War and Navy Henry L. Stimson and Frank Knox; former Ambassador to Russia Joseph E. Davies, now Special Assistant for War Emergency Problems and Policies to Secretary of State Cordell Hull; Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau; Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State; Ambassador to Russia Lawrence Steinhardt; Postmaster Frank C. Walker (as a prominent Catholic layman, Walker was especially useful in countering general Catholic opposition to involvement



with Communist Russia); Colonel Philip R. Faymonville, U.S. Military Attache in Moscow (Davies' principal prop before he was replaced by Steinhardt); and especially Harry Hopkins, elevated from his job related to grubby New Deal welfare agencies to the glamorous post of Administrator of Lend-Lease, the aid-to-Britain program passed by Congress in March 1941 which made the U.S. a *de facto* participant in World War Two.<sup>11</sup>

To be sure, when Churchill propelled England and the resources of the British Empire to the succor of Stalinist Russia, he had no political problem. The influential and powerful supporters of a conciliatory policy toward Germany in the 1930s associated with The Link, the Friends of Germany and the Anglo-German Fellowship had gone underground or joined in the "war effort," battered by Stalinist propaganda as "appeasers" before and after the 1939 Pakt. (The British Stalinists had endured some abuse themselves, between August 1939 and June 1941. They had been particularly incensed at the gibe "Communazi" in that time.)

The supporters of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists and figures of the implacably anti-communist Right Club such as Captain A.H.M. Ramsay, a Member of Parliament, had been jailed by Churchill's Ministry of Home Security headed by Sir John Anderson, under the terms of Regulation 18B. Anderson had even ordered the arrest and detention in special concentration camps starting May 12, 1940, of almost 75,000 German, Austrian, Italian and Czech refugees in England, despite their hatred of their home regimes and collaboration with the British. A ship, the *Arandora Star*, carrying 1200 of these internees to Canada, was torpedoed or struck a mine and sank off the coast of Ireland on July 3, 1940. Over half the passengers drowned.

And for a year England had been badgered by a large corps of private intelligence agents of the Ministry of Information, conducting the "Moral and Social Survey" of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, known colloquially as "[Duff] Cooper's Snoopers," a powerful depressant on expression of individual opinion. The wonder is that anyone in Britain opposed Churchill's headlong dive to Stalin's relief.<sup>12</sup>

### **Initial Reaction of Interventionist Spokesmen and Press to the Soviet Entry into the European War**

The political situation facing Roosevelt's war party was far more complicated and troublesome, there being no formal state of hostilities with anyone, and with a long campaign to provide "aid" to England just concluded, and with its opponents anything but happy over the state of affairs resulting. Adding Stalin to the candidates for assistance was a more formidable proposition. The

major newspaper lineup on the issue continued approximately the same. The Hearst papers, typified by the *New York Journal American*, and the McCormick-Patterson interests, of which the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Washington Times-Herald*, and the *New York Daily News* represented the principal voice, could be counted on to oppose flatly any material gestures toward Soviet Russia.

But the *New York Herald Tribune*, the patrician voice of Eastern interventionist Republicanism, while managing to carry a sizable freight consisting of thinly disguised Stalinist spokesmen, suddenly discovered that objections to an alliance with Communist Russia to beat Hitler were based on "moralistic follies," while its chief columnist spokesman, Walter Lippmann, the closest thing to Jove on the American journalistic scene, loosed some of his rumbling thunder on the subject, cautioning critics of aid to Stalin against releasing excessive "vaporings about democracy." America's tiny Communist press could not come up with material as good as this.

With spokesmen as far apart as the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Herald Tribune*, there was no sense to allegations by Republicans that the Democrats were the "war" party; a large number of both were on Roosevelt's pro-war team. World War Two homogenized American politics. It put foreign policy more or less off the agenda thereafter, resulting in the "bi-partisanship" which prevailed regardless of the winners in the quadrennial elections. The war really created two new parties, supporting pro-involvement or anti-involvement in global international activities, and vastly disparate in size progressively after Pearl Harbor. What passed for "debate" among the world interventionist majority for thirty years descended to the level of whether five or seven units of artillery or one or two aircraft carriers should be sent to some distant land. There has been nothing in American history to match what has happened since 1942 in demonstrating dramatically the function of foreign policy as a reflection of domestic policy, and the essential control of the latter by the former.

With the entry of Communist Russia into the war against the Germans, most of America's liberals and non-Communist Left took another ludicrous and wrenching opinion lurch. The venom behind the "Communazi" epithet quickly was neutralized in the warm flow of sympathy which was promptly forthcoming. They were aided by many self-recruited newcomers who joined them and helped build the big wave of pro-Stalinist sentiment which was still washing over the land when the falling-out occurred five years later.

It might be said that not as many liberals and leftists were



against aid to Russia as there were conservatives and rightists for such aid. The anti-aid liberals were grouped around the Keep America out of War Congress, and additional figures such as Norman Thomas and Eugene Lyons represented other factions hostile to pro-Soviet support. But other left organizations, such as the Legion for American Unity, the Union for Democratic Action, the Council on Soviet Relations and the Socialist Workers' Party were examples of elements quick to back an aid program for Soviet Russia.

On the operational side, two of the principal interventionist pressure groups, ostensibly buttressed by influential conservatives, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and the Fight for Freedom Committee, both responded promptly to the Russo-German war by urging U.S. aid to the Communists. The former dropped "by Aiding the Allies" from its name, while stipulating that aid be given Stalin "without relaxing opposition to Communism." The FFF soft-pedaled that approach and attacked the most formidable anti-interventionist group, the America First Committee, while posing to the latter a bogus choice, "Would you rather have the Nazis looking across the Bering Strait or Alaska?"<sup>13</sup> This was reminiscent of the ingeniously clever questions invented by George Gallup, head of the American Institute of Public Opinion, and an ardent pro-war activist, one of which was whether it was more important to defeat Hitler or to stay out of the war. When put this way, 70% supported the first clause, but when the same people were quizzed on a declaration of war, a larger percentage, 80%, flatly said no.<sup>14</sup> Pollsters persisted in putting people on the spot this way by presenting two-part propositions, the first of which was ethical and the second practical politics, which introduced serious popular confusion between ends and means, insofar as these same pollsters stated the issues and allowed decisions based on these limitations. Thus either large interest group, for or against involvement, was equally free to quote the public response, and both were right. But the chips came down only when the interventionists quietly inserted the matter of aiding the Reds as part of the pro-war proposition. This invariably drew a formidable vote against involvement. As for the Communist Party, 145 delegates from 48 states met in New York City the last weekend of June 1941 to prepare a "peoples' program," which included a wild call for all-out aid. Churchill and the CPUSA were of one voice by July 4, 1941, whatever may have been their disparate objectives.

Such an alignment was purely coincidental to forces such as Churchill represented. *Time*, which in magazine journalism stood for what the *Herald Tribune* did among the dailies, set the tone by simultaneously uttering huzzas for Stalin and Russia while

displaying nothing but contempt for domestic Stalinists. The German attack was ill-timed for the American newsweeklies, taking place on a Sunday. As a result, the issues of June 23 were already being distributed and could have nothing on this electrifying event, one of the half-dozen most important dates of the entire war. Therefore, the first comment was delayed until the issues of June 30.

By that date *Time* was able to make a deeper assessment of what was taking place, and thought the message written by Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles and read to the press, obviously with Pres. Roosevelt's approval, not only amounted to a pledge to Stalin but used the language of a committed belligerent, regardless of the state of diplomatic realities. It did not bother *Time* that Welles filled the statement with verbiage such as "Hitler's treacherous attack upon Soviet Russia," and using such choice derogations as "dishonorable," "deceitful," "hostile," "murderous," "brutal," "desperate," and the like; as they concluded with satisfaction, "When the U.S. could officially use such terms" in describing the German action, "the U.S. was certainly at war."<sup>15</sup>

A further article asserted that all of Washington was of the view that Communist Russia now had become at least technically a beneficiary of FDR's \$7 billion fund "to aid the allies of democracy," while noting that Churchill had immediately sprung to Stalin's defense. A minor problem existed here, since Churchill had become a recipient of U.S. military assistance only about three months before when the Administration's hotly-contested Lend-Lease legislation was enacted. Therefore if this was now to become a "Lenin-Lease" program, it suggested to some that anything Churchill contributed to Stalin's cause might first have to be derived from Roosevelt, in which case the U.S. would probably be the original source of all "aid" supplied to Communist Russia.<sup>16</sup>

There is little doubt but that the involvement of Stalinist Russia in the war in the summer of 1941 put a substantial crimp in the interventionist propaganda line that the war was an unsullied conflict between "tyranny," represented by Germany, and "freedom," by its British adversaries. This was essentially the contention of the American Anglophiles, which to their embarrassment was now tirelessly mouthed by the Communists. It no longer was an imperialist war, and global materialist factors quickly vanished. Though Soviet Russia itself represented one of the most impressive feats of imperialism, the word had not been applied to the USSR by Reds or their allies since before Lenin's death.<sup>17</sup> Now that they were a party to the conflict, all description of the war as a contest for mainly tangible objectives ceased, and the taking on



of the moralistic terminology of the pro-British opinion-makers irked the latter substantially. *Time* on July 7 in its article "The New Party Line" was anything but conciliatory to the CPUSA, though in a parallel piece had kind words to say about the sudden resurrection of Soviet diplomat Constantine Oumansky to respectability. The magazine thought the CP leader William Z. Foster grotesque in declaring that "A victory for Russia will enormously strengthen democracy throughout the world," while concluding that a Russian victory would primarily "strengthen U.S. Communists."<sup>18</sup> The job of *Time* and all the other agents of traditional British affiliations and sympathies was to get on with a war in which the assistance of Russia against Germany could be effected with as little reward or gain redounding to the Russians at its conclusion as possible. So, even at this early stage it was hands-across-the-Volga, but with a grimace of distaste.

The wartime partnership between the U.S.A. and the USSR lay more than five months in the future, but its psychic consequences were apparent from the moment people and politicians began to talk of supporting Stalin in June 1941. Ultimately it gave this country the most uneasy and morally disturbing experience it has ever known in the history of her foreign affairs. With the exception of a few high-flying months in 1943 it must have been apparent to the respective contingents of pro-Stalinists of all social backgrounds and economic levels in this country that they were engaged in the salesmanship of a doomed product. The schizoids of *Time*, with their continuous rebuffs of and sneers at the U.S. Communists<sup>19</sup> while glowing with favorable sentiment toward the Russian Reds, were symptomatic of other sectors of bedeviled American opinion makers. It was embarrassing to have to support the Soviet Union and simultaneously to have to suffer local Communists. From the propaganda point of view, what was to eventuate resulted in a unique war for the United States.

While *Time* presumed that there was no need to bring the populace into the picture, the issue involved being of stratospheric foreign affairs well beyond the limited capacities of the common citizenry to understand, the other two newsweeklies made a gesture at trying to determine what a sector of the general public thought about it all, even if they overwhelmingly sought the views of persons of some prominence while doing it.

### **The First Polls of American Political Personalities on the Pros and Cons of Aiding the Soviet Union**

*The United States News* (it did not add *World Report* until 1950) exclaimed, "With Germany and Russia at grips along a vast frontier, and with the Administration's announcement that any op-

position to Hitler, no matter what its source, is of benefit to our own defense, this country faces a new problem in international relations." It faced a new problem in internal relations, too: What did the people in general think of this loud huzza to Stalinist Russia from the Roosevelt regime? *U.S. News* sought to find out at least partially by polling public figures on the question "Should the U.S. aid Russia as a part of the American policy of aiding Great Britain?"

Wealthy Joseph E. Davies, late ambassador to Soviet Russia and the launching pad of more pro-Stalinist mischief than the entire Communist apparatus in the U.S.A. combined were ever to achieve, responded, "My answer to your query is unqualifiedly, yes." Senator Gerald P. Nye, famous for having conducted the famous investigation into the material profiteers from World War I five years earlier, replied in the negative as abruptly as Davies had in the positive: Nye believed that Roosevelt should "draw the line" against this further involvement.

Rep. Melvin J. Maas (R.-Minn.), minority member of the House of Representatives Committee on Naval Affairs, declared, "I do not believe that we should aid Russia. When you help one burglar to beat another, you are bound to be robbed yourself in the end anyway. Stalin and Communism are as great a menace as Hitler and Nazism. A shortsighted policy of expediency of the moment, such as aiding Stalin, may be the tragedy of tomorrow, loosing a greater destructive force in the world than that which now threatens us."

The prophetic quality of Rep. Maas's contribution was rarely bettered by others, though it was something pro-Stalinist figures abominated, and tried to make believe had never happened when the latter zealots for the Soviet were circling about, a little over four years later, trying to mobilize the land in the global Cold War against Stalin which Rep. Maas accurately predicted.

But there were far more to be put on the record by the *U.S. News* reportorial pollsters. Rep. A.J. May (D.-Ky.), Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, sounded the case of the reluctantly repelled among the Administration's supporters: "The complete crushing of Hitler and his regime is today's paramount issue, and while the Communism of Russia is unthinkable and the enemy of human liberty, it is a stealthy force not yet turned loose in such vicious form and with such objectives of conquest as that of Nazism under Hitler. Therefore I am persuaded that first problems should come first, and we should aid Russia by aiding Britain."

Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, the Royal Oak, Michigan, Catholic priest who had been a burr in Pres. Roosevelt's hide for eight years with his radio orations and publications, confined himself to



quoting Pope Pius XI, " 'Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any manner whatsoever,' " and Cardinal Hinsley of England, " 'Britain must not, cannot, ally herself to an atheistic dictatorship.' "

Norman Thomas, four times Socialist Party candidate for President of the U.S.A., but an implacable political adversary of domestic and foreign Communism, expressed his sympathy with the Russian people but demurred from coming to Stalin's succor: "I want no American boy to die to decide which of two cruel and perfidious dictators shall temporarily rule the European continent," Thomas forcefully responded; "Therefore I want no attempt to send aid to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at great cost to ourselves."

But Rev. L.M. Birkhead, Director of the fiercely pro-interventionist Friends of Democracy, thought the fear of future Communist advancement a trivial thing: "The United States should give every possible aid to Russia in the present crisis," while confidently predicting that after the defeat of Hitler, "the threat of Communism" "would no longer exist," "for Russia will be exhausted by this war, win or lose." No one polled the citizens of the twelve European capitals in the hands of the Red Army on the breezy confidence of Rev. Birkhead four years later, nor was it done while they still lay in the grips of Soviet Communism nearly forty years later. But in 1941 one of the "friends" of "democracy," in the view of Rev. Birkhead and his front, was Stalinist Communism.

Some were evasive. Paul Hutchinson, editor of the very influential Protestant weekly *Christian Century*, thought that aid should be extended to Stalin only after an American defense force had been fully built up, while Ralph Barton Perry, the Harvard University philosopher who chaired the Harvard Group on National Defense, stepped aside and was willing to let the Roosevelt regime decide on the matter. Another of the formidable Eastern figures behind the Anglophile impulse, Frederic R. Coudert, also evaded the question.

As far as its press survey, the *U.S. News* thought the nation's newspaper editors supported the idea the U.S. should aid the USSR, but of the 14 papers it quoted, only the *New York Times* was for immediate and limitless aid to the Reds regardless of consequences. It was noted however that the majority of the papers had a very restrained admiration of the Bolshevik regime, and tended to speak of helping "Russia," not its political masters.<sup>20</sup>

Things moved so fast, and the overrunning of Soviet-held Poland and entry into Western Russia by the German forces in the three weeks after June 22, 1941 was so rapid, that hysteria among

Stalin's friends in the U.S.A. swelled dramatically, and the question of American aid to Russian Communism in its travails grew more prominently among those who charted public opinion. *U.S. News* continued its poll another week in July, soliciting positive and negative responses from another collection of the country's notables, which managed to explore other dimensions of the issue and its likely results.

Speaking favorably in behalf of pro-Communist aid against Germany were Rev. Dr. St. George Tucker, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S., Rt. Rev. Joseph L. O'Brien, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Charleston, S.C., Clark L. Eichelberger, Acting Chairman of the most powerful pro-war pressure group in the country, The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and Major General John F. O'Ryan, Commander of the 27th Division in World War I and sponsor of the equally interventionist Fight for Freedom Committee. In addition to these were Rev. Dr. Henry W. Hobson, Bishop for Southern Ohio for the Protestant Episcopal Church and Chairman of the FFF Committee, Rev. Owen A. Knox, Chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Estelle M. Sternberger, Executive Director of World Peaceways, and James H. Sheldon, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Nonsectarian Anti-Nazi League, another deeply committed band of civilian warriors.

Rev. Dr. Tucker asserted, "It would seem to me a very wise and proper thing to do. As a matter of fact, I think our Government has already decided on this course. Father O'Brien was more explicit and saw principled virtue in aiding Stalin: "In the choice between Germany and Russia, the democracies are safe if they throw their full power and influence on the side of Russian ignorance and superstition to crush German intellectual materialism." Eichelberger was strongly in the affirmative as well, "Not because Communism is deserving of any sympathy, but because the German attack upon Russia is part of the strategy of the Battle of Britain and part of Germany's desire to dominate the world." The unwearied assertion of the alleged German goal of world domination was a major aspect of the propaganda of the Committee to Defend the Allies. Gen. O'Ryan enthusiastically supported aid to Stalin, since the defeat of Hitler called for "the expedient cooperation with any of his enemies who will hasten his defeat," an end which did not seem imminent, with Russian forces flying in retreat in Eastern Europe.

Dr. Hobson backed aid to the Soviet for a different reason, fearful of a quick German victory which he was sure would be followed by a westward drive by Hitler against America. Rev. Knox's reason for backing aid was the following: "If we believe that democracy must be maintained by war and that England's fight is



our fight, there would appear to be little logic in doing anything less than giving Russia full support," while Estelle Sternberger's view was close to that of Rev. Dr. Tucker, that the Roosevelt regime was obviously favoring this course anyway. Sheldon not only vigorously supported aid to Stalin, claiming "the very life of democracy is at stake," but used his response to cover a side-swiping blow at two obviously opposed public figures, the eminent aviator Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Bennett Champ Clark (D.—Mo.), both of whom he claimed had fallen into Hitler's "amazingly efficient propaganda trap." Dr. Hobson had of course avoided all Stalinist propaganda traps.

J. Barnard Walter, Secretary of the Friends' General Conference, issued an evasive generalization, declaring that "The one way the U.S. can help is to propose the kind of peace in which all peoples can unite with justice," a course a light year away from that which FDR was traveling. The others were in the unqualified "no" category; Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, John Haynes Holmes, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, pastor of the Community Church in New York City and vice chairman of the Keep America Out of War Congress, Brig. Gen. Robert E. Wood, Chairman of the Board of Sears Roebuck Co., and Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, Pastor of St. Stephen's Church in Brooklyn and Director of the Anti-War Crusade of the International Catholic Truth Society.

Libby's flat negative was followed by extensive explanation:

Only a fleeting military expediency would prompt the United States to support Churchill in the coalition he has formed with the Communist dictator against the Nazi dictatorship. Such a tieup strips the last shreds of idealism from the Allied side of the war.

After pointing out that Churchill had made an agreement to fight at Stalin's side until Hitler was defeated, and that this meant that neither could negotiate peace without the other's consent, Libby observed that "This means that Stalin's war aims become Britain's war aims as well," concluding with a harsh-tasting evaluation for interventionism:

If America ever joined this war now, we should be fighting, not for the "four freedoms," but to restore Soviet tyranny over such little nations as Finland, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Only the strictest neutrality is possible now for the United States, if it is to maintain its loyalty to democratic ideals. The hypocrisies of the [First] World War should not be repeated.

Rev. Holmes, a front rank member of America's most influential opinion makers, was no less vehement:

No, the United States should not aid Russia. Why should we use our wealth and power to make the world safe for Communism? The idea that this is a war for democracy and civilization is now revealed as the perfect sham it has always been. It is a war for imperialistic power and for the mastery of the world by any nation that can get it.

General Wood, a founder of the most implacable anti-interventionist group, the America First Committee (though he was not identified with it in his statement), simply responded in a single sentence, "I do not think the United States should aid Russia as part of the American policy of aiding Great Britain," but Fr. Curran adamantly declared: "decent nations who still enjoy the blessings of peace should lend no aid or comfort to the brawl." He concluded: "The use of the Lend Lease law in favor of Communistic Russia by the President of the United States will generate the prompt and righteous indignation and opposition of all God-fearing, liberty-loving American citizens who denounce both Nazi Germany and Communist Russia as kindred branches of the same pagan stem."<sup>21</sup>

Four days earlier, *Newsweek* had added to the controversy by printing the reactions of several opponents of aid or involvement, which were as sharply hostile as those cited by *U.S. News*. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, (D.-Mont.), one of the foremost opponents of the Roosevelt foreign policy as it veered toward involvement in the war buildups in Europe and Asia since 1937, remarked: "The death struggle between the armed Germany and Russia is a death struggle between the armed might of Nazism and Communism, and not an American war." This view was echoed by John T. Flynn, veteran columnist for the liberal *New Republic* and feature writer for *Collier's* magazine: "It never was our war, and it is less our war now than ever." Senator Walter F. George (D.-Ga.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, expressed his "profound hope" that this country will not become an active participant in the present war," a hope already dashed by its considerable involvement indirectly as a result of the Lend Lease Act of the previous March, though far from the shooting stage, to be sure. In its roundup of no-help-to-Russia notables, *Newsweek* cited Sen. Clark as asking a Brooklyn crowd rhetorically if they could imagine "American boys being sent to their deaths singing 'Onward Christian Soldiers' under the bloody emblem of the Hammer and Sickle." The redoubtable Sen. Robert A. Taft (R.-Ohio) was quoted in the same collection of statements as seeing a positive aspect of allowing Stalin to go down: "The victory of Communism in the world would be far more dangerous to the United States than a victory of Fascism."

Probably the most influential of the anti-aid figures was former



President Herbert C. Hoover, and both *Newsweek* and *Time* published statements by him in their July 7, 1941 issues. In the former, Hoover noted, "We now find ourselves promising aid to Stalin and his militant Communist conspiracy against the democratic ideals of the world," an allusion to the Administration's sympathetic moves in that direction beginning with the publication of the Welles statement. "Collaboration between Britain and Russia," concluded Hoover, "makes the whole argument of our joining the war to bring the four freedoms to mankind a Gargantuan jest."<sup>22</sup> *Time* frontpaged this observation by FDR's immediate predecessor in the White House and added his famous warning, "If we go further [than aid to Stalin] and join the war and we win, then we have won for Stalin the grip of Communism on Russia, and more opportunity for it to extend in the world."<sup>23</sup> It has been a rare week in the over 40 years since Hoover uttered those words that the world has not seen them supported by world events.

Despite the prominence given to the views of public figures hostile to additional involvement in the war via aid to Russia in harmony with already announced British policy to go all out in this direction, there were all kinds of indicators that the Administration considered the spreading of the war advantageous to its own cautious edging into hostilities. At the end of July 1941, *U.S. News* told its readers in tones just short of panic that "best-informed U.S. officials" were convinced the Germans would reach their objectives in Russia by September 15.<sup>24</sup> To some this was over-kill in the propaganda department, for should Hitler attain his goals that soon, then there was little need to attempt aiding Stalin; the war in the East would be over long before any assistance arrived at the war front. Others were less disconcerted. *Time*, still looking for a formula by which it could express its distaste for American Communists while hailing the Russian variety, conceded that the Soviet Union was "the weaker of two well-hated dictatorships," yet denounced Hitler's "crusade against Communism," and backed aiding Stalin in his struggle as a protection of "democracy."<sup>25</sup>

*U.S. News* also enjoyed the discomfiture the opening of the war between the Germans and Russians caused to the Communist Party (CP) in America, forcing it to abandon its nearly two-year position of neutrality overnight, though there were signs that this abrupt turnaround was not unbearably painful, and was being achieved with skill. As early as July 8, *New Masses*, easily the most influential Communist journal in the U.S.A., printed a piece authored by Rep. Adolph A. Sabath (D.-Ill.) urging aid to the Soviet as a matter of concern to U.S. defense.<sup>26</sup> In general the stress was upon this issue, and not that of making the Russian Communist

regime safe. From this point on it was a contest between the liberals and Communists as to which could make the most ringing appeal to American self-interest in saving Stalin.

### Some Diplomatic and Economic Straws in the Wind

In the meantime the scurrying about of diplomats and the ongoing massive movements of "defense" gave every indication that policy-making and the initiative were in the hands of people seeking greater involvement, not less. *U.S. News* described the accelerated scramble for "defense" contracts in the height of the summer, accompanied by the pressure on small business to abandon the consumer field and participate in the hustle. Few were documenting the substantial unemployment occurring in small economic enterprises as a result of the pro-"defense" preferential treatment by the Government relative to raw materials procurement and related matters. During the last six months of 1941, *U.S. News* spoke as though the U.S.A. were already in the war, and repeatedly told businessmen that Roosevelt was planning on a long one, lasting into 1946 at least.<sup>27</sup>

Part of the indication of the go-ahead signal from Washington on aid to Stalin was easily deduced from the sudden publicity to diplomats and their rushing about in the newsmagazines. Especially significant was the attention given to the resurrection of the Soviet ambassador to the U.S., Constantin Oumansky, in disrepute and obscurity after the *Pakt* of 1939. His picture and the story of his return to social and official favor were prominently displayed in July. *U.S. News* even revealed that he and Under Secretary of State Welles had secretly "joined forces" as far back as the previous summer "in a dogged attempt to better U.S.-Soviet relations," and heaped praise on Welles, while describing Oumansky's frequent visits to the State Department, for having persevered against former Ambassador to Russia William C. Bullitt and kept the Administration from breaking relations with Stalin.<sup>28</sup>

That things had also taken a goodly switch toward the Soviet since the replacement of Bullitt in Moscow grew obvious with a similar glamor treatment accorded the new U.S. Ambassador to the Kremlin, Laurence A. Steinhardt, the wealthy 48-year-old nephew of Samuel Untermyer, the latter sponsor of numerous efforts to promote world-wide boycotts of and war on Hitler Germany since 1933. The *U.S. News* portrait pointedly dwelled on matters such as the above, plus his membership in the past on ten boards of directors of corporations, his fluency in five languages and his authorship of "numerous books and articles." America's latest opulent presence in Stalin's court and the Workers' Fatherland was even less a son of toil than his predecessors, but it



was exactly in character with what was to follow at home and abroad. The main labors by far in the cementing of Roosevelt America and Stalin Russia were to be tasks and achievements of America's moneyed and social elite, not of its labor union members and economically marginal Marxist intellectuals.<sup>29</sup>

While the hubbub went on over how Communist Russia was to be viewed and treated in this first month of the Russo-German war, other indications swiftly surfaced supporting the conviction that Roosevelt was enlarging the scope of American economic warfare against Germany and Japan and in behalf of Britain and Stalin. Soviet assets in America had become once more available to them, and a decision had already been made not to invoke the provisions of the Neutrality Act against them, while the Administration was already on record as promoting a favorable consideration of Soviet aid requests.

The reverse side of this warm glow toward Stalinist entreaties and the last-minute succor of Churchill via the Lend-Lease assistance provided the previous March were two dramatic acts of economic warfare against Japan in the U.S.A. and against Germany and Italy in the Americas from Mexico south. The latter took shape in an abrupt announcement in the form of Executive Order #8389 on July 17, a blacklist of 1800 German and Italian firms in 20 countries of the Western Hemisphere, forbidding U.S.A. businesses to deal with them except under the most rigidly regulated circumstances. This was a policy step in preparation for some time, as the extensiveness of the operation was revealed. The blacklisted firms filled 16 full columns of tiny type in the *New York Times* on July 18, 1941 and the list was also supplied to those involved in the form of a Federal Reserve Bank pamphlet, as well as being published in the *Federal Register*. Moves of this sort were hardly impulsive or capricious. The other move took place nine days later, and was even less a hasty and flighty gesture: the announcement of the "freeze order" affecting all Japanese assets in the U.S.A., and halting their use. This long-planned directive consisted of 9 pages of neatly printed materials, including regulations, amendments to existing orders and foreign exchange license data, also distributed to the Federal Reserve Banks early on July 26, 1941, an event later characterized as the "Japanese Pearl Harbor," an economic calamity which hit Japan without the faintest warning. Whether the invasion of Stalinist Europe by Germany a month earlier accelerated these ominous announcements was not demonstrable, but the timing was impressive.

The orchestration of the forces strongly favoring the salvation of Stalin by mid-summer 1941 inspired a subscriber of *Time* to remark upon some obvious parallels with the hysteria in favor of England a year earlier, speaking of the imminence of an

analogous campaign of "Bundles for Russia" and suggesting "the probability of a song being composed about 'there always being a Russia' and the recitation by Lynn Fontanne of the 'White Cliffs of Omsk,' " a satirical re-structuring of the title of the lugubriously sentimental popular song of that moment, *The White Cliffs of Dover*, so beloved of emotional and nostalgic Anglophiles. That *Time* should print it indicated a lingering bit of a sense of humor, not very noticeable in the ranks of the pro-war set in those days, and utterly lacking in those deeply devoted to the welfare of Russian Communism.<sup>30</sup> It was a time of mobilization of all resources in America to this end, part of it consisting in the production of their own propaganda. The most impressive contribution was the issuance at the end of July of *The Soviet Power* by Hewlett Johnson, perhaps the most widely read friend of Stalinist Russia whose native tongue was English. It appeared in an edition of a million copies, and priced at five cents,<sup>31</sup> obviously below cost of production, in order to maximize its audience; the Communist propaganda apparatus indicated it had been taking lessons from the Jehovah's Witnesses.

### **Some Religious and Educational Leaders Respond to the Issue of Aid or No Aid to Stalin**

Though the momentum was definitely with the aid-to-Stalin elements in the early weeks of the Russo-German war, the talkers and the opinion-makers were far from routed or silenced. Especially troubled were the religious spokesmen, in both the U.S.A. and England. Oswald Garrison Villard, famed one-time owner of the even more famed liberal weekly *The Nation*, who had been ousted from that journal a year before when the majority of its editors had plumped for a strong pro-war course, had found a refuge in the pages of the liberal Protestant but anti-involvement weekly *Christian Century*. Three weeks after Hitler's armies started across Eastern Poland, Villard predicted that "the warrior clergy" would pronounce a pro-Soviet course as "divine intervention in behalf of Right," and now would be "as eager to embrace Stalin as they were but yesterday to anathemize him." His piece "Our Moral Confusion"<sup>32</sup> was a good statement of the dilemma this new phase of the war had created, but there were differences among denominations and countries. The English Catholic press, for example, was wholeheartedly behind Churchill in his cooperation program with the Communists against Hitler, while trying to qualify this position by declaring that "Russia's cause is not our cause." This was the view of the *Catholic Times*, while the *London Tablet* came out for the defeat of Hitler and Nazism, "a man and a system much more efficient than Stalin's Communism."<sup>33</sup> But



their leaders were not nearly as vehement in support of this program as were the U.S.A. Catholic spokesmen in favor of it, nor as critical of it as were the U.S.A. anti-aid Catholic leaders. The division in America was quite pronounced. Though the Catholic War Veterans were dead-set against any aid to the Soviets, 15 outstanding prelates and laymen in the Fight for Freedom Committee were for it. "We and the Soviet are temporarily on the same side in the effort to resist a common enemy," was their analysis of the issue.<sup>34</sup>

We have seen that a variety of prominent Catholics, clergy and laymen, were not in the least shy in announcing their support of aid to Red Russia, when interrogated by public-opinion samplers of the news weeklies. There were others: Col. William J. Donovan, Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan of Catholic University, and Michael Williams, editor of the Catholic counterpart to the *Christian Century*, *Commonweal*. Even the *New Masses* took comfort in their testimonials in behalf of helping the Reds against Hitler.<sup>35</sup>

But by far the most earnest of these was Bishop Joseph P. Hurley of St. Augustine, Florida, whose emotional radio address in early July was heavily excerpted by delighted *Time*. He ridiculed the notion that Hitler was fighting an anti-Communist crusade in Eastern Europe, described the Germans as "Enemy No. 1 of America and the world," favored Roosevelt deciding all by himself when it was proper to take the U.S.A. into the war against them, and did not find Soviet Communism the faintest present or future threat, and never mentioned whatever an issue which bothered many other people, the situation that would prevail in the world if Stalin won. From the context of Bishop Hurley's declamation, it was improper, irrelevant and immaterial to dwell on this latter speculation.<sup>36</sup>

The opposite of Bishop Hurley was Rev. James M. Gillis, editor of the influential *Catholic World*, founded by the Paulist order at the end of the American Civil War. There was no more implacable anti-war figure in America than Fr. Gillis, though like most of those of this persuasion he execrated both sides of the Russo-German conflict. He was confident that he represented the majority in the U.S.A. "It is not a majority but a minority that wants war or would welcome war as either necessary or just," he asserted in the mid-summer 1941 struggle of opinions. Furthermore, as he identified his adversary, "It is a highly articulate insolent aggressive minority."<sup>37</sup>

Where Fr. Gillis found the pro-war enthusiasts weakest was in their avoidance of facing up to the consequences of supporting a Red victory in Europe, or their casual confidence in the ease with which they thought they could dispel the Soviets from the scene once Germany had been smashed:<sup>38</sup>

... make no mistake, there will be a showdown. None of your Willkies and Knoxes and Stimsons and Conants seem to have visualized it, but it will come. The showdown is always a "divvy" with allies in war as with partners in crime. . . . No one is going to say to him [Stalin], when the time for the divvy comes, "Good work, Joe old boy; and now be off with you, back to Moscow."

In many ways the conflict among Catholic opinion makers as to the merits of involvement in the war and support of Stalin was brought to a sharper point by posing Fr. Gillis against the Catholic convert (1913) professor Theodore Maynard, an ex-Protestant and English emigrant who had come to the U.S.A. in 1909. His residual English patriotism was transparent in his tussles with Fr. Gillis over the merits of becoming England's war partner. Maynard was far less concerned over the spread of Communism than he was over the German threat to Mother England, his sustained message in the Catholic press, and in essays in the secular journals as well.

Maynard was quite aware of the formidability of Fr. Gillis as an adversary in this battle of ideas. "Father Gillis is by all odds the ablest Catholic editor of our time," Maynard conceded in the early fall of 1941. While admitting substantial respect for Fr. Gillis and commending him for his condemnation of all brands of totalitarianism, Maynard clung tenaciously to a position very close to Bishop Hurley, giving a solid measure of psychic support to the Soviet Union in its war with Germany, on the same grounds that Germany was the "greatest enemy" of religion at the moment, though he did not make clear that he was referring to official policy or popular behavior, in which latter Maynard would surely have been backing an untenable proposition.<sup>39</sup> Fr. Gillis ridiculed this view, insisting on total abstention from the question.

Though Maynard was irked by Fr. Gillis' having made the *Catholic World* the most "belligerently isolationist" of all the Catholic papers in the country, he was probably as unhappy over his continuing policy of not yielding a particle on the matter of Russian support. Implacably anti-Soviet, Fr. Gillis did not relinquish this position regardless of the various maneuvering that continued. Probably the most invulnerable morally of all the main figures in the U.S.A. opposed to the war between 1939 and 1941, he continued his adamant stand against involvement in a war which might be construed as a beneficiary or contributor to the welfare of either side. In one monthly editorial after another he continued castigating Stalinism, denouncing all efforts to make the opportunistic circumstances which threw Communist Russia and the Anglo-Americans together at war with Hitler and Mussolini the grounds for rigging a political alliance. This continued to be his policy all through the war, a courageous position



which even veteran anti-Reds soft-pedaled for some time after the Pearl Harbor attack, then went underground, or turned about and began to write kindly pro-Red propaganda. All during World War Two, the *Catholic World* boiled with editorial suspicions and disparagement of Communist policy, abroad and at home.

A similar confrontation of opposites was observable in the non-Catholic center, probably best illustrated by the positions of England's Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Gordon Lang, and the redoubtable John Haynes Holmes, the latter already on published record as an uncompromising anti-involvement figure. *Time*, as in the case of Bishop Hurley, gave generous space to Dr. Lang's reproaching of the Church of England for its misgivings about the Churchill alliance with Stalin. Though reputed as an anti-Communist, Dr. Lang at the end of July 1941 sounded like an incandescent fellow traveler. In his view, Soviet Russia was "contending for the principles of national freedom and independence for which the British Commonwealth and the United States of America are standing," recommending that Britons "must therefore wish every success to the valiant Russian armies and people in their struggle and be ready to give them every possible help." Managing to sound like a composite of Stalin and Churchill, Dr. Lang like the other civilian warriors was troubled not in the least by contemplation of a Communist victory and its import for Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>40</sup>

The basic position of the editors of the *Christian Century* was advanced in a long editorial in the first issue after the outbreak of the war in the East: "A Nazi victory must be prevented if that is possible. But equally there must be no smashing victory for the Communists." They conceded that the Russians would get help from the U.S.A., "but not too much help." "For an overwhelming triumph, with Stalin at the head of the Russian avalanche, would hold almost as great a threat as an overwhelming victory for Hitler and his Nazis."<sup>41</sup> A week later they expressed great confidence in the "impossibility" of anyone here arousing "American enthusiasm for the idea of participating as an ally of Russia," especially after Finland had gone to war with the Reds; they were sure nine out of ten Americans would delight "to see the Finns march triumphantly into Leningrad."<sup>42</sup>

Rev. Holmes, whose spirited essays were featured by the *Christian Century* on many occasions, did not share the editorial hope that some kind of moderation and long-range statecraft would govern the aid-to-Stalin impulse which the interventionists wanted to prevail, consequences unconsidered. In the last issue in July 1941, he predicted that at the end of the European war, Stalin would annex all of Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and part of Poland which had been part of Czarist Russia in 1914, East

Prussia, Mongolia, openly, and Manchuria by proxy, and would "insist, under one form or another, on dominating the Balkans, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Dardanelles." Rev. Holmes maintained that was all guaranteed by Britain in signing the "co-belligerency pact in Moscow," which at the same time "signed a blank check to be filled in later by Russia." "After an immeasurably exhausting effort to destroy Nazi totalitarianism, the world will have succeeded only in putting in its place a more powerful, more widely extended, and therefore more formidable Communist totalitarianism," he concluded.<sup>43</sup> Holmes, favoring a "peace without victory," like Gillis, came astonishingly close to the actual situation which came into existence between 1945 and 1948.

The most remarkable trial balloon concerning propaganda favoring aid to Russia was launched by the *Christian Century* on August 13, 1941. In an extended article titled "Join Russia in the War!" (pp. 1002-1004), Professor Henry Nelson Wieman of the University of Chicago Divinity School, and a prolific writer on the subject of the philosophy of theology, argued that Russia was going to win the war anyway, and would "dominate Europe and Asia." Thereafter it would cause unlimited trouble for the democracies for having abstained, and would thus lead to an even larger war. His plan involved eliminating this possibility by joining the current war in Russia's favor. Furthermore, there would be substantial resulting domestic compensations; "Mighty coercions toward community will begin to work if we enter this war with Russia and do everything in our power to help her win." This would not only mitigate postwar tension possibilities, but lead to peace. Prof. Wieman suggested casually that there need be no fear of "military conquest" on the part of anyone at the hands of the Soviets, since they were not "imperialistic." Though he conceded that they would try "to make all the world go Communist" by other means, it would be possible to deprive them of the chance by massive reforms, providing employment and material well-being.

A month later the editors responded in a two-page editorial, pounding Prof. Wieman's avoidance of the religious issue entirely, condemned his plan unconditionally, and observed that in view of "the record of tyranny which the rulers of Russia have inscribed in the blood of their people during the past twenty-two years," the difference in degree of tyranny between Germany and Russia definitely lay "in favor of Germany, not Russia."<sup>44</sup>

Churchill's flat admission before the House of Commons on July 15 that the British-Russian agreement to give mutual aid and to make no separate peace was, "of course, an alliance, and the Russian people are now our allies," was given wide publicity here,<sup>45</sup> but this did not in any way discommode the war-bound among the



well-placed and the prestigious. James B. Conant, President of Harvard, in a turgid speech before a convention of the National Education Association, crammed with urgent pedagogical warriors, managed to outdo Bishop Hurley in urging aid to Stalin and in eagerly calling for entry into the war: "To the minds of some of us, the peril is so great that the United States has no alternative but to enter the war against Nazi power," exclaimed the head of America's most prestigious institution of higher learning. Conant, making the usual disavowal of supporting either Germans or Russians, concluded with the interventionist convention that only the Germans were a threat.<sup>46</sup> As was expected, *Time* printed most of his private war declaration, just a fragment of the hurricane of similar material assaulting the ears and eyes of the general public.

After a month of the Russo-German war, the U.S. public was beginning to show evidence of responding to the mainly one-way news interpretation and pro-war conditioning which occupied most mass media. A Gallup poll claimed 72% desired a Red victory and only 4% one by the Germans. Those in favor of a war declaration were alleged to have risen from 21% to 24%. *Newsweek*, however, analyzing the mail on the issue received by 30 U.S. senators, found it "evenly divided between isolationists, interventionists and middle of the roaders," and that the volume was only 1/5th of that which had poured in during the debates over the Lend Lease bill earlier in the year. The magazine further declared that the mail of Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Walsh, Nye, Brooks, La Follette, Taft and Tobey was running 10-1 against involvement in the war, while that of Senators Pepper, Lee and Barkley was roughly 50-50 on the question.

The full spectrum of opinions on the subject had hardly been seen, however. On July 31, 1941, British Aircraft Production Minister Lt. Col. John Theodore Cuthbert Moore-Brabazon delivered a speech in Manchester in which he expressed the hope that Russia and Germany would "exterminate" each other, leaving Britain master of the Continent. New political fireworks displays resulted. London's Marxist *Daily Herald*, appalled, announced that Churchill, "astonished and angry," had given him a savage dressing-down, "a sizzling and blistering affair, in which the colonel was left in no doubt as to the gravity of his offense."<sup>47</sup> Churchill, however, was in a jam, and ended up having to defend Moore-Brabazon in September before Parliament, and was forced into a bitter exchange with fervent Stalinist Willie Gallacher, the only Communist M.P. in the House of Commons.<sup>48</sup> Sentiments close to those of Moore-Brabazon were expressed at about the same time by a member of the United States Congress, who was contemptuously referred to later by insulted *Time* as "little fox-faced Senator Harry S. Truman"<sup>49</sup> (D.-Mo.).

The expressions of support for Stalin continued from a wide spread of opinion makers into the first weeks of August, the issue of aid taking a dramatic lurch in Soviet favor later in the month after the celebrated Roosevelt-Churchill meeting off the coast of Newfoundland and the issuance of the "Atlantic Charter," which followed the equally important mission of Roosevelt's ubiquitous assistant, Harry Hopkins. The Stalinist-line League of American Writers, vociferously for war against Hitler until the August 1939 Pakt, and then scrupulously neutral during the period of Stalin's absence from the fray, was quick to get re-involved with the German attack, and issued a hectic public statement espousing Stalin's cause, characteristically published by *New Masses* on August 5, 1941 (p. 23), while calling attention to having sent a copy of their manifesto to Erskine Caldwell, a vice-president of the LAW, who was in Moscow at that moment.<sup>50</sup>

An even more pretentious declamation came from Michael Straight, editor of the once firmly anti-involvement liberal *New Republic* but almost overnight a convert to belligerency. He hailed the entry of Stalin into the war as the turning point and suggested Hitler was "perhaps well on the way of retreat." He further hailed the creation of the International Free World Association in Washington, organized by refugee anti-Nazi politicians, solidly to the left, from half a dozen countries, and saw as its principal function that of preparing war aims, and the "promise of a just and lasting peace," still embarrassingly absent from the statements of the "Allies." Impatient over American unwillingness to do big things and indignant over the U.S.A.'s failure so far to "accept the leadership that should be ours in the fight for a free world," Straight was grimly satisfied that the part America had earned in the next peace conference was "scrubbing the floors."<sup>51</sup>

And still another prestigious figure used the *New Masses* to broadcast his enlistment. Harvard's philosophic light, Ralph Barton Perry, no longer the subdued murmur of the *U.S. News* poll six weeks earlier, was calling loudly in behalf of Soviet Russia as the most recent state whose "freedom" was "threatened" by Hitler's armies. Russia was already "our moral ally," trumpeted Prof. Perry, and he ended up calling for a world pooling of military power to defeat Germany's attempt at "world domination."<sup>52</sup>

The *Christian Century*, still anxious to read the pulse of European Protestantism correctly on the newest phase of the European war, managed to solicit conflicting advice again in August 1941, this time from neutral Switzerland. A lengthy letter from correspondent Denzil G.M. Patrick declared that the chief reaction there was one of "relief" that the threat of the "bolshevization of Europe" was much abated, and that the Swiss looked upon the mutual weakening of both "tyrannies," their government not in-



tending to aid either. He also remarked upon the numbness of some Swiss following the ferocity of the anti-religious efforts of the Soviets in the Baltic states under the commissar Yaroslavsky and the machinery of the Stalinist League of the Militant Godless.<sup>53</sup>

But the following month it published from the same country their reaction to the famous Protestant theologian Karl Barth's *A Letter to Great Britain From Switzerland*. This caused much consternation, Barth placing the stamp of theological approval upon the civilian "resistance" to the German armed forces and in substance making it a holy war. The editorial remarked that they did not see that Barth was urging the Swiss to become a belligerent, however.<sup>54</sup> Shortly thereafter the journal published a lengthy think-piece on Barth by W.S. Kilpatrick, president of Cedarville (Ohio) College, who had just returned from a year's study under Barth. Said Kilpatrick, "Barth is politically a socialist today, although fearing its potential materialism and distrusting its optimistic view of man." Kilpatrick pointed out that the Nazis, who had cut short Barth's tenure in a German university, had simply "requested him to absent himself, and had even given him several months' pay in advance," while suppressing his Marxist writings.<sup>55</sup> No one could recall the Soviet Union handling a political adversary as gently and generously as this, even if a foreign subject in residence there.

The editors followed this with a three-page editorial devoted to Barth, avoiding challenging his politics, but concentrating on denouncing his calling World War II a "holy" war, willed by God.<sup>56</sup> They were willing, however, to recognize the war being called "righteous," which really was not that distant a stance from Barth, another of the legion of World War I socialists and pacifists who turned around and reached astounding heights of martial ferocity in that of 1939-1945.

In the meantime the religious scene continued reverberating with strong statements for and against helping out Stalin. Late in August testimonials in behalf of this cause were published here which came from both the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, the English prelates skipping over the Red regime with mild disapproval, while emphasizing the religiosity of the Russian people<sup>57</sup> (nothing was said that 99% of the Germans were identified with the Roman Catholic or Lutheran faiths). Here, Dorothy Day, editor of the *Catholic Worker*, denounced movement toward entry into the war, while speaking at Williamstown, Mass., at a meeting of the Institute of Human Relations sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. But Justice Frank Murphy of the U.S. Supreme Court, speaking before the supreme council of the Catholic Knights of Columbus in Atlantic City, N.J., declared that

the Soviet Union should have the support of all the world's democracies in its war with Hitler.

### **The Roosevelt Administration and Press Supporters Lean Toward Aid at the Time of the August 1941 Atlantic Conference**

While this agitated clash of opinions on the subject became more heated and pointed, it grew more obvious that the Roosevelt regime had made up its mind in favor of sustained and substantial material and military aid to Soviet Russia. The creep in that direction became a lope by mid-August 1941, a short time before the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting. The first dramatic signal was the attention given to the flight to Moscow from London by Harry Hopkins, much scrambled by the pro-New Deal press but ultimately admitted to have been in the interests of seeking out Stalin's advice on how U.S. goods might be expedited to the Soviet.<sup>58</sup> It took place at about the same time Soviet Ambassador Oumansky led a Soviet military mission to an audience with FDR on the same subject, presumably with the behind-the-scenes guidance of Welles, the subject of a *Time* cover story on August 11, and credited with having virtually assured Oumansky that his Red regime could depend on a substantial supply of military assistance from America, "in its struggle against armed aggression."<sup>59</sup>

*Time's* lead story a week later, "Aid to Russia," pinpointed FDR as responsible for the expediting of arms and planes to Stalin, presumably responding impulsively to a horror story of Russian desperation from his "analysts in the White House." The account was graced by pictures of such Roosevelt confidants as Sam Rosenman and Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau.<sup>60</sup>

David Lawrence's *U.S. News* presented a somewhat similar story of the President's personal initiative in forwarding substance to Stalin, as well as draping the Hopkins mission to Moscow in even more colorful and romantic prose than others.<sup>61</sup> Though addressing himself to U.S. businessmen, Lawrence demonstrated utter unconcern over Communism or Communists, saw nothing to worry about should Stalin win in Eastern Europe, and apparently thought the latter would retire modestly behind the Curzon Line once having repelled Hitler, to allow a joint-Franco-British politico-military experiment once more to mismanage Central Europe and the Balkans.

*U.S. News* August 8 featured a genial portrait of FDR and summarized his press conference, less than 24 hours after Oumansky "had led a Russian military mission to his desk." The article went on to say: "The President in his press conference authorized reporters to quote him as saying with regard to Russian resistance:



'It is magnificent and frankly better than any military expert in Germany thought it would be.'" As to the payment problem, Roosevelt was quoted as saying that Russia was "on a strictly cash basis" with American suppliers, and that there was no sign that this would change, when he was questioned as to Russian qualification for Lend Lease largess. On the subject of how Hopkins got from London to Moscow, however, FDR was not talking to reporters.<sup>62</sup>

For Hopkins the *U.S. News* saved special space a week later, exclaiming to its readers that his perambulations from Washington to London, then to Moscow and back once more to London, were part of an assignment to bring about a five-power "iron ring" around Germany, consisting of staggering population and resources preponderance. "U.S. collaboration with Russia" was already a fact, and Hopkins had gone there to extend it. The latter's sensational rise from an obscure social worker to a world figure was explained as a consequence of Roosevelt's "unusual confidence" in him.<sup>63</sup>

*U.S. News* acted as a mere entity floating on this approved "wave of the future." In its sampling of press editorials around the country it found already a "large majority of the editors favoring U.S. aid to Russia." In its reproduction of nine major newspaper editorial turnarounds on Russian policy in less than two months in Lawrence's businessman-oriented weekly, it could be seen that not one even imagined the possibility of Red victory. None looked a particle beyond victory over the Germans, or had the faintest idea of what might follow, nor did any imagine what kind of regime they expected to follow what they wanted to destroy. The nearest one could discern was some kind of sentiment that a vast desert of suspended animation would prevail indefinitely among the defeated nations and the numerous areas sure to be "liberated" from their control and influence.<sup>64</sup>

And in its extended spread on the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting a week after, on August 22, *U.S. News* called attention to the tidbit in the proceedings redounding to Stalin's welfare, though he was not there, his contribution being brought there from Moscow by Hopkins. It was divined by Lawrence and his editorial assistants that American businessmen could expect American "large-scale help" to the Soviets, supplied "on the advice of the British Government." Stalin was supposed to have been notified of this by letter at the conclusion of the Atlantic Charter meeting at sea. They were assured that there would be no problem of payment. Russia had \$40 million on deposit in the U.S. and of course had "a large annual gold production which she can use in international trade."<sup>65</sup> The cash registers were ringing in the ears of all putative American suppliers to this unnamed Operation Life Raft for the

salvation of Russian Communism by the more than two-decades-execrated "capitalists." It promised to serve a similar purpose to segments of major American industrial and commercial enterprise, beginning to emerge from over a decade of economic slough under the aegis of a national government which was abandoning saving the domestic scene and about to embark on the far more exciting and encompassing task of saving the world. It was not long however before U.S. News amended its earlier advice on Russian payment procedure as furnished by the Administration to let its business subscribers know that the Soviet Union had been made the beneficiary of a \$50 million "initial fund" provided by the Defense Supply Corporation under the U.S. Commerce Department.<sup>66</sup> In September and October 1941 a succession of stories impressed all concerned that the Reds were all that prevented the Germans from sweeping over the world, and they were in the field only if "U.S. and British supplies come."<sup>67</sup>

The change in emphasis on the part of the spokesmen for intervention in the first two to three months of the war in Eastern Europe was quite spectacular, in view of the essentially Anglophile substance of what had preceded it for several years. The partisanship in behalf of Stalinist Russia not only added a new dimension to pro-war propaganda, it intruded into the American scene a competing loyalty which served to disturb the tenor of the war sentiment once the U.S.A. became a belligerent, and added an ingredient which soured and alienated the various "Allies" to such a degree that when they fell out almost upon achieving "victory," the situation never did right itself.

A good example of events overtaking established positions was laid out in *Time's* monthly cousin in the publishing empire of Henry Luce, *Fortune*. As a releasing point for combinations of the materialistic and the messianic-moral, it was a source which was almost impossible to top. It was the ultimate organ expressing the view that the future belonged to an Anglo-American combine, with the major decision-making power sure to lodge in the hands of the latter of this team. The Soviet as a major factor in a world victorious over the Germans and Japanese was unmentioned even as a dim possibility. Even in the pretentious and portentous position paper by Russell W. Davenport finally published in August, "This Would Be Victory,"<sup>68</sup> with its talk of a grandiose world "Area of Freedom" dominated by an "International Party," the possibility of having to come to terms with the world Communist apparatus was airily dismissed. Once the adversaries East and West were overcome (Davenport assumed U.S. entry into the war was inevitable and would soon occur), this "International Party" would "make common cause with all peoples willing and able to be free," and "The advent of the USSR to our side, and other irra-



tionalities of the European *Walpurgisnacht*, do not alter this essential principle." Davenport believed the correct course was just to proceed serenely as if it had not happened.

The version of this vision intended for the common citizen was that of Hopkins the previous month in the four-million-circulation *American Magazine*, a breezy and confident outline of eventual British victory, with the help of America and with two-thirds of the rest of the world also helping out. In this rather extended account, Hopkins managed to mention the Soviet Union only once, as a likely puppet of Hitler should the latter succeed in defeating the British.<sup>69</sup>

In his next *American Magazine* article, December 1941, Hopkins expatiated on his new job as Lend-Lease Administrator and his personal encounter with Stalin in Moscow. His narrative was an unbroken account of praise of Communist correctness, faithfulness and dependability. He described how Britain became Stalin's partner in June in this way:<sup>70</sup>

With the courage that is Churchill's, he pledged Britain to Russia's cause. And he did it boldly, without consulting anybody, without stopping to consider any possible political consequences. At Chequers [Churchill's estate] he told me of it.

But the emphasis now was on Russia, not England. Published just before U.S. involvement in the war via the Pearl Harbor attack by Japan, Hopkins realized he had a public relations job on his hands, knowing of the intimidating majority against direct involvement in the war, and his concluding rhetorical query to a readership he knew wanted no part of the ineffable regime in Russia apparently was supposed to rouse a sense of horror upon contemplation of the alternative: "Ask yourself whom you want on the west shore of the fifty miles of sea which separates Asiatic Russia from Alaska. Whom do you want—Stalin or Hitler?" (No one commented that Hopkins was parroting the Fight for Freedom Committee word for word). Probably a majority of Americans had already made up their mind, under the constant pounding of the newspapers, radio and tireless Administration orators and their legions of auxiliaries in Academe and public affairs. The pro-aid-to-Russia position seemed to have swept the field at least three months before direct U.S. entry into the war. *Fortune's* poll the last week of September 1941 found 73.3% favoring assisting the Communists, but still showing only a small minority actually supporting a war declaration: 10.7%. Despite the sinuous prose of the most persuasive war-peddlers, Americans confronted by the various poll-takers were no more interested in full shooting involvement than they had been two years earlier.

## The Main Pockets of Resistance to Supporting Stalin

Despite the rising tide of contrived pro-Stalinist sympathy, there remained pockets of obdurate opposition in the U.S., some of them anti-Stalinist throughout the war, even during the period of ardent official pro-Sovietism which reached its peak in 1943. Clerics, disaffected liberals with longstanding reputations as critics of Bolshevism, and relapsed fellow travelers with Lenin and Stalin made up most of the people involved in the public expression of this hostility. Politicians, businessmen, and the highly placed socially and culturally were noticeably absent from this contingent.

A particularly thorny case was that of the *American Mercury*, once the property of H.L. Mencken, and, in 1941, after a number of changes, published by Lawrence Spivak, later to become familiar as the moderator and host of the radio and television show, "Meet the Press." Its new editor was Eugene Lyons, a one time warm pro-Soviet foreign correspondent, whom Edmund Wilson had once described as having "spent some of the best years of his life whooping it up for the Soviets." Lyons now was as hostile as he had ever been favorable, and set for the *Mercury* a curious editorial line, hostile to Hitler, for involvement of the U.S.A. in the European war, but also probably more hostile to Stalin than Hitler, presumably on the grounds that though disliking both immensely, he felt that Hitler, having no friendly support in the country, was less formidable in the editorial assault on dictatorial systems. Tackling Stalin so resolutely was perhaps a tougher problem for Lyons, in view of the snowballing of support for the Soviet. And how he hoped to keep from benefiting Stalin by urging a pro-war course was not explained at all.

Lyons had just published what was to prove a very influential book, *The Red Decade* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill) when the Reds went to war with the Nazis. Its description of the meticulous and detailed penetration of the U.S.A. by pro-Soviet influence and its spread through all the agencies of American culture in the ten years or so prior to the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 was to be a veritable reference work for a generation after its publication. For the pro-Soviet-support elements of the Roosevelt Administration it was an awkward book, published and reviewed at an awkward time. Both *Newsweek* and the *New York Herald Tribune* had kind words for it in September 1941, the latter review being by Nicholas Roosevelt.<sup>71</sup> At about that time the *August Mercury* was being sold on the newstands, which contained a fierce Lyons article, "The End of Joseph Stalin,"<sup>72</sup> which anticipated his downfall at Hitler's hands, and which Lyons, though very hostile to Hitler as well, thought was richly deserved. The piece included



a long catalog of the things Stalin had done which Lyons thought had made Hitler possible. Lyons was still furious at the Red boss for having rejected the "democratic allies" and signing the August 1939 *Pakt* with Hitler. It was Lyons' thesis that an accommodating, abject and obsequious Stalin had finally been spurned by the contemptuous Nazis. Much of this was wishful thinking and ignored entirely the possibility that the war in Eastern Europe grew out of Stalinist pressures on Hitler. Lyons' follow-up, "Some Plain Talk on Russia,"<sup>73</sup> was a heated blast upon the tendency to lump the Soviets with the Anglo-French-American democracies, now that Britain and the U.S.A. were offering the Reds material aid. But his striving to keep Anglo-American selfish interests in this matter in the foreground was beginning to have an effect on his judgment. Lyons in November 1941 thought that it was the height of impossibility to imagine a future Red swamping of Europe. Britain and America could assist the Russians wholeheartedly "without any fear of a Red tidal wave overwhelming Europe—because they know that a decisive Russian victory is not even a remote possibility." But he did expect another Moscow-Berlin pact between the now-warring former non-belligerents, and suggested that no guarantee of any kind made by Stalin to the Western powers was worth the paper it might be written on, adding that Stalin's "adherence to the Anglo-American 'Atlantic Charter' is a cynical joke," though from 1945 on there were many who thought the behavior of the Charter's founders no less reprehensible.

A skilled recruit to Lyons' side, adding other dimensions to the frontal attack on Communism, domestic and foreign, was another veteran one-time well-wisher of the Bolsheviks, Max Eastman. Eastman's enthusiastic review of Lyons' book was published by the *New York Times* on September 7, 1941.<sup>74</sup> In an extrapolation on Lyons' book, Eastman's *Mercury* essay "Stalin's American Power," which subsequently was reprinted by the far larger circulation *Readers Digest*, enlarged upon the Red fronts in the U.S.A. and their pushing of Russian foreign policy. But making frequent use of the term "Communist conspiracy," once the main property of the Social Democratic Federation's organ, the *New Leader*, Eastman confined himself to largely ideological elements, and paid no attention to the burgeoning pro-Sovietism discernible among the top business and professional layers of American society. The small Communist press in the U.S.A. took much comfort in steadily growing pro-Soviet sentiments there and elsewhere in the land, the *New Masses* denouncing Eastman's as "a kind of digest of Lyons' indigestible book," and "a miserably cheap attempt to throw dust into the eyes of millions who at last see the Soviet Union with clarity."<sup>75</sup>

### American Communists as a Complication in the Soviet Aid Debate

To be sure, there were serious aspects of the domestic Communist issue for the war-bound involvement elements and the Administration, as well as for the Workers' Fatherland. The salvation of Russian Communism did not rest with the CPUSA, whose only product was words, but with the producers of tanks, planes, guns and food, as well as a thousand other items useful in Stalin's "war effort." Any U.S. Communist activity of a propaganda or agitational nature that interfered with this undoubtedly would draw a prompt frown of disapproval from the Kremlin. The U.S. Communist press swing from peace to war overnight after June 22, 1941, was a most ludicrous lurch. The conversion of all their peace fronts to violent pro-war mobs, the return of "appeaser" to indicate the genuine peace forces remaining of 1935-39, and the disappearance of "warmonger" as a description of the Anglophiles still breathing belligerence, all hardly went unnoticed on the American scene. With the *Daily Worker* by the end of the third month of the Russo-German war praising West Point and glorifying army life, it was easy to note what was on their mind.

For the elements which had been for war all the time, it was now their time to watch for Communists "boring from within," as it had been the problem of the "isolationists" and non-involvement committees and organizations between August 23, 1939, and June 22, 1941. The former had obstacles in going ahead with their goal of fighting a nice, clear-cut Anglo-American vs German war, with no Reds in it. The Fight For Freedom Committee was one of the first warrior civilian groups to put its members on the alert as to this difficulty.<sup>76</sup> *Newsweek* told all on September 22 that the FBI was "still carefully checking on U.S. Communist activities," though this must have been hard to do and not run afoul of the FDR camp's involvement proclivities which dealt with generous pro-Stalinist assistance plans, all vigorously championed by domestic Reds as well.<sup>77</sup>

The real mess however was in the ranks of labor. Communist strength in the roughly 7-year-old Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) promptly flexed its muscle. By mid-September 20 CIO unions were already demanding the U.S.A. go to war against Germany. And a curious arabesque was performed internally. The elements led by Sidney Hillman, pro-war and pro-FDR, known down to June 1941 as "the old right wing," as *U.S. News* put it, and confronted by labor led by John L. Lewis, anti-war and anti-FDR, "the old left wing," had by September 1941 changed identities.<sup>78</sup> Lewis and his cohorts now were assembled under the "right wing" tag, and Hillman and his the contrary



designation. The Communists in the CIO and the *Daily Worker* were now both berating Lewis as an "appeaser" and "isolationist" after having praised him for the identical stands during the period of Stalinist non-involvement in the European war. Labor-watchers now were of the view that the Communists were now trying to cuddle to Hillman, who was formally rejecting a working alliance with them, though finding their support of war policies comforting.

In mid-September 1941 also, Stalin obviously had far more on his mind than Anglophile American warmongers unhappy over the CPUSA infiltrating their simon-pure pro-war fronts. But *Newsweek* informed its readers at that moment that Stalin had "indirectly asked" the USCP to "quiet down," and might even "publicly request it to dissolve formally," in the interests of relieving "the strain which CP activities put on U.S.-Russian and British-Russian relations." Hopkins was supposed to have suggested this course to Stalin.<sup>79</sup> And in truth there really was no need for an American Communist Party now. Its chores were performed by many magnitudes beyond its capacity by the majority of the conventional press and radio in the U.S.A., bellowing mightily for support of Stalin in all ways, promotional assistance to a national administration already involved in massive planning toward the achievement of this goal.

### **Time, Corporate America and "Culture" Contribute to the Confusion**

In toting up the score of the forces favoring Russian Communism in its showdown with German National Socialism, one could not leave out the American industrial system as represented by its corporate giants, and their dramatically-swelling labor forces. There is a direct correlation between the steady decline of the energy and support of the non-interventionist position on the war during the last 15 months before direct American involvement, and the corresponding increasing economic stake of more and more Americans in the "defense" boom, during that same period. It was remarkably obvious in the last six months of that time span. The steady drifting away of supporters for neutrality can be less understood by reading their specious moralizing on why they had changed their minds than by noting the simultaneous stunning full page color advertisements of scores of major corporations hawking the new martial hardware being made within their walls. The wonder is that such an immense percentage of those polled in opinion surveys still opposed a declaration of war during this spell.<sup>80</sup>

If psychic and spiritual enlistment in the war could be dated

from June 1940 and *de facto* involvement in the war as a belligerent from March 1941, it took the vast industrial mobilization in the period after the Russians joined the war to cement down this American participation. As the summer wore into the fall in 1941, the necessity of maintaining a scrupulous distinction as to which of the anti-German belligerents one was favoring steadily eroded away, and the American hand to Stalin began to stretch in every direction it might reach there. One could understand that Stalin was risking no palpable damage in ordering the CPUSA to scuttle its profile in this critical moment. Their help really was not needed, and the function of their press could easily be confined to echoing what was broadcast from Moscow. The pro-Soviet forces of non-Communist origin were demonstrating that they could handle the job of assistance to the Kremlin and the spreading of the positive virtues and the noble attributes of Stalinism all by themselves.

It was not, therefore, in the tiny editions and limited distribution of the Stalinist press in America that one read the cheering, dramatic story of the first string of tankers arriving in Stalin's Siberian port of Vladivostok with immense cargoes of high octane gasoline from the U.S.A. for "battling Russia." It was rather in the front pages of the millionaire-run three-quarters-of-a-million circulation *Time* on September 15, 1941. A week earlier its opinion-saturated "news" columns had declared that the U.S.A. was in "a virtual alliance—with Russia against Germany,"<sup>81</sup> and with China against Japan, though the latter did not specify whether we were allied with Chiang or Mao. With the gasoline delivery, *Time* assured its readers that "If not actively fighting Fascism, the U.S. was helping to fuel the fight against it." No *New Masses* editor could have stated it any better.

In fact, *Time* had begun printing material directly supplied by the Soviet newspaper *Red Star* weeks before, without the slightest warning that it might be the purest propaganda. And it expressed general sympathy with the Soviet stories of their massive destruction of Russian communities and industry, 90% of the area in some claims, as its armies retreated in the face of the advancing Germans, thus making possible propaganda exploitation of this scorched-earth policy, with a future claim being lodged for other self-serving purposes later, of charges that the same amount of damage had all been done by the Germans.<sup>82</sup> It was one of many aspects of the war which found the eventual victors working both sides of the street with singular success. Though physically impossible, this contradictory story did wonders for pro-Stalinist sympathizers in the U.S.A.

For sure, the intense season of "heroic Russia" was nearly upon the American imagination, to be propelled at an increasing tempo



shortly, until well after the Anglo-American and Stalinist "allies" had fallen out. And no facet of the cultural or psychic world was to be neglected in the accentuation of this campaign against the English-speaking sensibilities, music included. Late in September, *Time* told all that the Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich had related that he was writing his Seventh Symphony, which would "attempt to depict the battle of Leningrad and tell the story of the city's Home Guards."<sup>83</sup> This endeavor was billed as the equivalent in this new war to Tschaikovsky's 1812 Overture, though subsequent critics were to find the former an essay in subdued trash-can bashing by comparison with the celebrated Tschaikovsky composition.

### **New Voices in Behalf of Assistance to Stalin, at Home and Abroad**

While the reportage on things Russian increased in warmth, the temperature of pro-Red sympathy in America soared somewhat higher. Symptomatic of this was the bellow for aid to Stalin which emanated from the American Legion convention in Milwaukee at about this same time. *Time* for September 29 shimmered with its eulogy of the Legion, rejoiced at its bellicosity toward Hitler Germany and its fierce desire for war, along with approval of its almost unanimous support for the creeping interventionism of Roosevelt. It even voted for one of Roosevelt's latest hobby horses, permanent universal military training.<sup>84</sup>

Almost simultaneously with this were other indications surfacing in widely separated places. The *Christian Century* quoted the Jackson, Mississippi *Daily News* as calling upon all religious congregations in the state to expel any ministers who were in opposition to the U.S. becoming involved in the European war.<sup>85</sup> Apparently these anti-Communist Southern fundamentalists were unperturbed by the thought of full enlistment in a war with Stalin to make Europe one-half Red. In fact, there were elements which were of the mind that this latter appellation was a dirty political word. That same week the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, the city's morning paper, embarked on a sortie to persuade other Canadian papers to join it in abandoning the word "Red" as a term for Russians.<sup>86</sup> And a few days before, war correspondent Edgar Ansel Mowrer, in an open letter to Roosevelt published in the vigorously pro-war picture weekly *Look*, founded in 1937 and already sporting a circulation of two million, urged him to clean out the "professional Bolshephobes" from all government departments, since they were hindrances who could not "honestly help us to destroy Fascism."<sup>87</sup> Nowhere in the Communist press could anyone find a more ardent ideological call than this.

To be sure, things seemed to be looking up for the Anglo-Russian cause in September 1941. Their joint invasion of Iran had resulted in success, hailed in *Time* as "Victors in the fortnight-old, 80-hour Iranian war." Though Hitler's invasions of strategically-located neighbors were uniformly billed as brutal aggressions, far softer and kinder verbiage was invented to describe the same thing when undertaken by Stalin and Churchill. And *Time* wound up its accolade by quoting from the New York *Herald Tribune's* Russell Hill, who, at Kazan with Russian officers, drank bottoms-up toasts to Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt, and "'reunion in Berlin.'" <sup>88</sup> Though the U.S. was still not a formal belligerent, May 1945 was brilliantly forecast and anticipated.

In the meantime the assiduous promotion of still another wealthy pro-Stalinist, England's Sir Richard Stafford Cripps, had begun, along with serious efforts in liberal circles to bring H.G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw to the U.S. to assist in helping "whip up enthusiasm for aid to Russia," as *Newsweek* put it. <sup>89</sup> *Time's* salute to Cripps, Ambassador to Moscow since the lonely days of 1940, when the Stalinists had nothing but ridicule for England at war, included a tribute to his being "One man who has really been right about World War II," since "From its opening gun, he maintained that Britain's interest and Russia's were the same," while calling attention to his recent "paeon to the Russian people." <sup>90</sup>

And when Eric Estorick's puff in book form, *Stafford Cripps, Prophetic Rebel* (John Day), began to go the rounds a few weeks later, it was no scrubby journal of the impoverished left that hailed it, but the alleged tower of Republican strength, the *Herald Tribune*, at the hands of its warmly pro-Soviet foreign editor, Joseph Barnes. It was Barnes who called attention to this opulent Briton's eloquence in behalf of the Workers' Fatherland: "Outside the Communist Party, itself, no other British leader," asserted Barnes, produced such speeches, "which were like and sounded like Marxism." <sup>91</sup>

Not all the traffic was one-way in the burgeoning buildup of the Soviet in the fall of 1941. The Roosevelt regime was increasingly embarrassed by the continuation of the war between Finland and Russia, and dreaded non-interventionist congressmen arguing against aid to Stalin on the grounds that Russians would use American arms to shoot Finns. There were signs that a formidable residue of anti-war reservations existed among the populace and that not all the devices being used to work up war fever were effective. Pro-war *Look* was chagrined to learn as a result of their poll of 15,000 moving picture exhibitors at the end of the summer that "'Anti-Nazi' pictures—like 'Escape,' 'Underground' or 'Manhunt'—were rated least productive at the box office." <sup>92</sup> But



there were hundreds more like these to come in the future. A similar conclusion was arrived at by the Gallup Audience Research Institute, headed by David Ogilvy, whose report was released the third week of July 1941. It concluded that there was no audience outside of New York City for anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi pictures, and that all propaganda movies had thus far "fizzled at the box-office."<sup>93</sup>

### **Continued Annoyance from Influential Anti-Soviet Liberal Personalities, While Pro-Aid Forces Gain in Academe**

And there were a few towering holdouts among the predominantly war-bound liberal opinion-makers adding their discordant notes to the swelling chorus of Soviet tributes to be heard on the American scene. Notable was Villard, mainly reduced to a platform with the anti-war *Christian Century*, though *Common Sense* and the *Progressive* were still open to views such as his. He was deeply resentful of interventionist liberals now insisting that the "aggressor" nations had to be defeated "even if it meant the ruin of the whole world," though he thought that there was even less chance of the U.S.A. entering the war by way of a formal declaration than "before we became partners of the unspeakable Stalin."<sup>94</sup> Of the growing emphasis on Russianism instead of Communism in the Soviet Union Villard remarked, "It is a tribute to the skill with which the Bolsheviks have pumped nationalistic and patriotic doctrines into the Russian people that they are so willing to bleed to death for a government that has murdered, exiled and imprisoned innumerable Russians for the sole offense of opposing Josef Stalin's rule."<sup>95</sup>

Another redoubtable fixture in the anti-war liberal fold who stuck in the collective craw of the interventionists, when it came to the subject of enlisting their sentiments behind Stalin, was John Dewey. His consistent coolness toward Stalin and his unwillingness to indulge in encomiums to him as a result of the exigencies of the European war drew him repeated scoldings, but his cautions about the dangers in idealizing Stalin due to an excess of uncritical enthusiasm continued for several months after U.S. entry into the war. He was sure this would lead to Americans having to pay "too costly a price for Russia's cooperation."<sup>96</sup> Dewey's antagonist on the faculty of Columbia Teacher's College was Prof. John L. Childs, who uttered the standard liberal reproach to Dewey, fearful that such an attitude would affront the Reds. Childs was one of the eloquent exponents of sustained long-term pro-Soviet relations. He urged Americans to "Let's cooperate with the Reds during and after the war," and above all, he implored, "Let's not adopt a policy of isolating Russia once the war is

over."<sup>97</sup> Dewey's courage in sticking to his views was all the more remarkable in that the organization with which he was most prominently identified, the 10,000-member Progressive Education Association, had early in July 1941 become the first organized group of American educators to support an outright declaration for full American participation in the world war, a manifesto which was also signed by 12 of the 14 editors of its journal, *Frontiers of Democracy*.<sup>98</sup>

The only sector of the academic and educational world comprised of students which matched their mentors in belligerence were the newspaper editors of the Ivy League and other elite colleges. In the twelve schools selected for examination by *Time* in the early fall of 1941 they were deeply gratified to notice a much more aggravated call for gore in their college newspaper editorials, though this martial posture was hardly to be reflected in the undergraduate enrollment or in any other level occupied by those in age brackets which were likely to end up in the front lines.<sup>99</sup> This social fact is what so incensed the intellectual leaders of the administration's budding propaganda machine, especially the likes of the new Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish, a fervent and eloquent voice for world war, and the performer of probably the most spectacular intellectual somersault achieved by any American intellectual on the subject of war participation in the short six years between 1935 and 1941. There certainly was no one trying to square the strident warrior MacLeish of 1940-41 with the MacLeish who answered a questionnaire of the *Modern Monthly* in June 1935 in these words: "I should do everything in my power to prevent the United States going into war under any [MacLeish's emphasis] circumstances. There is only one possible position against the menace of militarism: absolute hostility. Any other is romantic." But MacLeish, in the eyes of the stubborn remnant of anti-war liberals the outstanding intellectual turncoat of the pre-war period, was just one of a legion who did much the same, to be rewarded with lush posts, handsome remuneration, continuous fulsome praise and sustained promotion into a succession of even more prominent post-war careers.

While the small, quiet steps announcing each steady move toward cultural totalitarianism took place, while the pretense was maintained that the "democracies" and their new Communist "ally" were trying to overcome it, the announcements of growing technical and industrial mobilization in its behalf were to be found far closer to the front. Early in October 1941 *Time* devoted a substantial account to an English Midlands tank factory whose labor force stood and sang the Communist *Internationale* at the unveiling of a goodly batch of tanks built for the Soviet Union, bearing the names of Marx and many more recent Red bureaucrat



"heroes of Soviet labor." Even *Time* was a little abashed to report that the British Broadcasting Corporation's broadcasts "sounded like Moscow radio" in its bawling propaganda announcements of tanks and munitions output in the just-concluded "Tanks-for-Russia" week in Great Britain.<sup>100</sup>

### **October, 1941 Polls Register a Gain in Aid-to-Stalin Sentiment**

The faddish aspect of this all-out help for Stalin was spreading in the U.S.A. at this moment as well, even provoking *U.S. News* to ask the following question of its readers: "Should U.S. Divert its Entire Arms Production to Britain and Russia for the Next Three Months?"<sup>101</sup> At a time when Americans were being whipsawed by pro-war propagandists into fears of imminent invasion themselves by the seemingly omnipresent and ubiquitous Germans, and the domestic "defense" agitation was indicating that elements of the newly conscripted American armed forces were conducting maneuvers in part with wooden and other play-style "weapons," it posed a contradiction for the pro-war enthusiasts. The industrial system did not seem to be capable of providing the military of the main belligerents abroad and the U.S. too with all the martial hardware they required.

The responses of the prominent political, military and other personalities were indicative of some of the conflicts sweeping opinion at the time, nevertheless. Senators Capper of Kansas and Overton of Louisiana and Rep. Karl Mundt of South Dakota, of the Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees, respectively, said no. But Capper and Mundt were for sending as much as could be spared to the British without undermining U.S. defense, while stipulating that of that total the recipients would have to decide how much was then to be sent to the Communists, "since Russia is an ally of Britain." In the process, they cautioned, "let us not have Uncle Sam become the generalissimo of the war nor the bedmate of Communism." Major General William H. Haskell, Commander of the 27th Infantry Division, also joined the "nays," saying that the weapons were needed here first of all: "I feel it is of major importance to carry forward the training of our own armies."

But James W. Gerard, the U.S. Ambassador to Germany prior to American entry into World War I, Rep. May of Kentucky, Chairman of the House Committee of Military Affairs, were for it, as well as Hiram Winternitz, Jr., President of Charles Dreifus Co., of Philadelphia. The latter insisted: "It seems to me that the diversion of practically all of our production of military goods for the next few months to Britain and Russia, particularly Russia, would be sound practice." Also favoring this was Lewis G. Harriman, prominent Buffalo banker and president of the U.S. Chamber of

Commerce. He expressed himself in complete harmony with such a diversion, fearing that Russian loss to the Germans would delay and make immensely more difficult the ultimate victory of England, while sure the argument "that such help would make Russia itself presently a greater menace to us seems too remote to cause concern." Dean Paul Andrews of the University of Syracuse College of Law favored the idea in principle but thought that the percentage of such allocations to Britain and Russia should be determined by technical people. Dean Andrews' views were additionally agitated by his fear that the Germans were about to capture all of South America while disposing of the Soviet Union.

David Lawrence apparently was not as carried away with euphoria as some of the respondents to the *U.S. News* query concerning the desirability of shipping off the total of three months' American war production to Russia, or to Britain as Stalin's agent. One of their requests, that they acquire "large quantities of tools and machinery to equip new war industry east of the Ural Mountains," temporarily got lodged in his craw, but not for long.<sup>102</sup> Though not too sure that aid to Russia involved a commitment to help the Bolsheviks develop long-term heavy industrial potential far from the war fronts (he did not take up the massive aid to the Soviet of this kind in the previous 25 years), his fears soon washed away, partially as a consequence of his October questionnaire and the mounting bad war news from the new Eastern Front. By October 24 *U.S. News* was sure that two-thirds of the industry in Western Russia was already in Hitler's grip, and editorially it declared with some agitation, "Russian industry in the Urals must be supported by an immense quantity of supplies from Britain and America if resistance is to continue." Gratification was also expressed over a recent Roosevelt statement that vast supplies of war goods were underway to Russia, all promised by Hopkins at Moscow to be delivered by the end of October 1941.<sup>103</sup> And at the end of November its war industries executive readers must have been cheered to learn that "A large United States military mission" was being "quietly organized to go to Russia," and would leave "soon," for Archangel, to gather first hand information "about how this country can help Russia."<sup>104</sup> The months of wary ruminations about the wisdom of direct involvement in Russia's war fortunes were giving way to exactly the reverse, undoubtedly nurtured by the steadily growing involvement of the Roosevelt camp into matters which promised eventual belligerent status somewhere, and probably in several places.

Apparently a barrier to this scheme had been overcome in a short time since an early fall complaint had been circulated about Stalin's reserve and secrecy, and his refusal to allow any U.S. or British observers anywhere near any of the fighting or almost



anywhere else. Hence had come about the joint mission of U.S.A.'s Averell Harriman and Britain's Lord Beaverbrook to seek for more frankness on Stalin's part.<sup>105</sup> Of this noted visit, more later.

### **President Roosevelt Creates a Diversion Over the Religious Issue**

The only clashing noise in what was otherwise a symphony of effortless gliding on the part of the varied forces working in behalf of Stalinist Russia in the fall of 1941 across the United States grew out of the August 1941 Atlantic Charter and the consequences of Roosevelt adding the "point" dealing with freedom of religion. One of the first to capitalize on this was Soviet radio, commending this strategy, and joining to it the urging of the overthrow of the Germans at the earliest opportunity because Hitler was "menacing the very existence of Christianity." This even cooled off ardently pro-Russian *Time*, which did not think it appropriate for the Marxist regime to be hailing a force which they systematically attacked on the domestic Russian scene.<sup>106</sup> Even if one wished to insist that Bolshevism was a form of religion itself,<sup>107</sup> the Russian people as a whole hardly had abandoned their old ways, no matter what the Soviet government's League of the Militant Godless maintained. Almost twenty years after the Leninist revolution had taken over, about one half of the total population was still of the Russian Orthodox faith.<sup>108</sup> The dramatic decline was in the number of churches, estimated in August 1941 to be down to 8, 338 from 70,000 in 1917.

Not much had been said at the time the so-called "Four Freedoms" had been launched from the deck of the British battleship *Prince of Wales* off Argentia, Newfoundland, which included the religious freedom concept. Even the noted Protestant layman John Foster Dulles, not a part of the Roosevelt regime, and mainly involved in labors in behalf of a group of prominent churchmen and laymen called the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, had nothing to say about it in particular when he drafted his famous negative dissection of the celebrated Eight Points of Churchill and Roosevelt. Dulles, a party to the American presence at Versailles in 1919, condemned the Churchill-Roosevelt vision of the postwar world as following "too closely the pattern of Versailles" and saw their August 1941 product as mainly a prop for a self-satisfied pro-status quo crowd, and a prelude to a new war when the one going on was over, not an outline for "the development of some international mechanism for effecting peaceful change," which recalled the book he had published two years before, *War, Peace and Change* (Harper).<sup>109</sup>

The mobilization of religion in the impending worldwide martial cataclysm was inevitable, but the maneuvering had been going on for years prior to 1941. Americans, with their separation-of-church-and-state tradition, knew nothing of the realities of the religious scene in Europe, and the propagandistic forces seeking to enroll their sentiments and sensibilities preferred to keep them that way. Few knew of the state relationships of the Russian Orthodox Catholic clergy, nor that the German congregations, roughly half Roman Catholic and half Lutheran, were the recipients of sizable subventions from the Hitler government, as they had been recipients from previous German regimes. For that matter, probably no more than a platoon of Americans realized that the clergy of the official state-supported church in northern Europe were actually public functionaries drawing the equivalent of civil service salaries, in American parlance. The emphasis in the propaganda war in the U.S. was entirely away from these facts and entirely upon emotional and denominational loyalties, with such overtones of general substance as were unavoidable, given the general knowledge of world affairs prevailing. One aspect of the latter involved the universal conviction in the U.S. that all organized religion was in a bad way in Soviet Russia, a regime with a formal policy of hostility to this and a corresponding policy of encouraging organized disbelief, in harmony with Marxist materialism, the Soviet state's religion.

In the word war waged against Hitler and Mussolini, American liberals especially esteemed the descriptive epithet "clerico-fascist," finding it useful also to apply to Franco Spain and to the breakaway Slovakian state headed by Monsignor Josef Tiso. This stands in strange contradiction to the simultaneous charge by the same propaganda voices that these hated dictators were trying to abolish religion. Though it was known that the Russian Orthodox Church leaders were fully behind Stalin, it struck them as painfully distasteful to have to apply the same criteria to their warmly esteemed Stalin, so one heard nothing about "clerico-fascist Russia."

The relative detachment or apathy of most clergy in Europe was not a subject for much commentary after Russia joined the European war. The self-righteous militarism of the clergy everywhere in World War I was not repeated, most of such figures being found associating mainly with leftists in Europe and America, in the latter their numbers being also swelled by German and British expatriates. The likes of Karl Barth, Paul Tillich<sup>110</sup> and William Temple, Archbishop of York and Canterbury, typified the former, and the one-time Marxist enthusiast Reinhold Niebuhr standing out among church notables flourishing their verbal armament in the U.S.,<sup>111</sup> though the American warrior clergy in general were



far more identified with secular ideological politics than with the pulpit.<sup>112</sup> It became obvious to the clerical friends of Stalin, however, that the most profitable tactics consisted of negative material, which was the very largest part of "anti-fascism" at all times, even at the peak period of ardent admiration of Communist Russia, in 1943. It was easier to crow and gloat over failure among the Soviet's enemies than it was to attempt to sell the view that there were positive and affirmative things happening in the Workers' Fatherland, and which under the renewed patriotic pressure of the Stalinist machine, desperate for public support, was even becoming spoken of occasionally once more as "Mother Russia." Such an occasion was the exultation, even in *Time*, when it was claimed that the new premier of Norway under the German occupation, Vidkun Quisling, was able to get only 27 of Norway's 700 Lutheran pastors to support Germany's "crusade against Russia."<sup>113</sup> A few days later, Roosevelt himself tossed a grenade into the middle of this essentially successful anti-Hitler and pro-Soviet campaign on the religious front by his casual remark during a press conference in the second week of October 1941 alleging the existence of religious freedom in Stalinist Russia.

Few remarks by Roosevelt before or after, during the war era, drew as much comment, including analyses, guesses and glosses as to its real intent, attacks, excuses and a rare defense. Walter Lippmann, one of FDR's strongest journalistic supporters, delivered a harsh scolding, and Lippmann's paper, the *New York Herald Tribune*, called it "whitewashing the Kremlin." *Time*'s lead story was devoted to deep analysis of the act, ascribing political objectives to it all. Roosevelt was thought to have advanced this trial balloon, seeking to get the Russians to "guarantee religious liberty" in case they were not doing it in exchange for gaining a spot on the American Lend-Lease bandwagon. This in turn he was thought to exchange for the support of Pope Pius XII, thinking such a Russian concession might gain his endorsement of the "democracies" and Russian cause as "just," soften up Eire to allow British and U.S. bases on its territory, create discomfiture among the Catholic populations of Italy and Germany, and get the support of U.S. Catholics behind the administration's pro-Russian course. Thus, his motivation in their view had really nothing to do with religion at all.<sup>114</sup>

U.S. News gave lengthy attention to the brawl stirred up by the President, originally trying to make FDR look as good as possible and his critics as evil as possible,<sup>115</sup> but in its summary a week later, it was conceded that a presidential gaffe of substantial proportions had occurred. After a broad sampling of the nation's press, David Lawrence's weekly organ conceded that a consensus indicated Roosevelt "showed poor judgment in making his in-

cautious remark about the Russian constitution and religious liberty."<sup>116</sup>

The Protestant *Christian Century* scalded Roosevelt for his soothing pronouncement on religious freedom in Russia, and recalled his words before a Christian youth assembly in 1939 when he declared, how much he detested "the banishment of religion" from Russia. The editors also divined the intent of the statement as one of trying to woo Catholics in the U.S. to support his aid to Russia program, but insisted that "Instead of winning the Catholics, the President's careless words have made them more than ever critical of his Russia policy." Furthermore, the editors considered the presidential remark an adverse reflection upon his widely hailed "freedoms" in the Atlantic Charter: "The President gave the nation an opportunity to test his conception of one of these essential freedoms, and the test gave forth a hollow, empty sound."<sup>117</sup>

There was no doubt that the national mood, despite the stunning attack upon their sensibilities by a rising din of pro-war propaganda, was still quite alien to receptivity to puffs about another non-existent beauty supposedly existing in Soviet Russia. In this moment of disaster only the *New Masses* came up with a supporting strike, a long three-column editorial in which Roosevelt's prominent Catholic critics, such as Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen and Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, vice president of Georgetown University, were subjected to personal abuse. The Communist editors cited in warm approval the vociferous criticism of veteran pro-Soviet divines such as Paul Tillich, Kenneth Leslie, Pierre van Paassen and James Luther Adams, deploring "the attempt to create a religious issue regarding the USSR." The editors concluded by returning to the offense, emphasizing their charge that Hitler Germany was attacking religion, and that any suppression of clergy or religious persecution in the Soviet Union were just "police measures taken by the government against reactionary clerics who secretly conspired against the Soviet regime."<sup>118</sup>

### **Diplomatic Moves Toward Vastly Increased Military Aid to Stalin**

In the meantime, however, simultaneously with its losing effort on the pro-Soviet propaganda circuit, the administration was moving ahead rapidly and successfully in its military aid program for Stalin. The same issue of *Time* which unfolded the details of Roosevelt's lighthearted encomium to religious freedom in the USSR described the famous meeting in Moscow of the U.S.A.'s Averell Harriman, Britain's Lord Beaverbrook and Stalinist diplomat Molotov. No one saw the incongruity of the spectacle of



two capitalist millionaires collaborating with a Bolshevik super-bureaucrat potentate dedicated to their destruction, in the creation of what *Time* hailed as an "Anti-Hitler Front," even if the U.S.A. still was not formally in the war. (It was fifteen years later that Molotov described the start of World War Two as the result of a successful stunt by the Soviet Union in precipitating a civil war among the capitalist states.)<sup>119</sup>

The preparation of this famous semi-summit meeting was well shielded from public attention, as were almost all pro-war maneuvers by the FDR regime, though a report on Harriman's famous pledge of American backing for Stalin on September 29, 1941, was printed deep in the back pages of *Newsweek* at the same moment *Time* was exulting over the Moscow meeting: "I am instructed to pledge you the very fullest support today, tomorrow and as long as the struggle lasts and until ultimate victory comes."<sup>120</sup> It surely was obvious by now that capitalism and Communism had no trouble getting along in a time of trial, as later scholarship demonstrated took place at the very moment the Bolshevik revolution was precipitated.

It is amazing that hardly any mention took place of the administration extending to Stalin the benefits of Lend-Lease on the same terms as were enjoyed by Britain and Nationalist China, surely one of the most fateful events of World War II. A billion dollar credit was established on October 30, 1941, following the drawing up of the first Russian protocol in Moscow October 1. But most news sources in America spent their space on the growing warmth of the administration toward the Soviet, in non-material gestures, and a parallel program of glamorizing Stalin, which started at a strong clip in mid-autumn of 1941.

Roosevelt figured prominently in the sensational news from Moscow related to the extension of unlimited American aid to the Stalinist war machine. *Time* on October 20 highlighted his announcement that vast supplies were already on their way, and added something unexpected, a reproduction of FDR's cordial personal letter to Stalin, which apparently the administration hoped to conceal. It actually was leaked by the German news agency, DNB, which was followed by what *Time* called a "wry admission" that it was authentic despite the source which revealed it.<sup>121</sup> A great flurry over how it had been leaked out took place, with all hands in Washington and Moscow denying any part in divulging this secret.

It is significant that the letter was not transmitted to Stalin by an American worker with high regard for the Workers' Fatherland, but by another millionaire, Ambassador Steinhardt, to Harriman, and then to the Red premier, whom few in these agitated days any longer chose to call a "dictator," a word now reserved only for the

leaders of the enemy. This letter summarized the attitudes of the admirers of the Red Army in particular, closing with the fervent promise of material support: "I would like to express my great confidence that your armies will be victorious in the end over Hitler and to assure you of the greatest determination to afford the necessary material assistance."

This letter should have left no doubt whatever in the minds of all Americans as to where their President stood now, and it is mystifying that so little was done with this by the opponents of involvement in the war. Obsessed with actual moves committing the U.S.A. to direct involvement in the shooting, they neglected to size up the full implications of what went on in Moscow in October 1941. And despite the increasingly ominous buildup of pro-belligerence in the Pacific, one could hardly consider the U.S.A. under Roosevelt a non-participant in what was happening in Eastern Europe. *Time* gave top billing the following week to a survey of the impressions of the Soviet Union by the U.S. mission "headed by slick, handsome William Averell Harriman," whose associates as well as himself were described as "eagle-eyed fact-minded men." Among their observations was reported their impressions of Communist censorship, which they thought made that of the Germans "look like children playing with paper dolls," a statement which actually seriously undermined several years of horror stories by German emigres in America. The meat of this new message was a recommendation from them that "a real agreement or treaty of alliance with Great Britain and Russia" be drawn up as soon as it was "politically possible."<sup>122</sup>

### **Culture, Big Names and the Well-Placed Lend Their Assistance to the Building Pro-Soviet Bandwagon**

October, the symbolic month of the Bolshevik revolution, was memorialized in many ways in America. The main feature of an assault on the citizenry in behalf of Russia was the glamorization of Stalin in interventionist organs. On the 27th *Time* ran a long and ludicrously sentimental portrait of the Red chief. This piece was accompanied by a cover portrait of "Good Old Joe" by the artist Artzybasheff, and an ingenious attempt to whitewash Stalin for his diplomatic coup with Germany in August 1939.<sup>123</sup> *Time's* political retouching of that event credited it to his "peasant cunning," though granting that he was rudely upset by Hitler in June 1941 "before he was ready," which suggested that Hitler had anticipated a Russian attack on Germany by his action. Meanwhile, the publishing world that same week quietly mulled over the news that still another effort in behalf of the USSR by a millionaire lay in the offing: a book by ex-ambassador Joseph E. Davies, in which



the latter was said to have extolled Stalin as a predictor of "singular accuracy" on current events,<sup>124</sup> while advancing an apology for and explanation of the 1936-38 purge trials which was guaranteed to stun the world of political analysis.

While the big-ticket items relating to overall Communist comfort and welfare were being handled and arranged by upper-level capitalist opulents, the *New Masses* brought up the rear in the culture department. The day after *Time's* cover story on Stalin, the Communist weekly published a cable from Shostakovich in which he announced that he was still at work on his Seventh Symphony "in the midst of battle."<sup>125</sup> And the whole period was fittingly climaxed by a stirring Russian War Relief Benefit<sup>126</sup> staged at New York City's Madison Square Garden which managed to include elements of almost the whole spectrum of pro-Sovietism in the neighborhood. Among the speakers were Walter Duranty, whose genial pro-Soviet cables had long been featured in the *New York Times*, the fervent French "anti-fascist" refugee, Genevieve Tabouis, Andrei Gromyko, Soviet charge d'affaires in the city, and Clark Eichelberger, national chairman of the fiercely pro-war Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The principal attraction however was ex-Ambassador Davies, delivering his first public address since returning from Moscow. Speaking to this overflow "Testimony for Unity," Davies delivered a stirring pro-Soviet speech which among other things defended the Soviet on the recent religious issue. Particularly impressive was his vindication, according to the *New Masses* report, "of much in Soviet policy that has been distorted and vilified in recent years."<sup>127</sup>

Even the lavish resources of the Luce publishing empire's upper-level business-oriented *Fortune* magazine were mobilized in this month to advancing a nation-wide pro-Sovietism. Its October Survey was devoted to trying to prove that Americans at large were swallowing their fear and dislike of Communism, and that a great majority were in favor of aiding the Reds against Hitler, and asserting that 20% were already willing to accept the USSR "as a full partner."<sup>128</sup> The poll, conducted as others before by Elmo Roper, concluded that in general the U.S. was "incurably conditioned against Communism," and that even the Red military performance as reported in America had not deterred 35.1% of the respondents from replying in the affirmative to the poll statement, "The Russian Government and the German Government are equally bad," and that 4.6% had said that the former was worse. But 32% were of the opinion the Stalinists were "slightly better" and 8.5% declared they were "far better" than the Hitlerites.

Despite all this, nearly 30% were in favor of deporting or jailing "Communist sympathizers" here in the U.S., and 54% were for

close surveillance of same, recommending prohibition of pro-Communist "agitating and organizing," preparatory to rounding them up "if necessary." But at the same time, 73.3% were willing to help the Soviet bring about the defeat of Hitler, with 22% of this group willing to accept Stalin "as a full partner" with Great Britain in this fight. It was deplorable that Roper did not include a question dealing with American response to the likely outcome of a Communist victory in Europe, which such a commanding majority of those polled obviously were voting for.

It was significant that Roper, in discussing socio-economic status, indicated that the percentage of the "wealthy" was somewhat more in favor than the general average when questioned as to "cooperation with Stalin and for accepting him as a partner." And once more that part of the populace located in the South Atlantic states, the consistently most belligerent sector of the country since the outbreak of the war in 1939, demonstrated their zeal for gore by exceeding all other regions in their enthusiasm for joining with Stalin, 32.7%

The rush to join the pro-Stalinist bandwagon on the part of the opulent and well-placed in the U.S. in the fall of 1941 involved an impressive number of people, with perhaps the best known of their persuasion, the defeated Republican standard-bearer in the 1940 election, Wendell Willkie, not endorsing this choice. However, having swiftly abandoned his campaigning oratory in favor of non-intervention for exactly the opposite within weeks of defeat, his enthusiasm for defense of the enemies of the Germans indicated to critics that sooner or later he was sure to accompany the others in climbing aboard the Moscow Express. William Henry Chamberlin summarized the moral problem facing Willkie in a curt piece in the non-interventionist *Christian Century*:

We cannot, so Mr. Willkie tells us, maintain the American way of life unless we also maintain the British way, the Chinese way, the Greek way. So far as I know, Mr. Willkie has remained silent on the somewhat delicate point of whether the American way of life is also dependent on the maintenance of the Stalinite way . . . or the Chinese brand of Communism.<sup>129</sup>

Chamberlain and the others studying Willkie got their answer a little over a year later with the publication of the book by Willkie, *One World*.

### **Echoes of the Religious Dust-Up Reverberate**

The *Christian Century* was far more exercised by the increasing belligerence of key churchmen in behalf of Stalin than they were by the steady movement of big capitalists to his succor in the war



with the Germans. Singled out for special reproach were the Archbishop of Canterbury in Britain and prestigious Reinhold Niebuhr in the U.S. Repelled by the former's flattering estimate of the Reds in late October, the editors remarked disparagingly, "It is slightly nauseating to hear those who have never been able to find words hard enough to express their opinion of the Soviets now cooing compliments, and almost, if not quite, conferring benedictions."<sup>130</sup> The editors had not taken up the new fashion of fawning on an old enemy turned into an "ally" via the fortunes of war.

In Niebuhr's case, they were dealing with someone whose long campaign in behalf of Marx and Mars had undergone some modification; the former had been replaced by the Deity. In the magazine *Christianity and Crisis*, newly formed mainly to accommodate the war cries of a class of divine not previously noted for truculence toward Stalin, Niebuhr had registered the growing insolence of this kind of warrior parson with a ferocious editorial which attacked neutrality in any war as immoral. On November 12 the *Christian Century* ran one of its most lengthy and memorable editorials in decades, a five-column incensed raking of Niebuhr probably unmatched in any journal before. Its summary of his message was calculated to create serious qualms among the Men of God in the seminaries whose first allegiance had always been to the Prince of Peace:

It is the baldest apologetic for war that has appeared in either secular or religious contemporary writing. It is not merely an apologetic for this war and for America's participation in it, but for war in general. Under its thesis the United States would become responsible for participation in any war waged anywhere in the world.<sup>131</sup>

It would appear that Rev. Niebuhr had written a manifesto which far more than not set the course for U.S. foreign policy which by and large is still in effect over 40 years later. It was a message for soldiers, money, business and industry, and politicians, not clergymen. Rev. Niebuhr, a not-so-closet-Marxist, was another of their most eloquent and articulate voices who saw no serious conflict in the way of planetary cooperation between Stalinist Russia and the new form of corporate state taking shape rapidly in the U.S.A.

But the green light for war participation did not shine down all the avenues of organized religion. Though several Catholic leaders in prominent positions had endorsed Roosevelt's pro-intervention drive, it was a view hardly shared with the parish priesthood, who dealt with people and not with the symbols of power. A poll of 34,616 Catholic priests which was responded to

by 13,155 of them revealed that 91.5% were opposed to a shooting war outside the Western Hemisphere for Americans (only 6.7% were for it), and that 90.5% opposed any aid to the "Communist Russian government" (7% favored it). The liberal and pro-war Catholic weekly *Commonweal* was very unhappy about the results,<sup>132</sup> while *Commonweal's* opposite number, the anti-war Protestant *Christian Century*, confined itself to observing: "The President's sedulous wooing of Catholic approval does not seem to have produced very gratifying results."<sup>133</sup>

Part of the impact of this thundering voice of disapproval was negated a month later. The last week of November 1941 a statement by ten Bishops and Archbishops on the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference contained a vaguely pro-interventionist pronouncement which contributed in a minor way to refurbishing the Communist aid cause. Utilizing the clever ploy fashioned by Woodrow Wilson in 1918 in setting up a distinction between the peoples and political systems of Germany and Russia, in this new case, it seemed to be sufficient grounds, in the view of the prelates, to enable Catholics "to back U.S. aid to Russia" and not feel seriously in error while so doing. *Time* called it "a prime example of ecclesiastical double talk," but since it supported a policy heatedly promoted by the editors, the magazine was far from displeased by it all.<sup>134</sup>

### **British Propaganda Diversions, and Related American Anglophile Support for the Growing Enhancement of Stalin**

Almost everything seemed to be favoring pro-Stalinist moves and gestures in the last five or six weeks of formal American neutrality in the late fall of 1941. The only obstacle, and a very large one, continued to be the persistence of large popular majorities against American involvement in a shooting war outside the continental U.S., and the stubborn front against involvement in the war on any terms waged by the America First Committee. Here, however, the major opposition was being furnished not by Soviet partisans of American nationality but the large British secret intelligence apparatus, about which few Americans knew, and even fewer talked. *Newsweek* in July had published a quiet tid-bit, remarking that there were "more British in Washington than captured and burned it in 1814," but the real center of British espionage was New York, lodged in the Rockefeller Center, from which they created false pro-war organizations, sabotaged American antiwar political leaders, and even murdered enemy espionage agents, also in the U.S. Over 40 years after the war broke out, Americans were aware of just a part of the story of British espionage work in the U.S.A., 1939-1945. Its principal cover prior to



Pearl Harbor and American belligerence was a totally cooperating Roosevelt administration and its own massive amateur spy organization, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), which through its head William J. Donovan, worked smoothly in harmony with the British Security Coordination (BSC) headed by the Canadian millionaire, William Stephenson. (It was Stephenson who quoted Roosevelt with some relish over 30 years after the end of the war as saying in mid-1940, "I'm your biggest undercover agent.")<sup>135</sup> But in 1940-1941 no U.S. printed source even breathed the slightest hint that the troubles of such prominent America First speakers as Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D-Mont.) and the globally-famous aviator Charles A. Lindbergh<sup>136</sup> were partially the work of undercover sabotage by British intelligence in the U.S.A. *Time* gloated when Sen. Wheeler was denied the right to speak in Atlanta in July 1941<sup>137</sup> when he was to argue for a neutral course for the U.S.A., which made embarrassing accompanying copy to the hypocritical groans over the suspension of free speech in Germany, Soviet Russia and Vichy France. *Time* did print Sec. of War Stimson's apology to Wheeler in August after Stimson had referred to Wheeler's public views as "near-treason,"<sup>138</sup> but it was back the following month with a subliminal vote of approval when Lindbergh was similarly denied the right to speak on the same subject as Wheeler in Oklahoma City.<sup>139</sup> Its subsequent reaction to the Lindbergh speech in Des Moines in early October 1941, when Lindbergh was reported as "charging that the British, the Administration, and Jews [the *Time* story contained no article "the" before "Jews"] were pushing the U.S. towards war,"<sup>140</sup> had much to do with singling out Lindbergh for contumely on a scale rarely experienced by any other American, and which was still accruing to his memory nearly 60 years after his famous solo airplane crossing of the Atlantic in 1927.<sup>141</sup>

In the meantime the millionaire and Communist press pursued their joint though uncoordinated adulation and idealization of Stalin and Red Russia. One especially influential campaign was carried out by Ralph Ingersoll, editor and publisher of Chicago tycoon Marshall Field's New York City tabloid, *PM*, an urgent voice of belligerence. He authored a sensational series in November 1941 for three weeks, on his return from the Soviet after a visit of less than a month. His articles were widely syndicated in other U.S. cities and in Canada, and reached hundreds of thousands of readers. *Time* imperturbably described it all as "the first uncensored first hand report on fighting Russia by a capable U.S. journalist,"<sup>142</sup> thereby adding another to their string of breath-taking whoppers, in view of already published testimony by Harriman that Soviet censorship exceeded in tightness that of any nation on earth by a very wide margin.

To some, Ingersoll's writing sounded like *Daily Worker* fare, though somewhat toned down. In actuality, Ingersoll described no battle scenes, which no other Anglo-American reporter in Russia ever did either, and was obviously much curtailed in his movements, despite his Stalinophile fixations. The Communist press received his work warily, gratified by his contribution to their cause, but not quite yet sure that what they were seeing was not a hoax or trap being sprung on them by the "capitalist gutter-reptile press." A.B. Magil's cautious reaction in the *New Masses* was typical, not thoroughly sold by Ingersoll, but willing to concede that the latter had "brought back more of the truth about the Soviet Union than any American capitalist journalist in years." Magil was especially pleased with his portrait of Stalin, and that he had made his interview with the Red premier "exciting and dramatic, radiant with the greatness of the man." No Communist in America wrote anything later more influential among Americans about Stalin than did Ingersoll in this last month before U.S. entry into World War II. But in that same period two other affluent Americans, Harriman and Davies, tried, only to be outdone by the British mogul, Lord Beaverbrook.

Harriman's glorious tribute to Stalin during his October 12 radio address broadcast from London was matched by that of Beaverbrook that same night, but was well surpassed by Beaverbrook's speech at Manchester the following month, in which he testified, "I put my faith in Stalin's leadership," though *Time* thought his audience a few paces in advance of him in ardent emotion toward the Soviet. "When the Beaver mentioned Russia," its story noted, "the applause was violent." Harriman was quoted by *Newsweek* as saying of Stalin, "He is a human fellow to deal with. He has a keen sense of humor, which he allowed full play even in conference."<sup>143</sup>

Davies specialized in tributes to Stalin's acumen retroactively, mainly substantiating Party explanations for the purge trials of 1936-1938, when most of the Old Bolsheviks and half of the Red Army's officer corps were killed or hustled to concentration camps. His testimony supporting the official Stalinist line was quoted and requoted by American Reds and their sympathizers, and appeared at times in the Communist press in columns parallel to the identical line being launched by Earl Browder, the CPUSA chief in the fall of 1941.<sup>144</sup> Liberal enemies of the American CP, who had been foremost in vociferous denunciation of the trials when they took place, now were much discomfited by what the new political expedience called for, and were further anguished that now that they were on Mr. Roosevelt's war wagon, they had to keep quiet during this latest tribute to Stalin's probity. That the ex-Ambassador to Moscow should appear in Stalin's corner in



such good voice simply made the entire affair that much more unbearable. But the season of profound Stalinophilia had just begun.

### **Fellow Travelers Domestic and Foreign Add Their Bit**

Serenely contemplating all this from the pages of the *New Masses* was Corliss Lamont, scion of the famed Wall Street banking family, but hardly its courier in his role as America's most famed Communist fellow traveler. In his long-quoted article of November 11, "What Americans Are Learning," Lamont proclaimed, "I believe that there has been a favorable turn in public opinion concerning Russia much more far-reaching and fundamental than the unfavorable one that took place subsequent to the Nazi-Soviet pact." Everyone had been misled about Russia between 1935 and 1941, said Lamont, and now were being set right again: "The American people were sold a false bill of goods on Russia by writers, tourists, diplomats, newspapers, and all sorts of commentators whose anti-Soviet prejudice was so bitter that they could not and would not recognize a fact when they saw one." He still was not sure that things might not deteriorate again, and though predicting that "in the future there will again take place an organized attempt to mislead public opinion in this country concerning the Soviet Union," he was convinced it would not succeed "if we as a people are able to learn sufficiently from the lessons of the recent past."<sup>145</sup> Ultimately it became a matter of what "lessons" were to be taught and learned, and how "recent" the era was to be from which these "lessons" were to be derived. In just a little over four years Lamont's worst fears had materialized with a vengeance. But at this moment he rode on a magic carpet of purest good will toward Stalinism.

The best was yet to come: the hushed eulogies of Stalin on the occasion of his Moscow speech on the 24th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolutionary assumption of power. *Time's* account was set in tones which might have been used to describe a movie actress, if not in the style made familiar in the *Worker*. This major four-page piece was accompanied by a two-page color map of the Soviet, and included a panegyric by none other than Churchill himself, quoted from a speech at Sheffield, wherein the Red chief was hailed by the British prime minister as "that great warrior, Stalin." The account included the introductory paragraphs of Stalin's speech.<sup>146</sup>

The *New Masses* did not like *Time's* treatment of Stalin, though their "news" story might easily have graced the *Masses'* editorial pages. However, the latter had run their own tribute to the great man and great event a week earlier,<sup>147</sup> featuring stirring accolades

from ex-Ambassador Davies, the refugee French Marxist former minister of aircraft production in France, Pierre Cot,<sup>148</sup> the one-time Moscow propaganda magazine editor, Lion Feuchtwanger (about whom more later), and the American luminary H.W.L. Dana, along with selected Communist Party functionaries. Davies was quoted as saying, "I find the greatest satisfaction in the courage and idealism of the Soviet government and the Russian people in resisting Hitler" (the millions of Russians who had gone over to Hitler were not news in these days), while Cot relieved himself of the opinion that "Soviet Russia is actually the best fighter for the defense of civilization," by which he must have meant a more primitive one than prevailed among their German enemy.

Feuchtwanger elected to broaden the historical frontiers by claiming, "The fight of the Soviet Union against Hitlerism is the natural continuation of all the wars for freedom that the United States of America ever fought," though the most flattering encomium was delivered by Dana, the grandson of the American literary giant, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. A veteran of 14 visits to the Soviet in as many years, Dana terminated his fulsome declamation by quoting from the famous words of his grandfather which had been recently quoted as well by Roosevelt and Churchill, and in the line which read "Sail on, O Union strong and great!" Dana capitalized the word "Union" in such a way that no one might be confused as to which one he was referring.

### **Vote of No Confidence from the *Saturday Evening Post***

In all the sweet twittering from above, there was only one harsh bellow from below, as H.L. Mencken might have written it. This was the remarkable full page editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post*, "Playing the Red," on November 8, 1941. It was one of the few tough ruminations on the likely outcome of the war as it was now shaping up. The editors called the partnership between the U.S. and Britain on one side and Stalin on the other "morally and politically false," involving both of the former in "shocking political insincerities." And, anticipating the Cold War of 1946 *et seq.*, they asked rhetorically, should the war end with the Soviet Union "the paramount land power in Europe," "Having saved the world from Nazism, should we not go on and save it from Bolshevism?" The Cold Warriors of four years later and after always acted as though such inconvenient thinking had never been expressed this early. For the pro-war seers among the most ardent interventionist camp followers, the editors had still another irritating query:



We ask the revelationists—such as Secretary [of the Navy Frank] Knox, with his vision of a tenth of a millennium for an Anglo-American world, and Mr. [Supreme Court] Justice [Robert H.] Jackson, with his international order of the Golden Rule that shall come to pass when America has outstripped, as he says she must, “All the rest of the world in naval, air and perhaps military forces”—we ask them, what will they do with 180,000,000 Russians who may no more want our world order than we want theirs or Hitler's?

### Some Practical Consequences of Soviet Aid Get Aired

But the war party had to have their war first before they took up the problems anticipated by the editors of the *Post*. The post-war era offered endless opportunities to maintain such foresight never took place, and to launch limitless schemes to obfuscate the situation with lies and evasions. The growing material complications and the impact of the war on the American socio-economic complex probably had generated enough momentum by now to render the situation out of control and incapable of being handled within the confines of cool extrapolation of its likely consequences.

For instance, it was remarkable how quickly the drive to furnish material assistance to the Soviet switched, from the comfortable assurance to the American general public that such would be paid for in cash, to putting Stalin on the Lend-Lease gravy train of unrequited blank checks, ultimately to be made good by public taxes, or simply added to the national debt. Even for the businessmen a line was developed to soften their presumably hard hearts, as it was obvious that a goodly part of U.S. aid to Russia was intended to make possible a formidable Communist capital buildup behind the Ural Mountains, Soviet territory west of this region being conceded to the invading Germans. *U.S. News* on November 14, 1941 ran a pointed piece on this subject. It described a deliberate “strategic retreat” of the Reds to this new concentration point, and the construction of vast industry there, assisted by “the interest-free lend-lease loan of \$1,000,000,000 announced by the State Department.” There was no more talk of Soviet payment from their funds on American deposit, or their allegedly vast caches of gold. The contribution to the war of this strategy was supposedly the part it all played in dangerously extending German supply lines, across an immense area systematically laid waste. By “leaving ruin in their wake,” the Reds were rendering the region a total economic liability to its occupiers.<sup>149</sup> Once again this superb bit of Communist propaganda was making its double point, taking credit for wrecking their own land via a scorched-earth policy now, though retaining the option to blame the Germans for it later, and assessing immense reparations payments. This persuasive bit

of brainwash for still-troubled American business and finance was decorated by a glamor picture of grinning "Soviet Artillery Cadets," little more than an assemblage of teen age boys.

How this material was to reach Stalin was another matter. Though much of the frenzied talk by interventionists about the need to repeal the Neutrality Acts in behalf of beleaguered Britain dominated the surface, there was a quiet strain in this same verbal onslaught concerned with the Soviet. Having no merchant fleet of any consequence and being far more distant than the United Kingdom, a logistical problem prevailed here of even greater magnitude than that which faced the suppliers of "bundles for Britain." The barriers against American merchant ships supplying belligerents had to go down if the aid promised to Stalin were to materialize in the USSR. The *U.S. News* played a revealing part in this matter as well. In its pro-and-con column on views on the subject,<sup>150</sup> it printed two vociferous pro-repeal votes from Gifford Pinchot, a venerable government bureaucrat whose tenure on the public payroll went back to the turn of the century, and the millionaire Cleveland industrialist Cyrus S. Eaton. In hailing the drive to repeal the Neutrality Act still in the way, Eaton singled out for special commendation three Vermont Republicans for their contribution thereto: Senator Warren Austin for introducing the resolution to repeal, Rep. Plumley for supporting the move to arm U.S. merchant ships, and Governor Willis for calling for a Republican Party caucus "to end obstruction of national defense." Eaton's concluding accolade to these three commended their actions as "encouraging signs that the traditional Republican foreign policy" "will again prevail in party councils." Eaton apparently was of the view that "traditional Republican foreign policy" and the existing recently-amended Roosevelt New Deal foreign policy were one and the same.

And, in an editorial invocation which blessed all these developments, David Lawrence announced his conviction that Hitler had already lost the war; his conquests had simply generated hate, Russia was now in arms against him and "the United States is on the way." Hitler, Lawrence was sure, must have become aware by this moment (November 14, 1941) that "the President of the United States, the head of a democratic state, has boldly loaned a billion dollars in supplies to Josef Stalin, the dictator of a totalitarian state." "Ideologies have been swept aside," and it now was not the time "to argue the merits or demerits of allies in war"; "God moves in strange ways his wonders to perform."<sup>151</sup> Mr. Lawrence had discerned divine guidance in the extending of lend-lease to Communist Russia. There would be decades for him after 1945 to wail and grumble about the awful threat of Stalinist Communism and its descendants to the very



future of the galaxy, during which time he never again discerned the intervention of the Deity in behalf of his politics.

### **The Origins of "Second Front" Talk in the West, and the Impact of Soviet Aid Production on American Labor and Business/Businessmen**

By this time, however, those perspiring for Stalin's safety were not entirely satisfied with the prospect of celestial intervention in his behalf, and were suggesting that such aid might be more promptly forthcoming if preceded by human action toward the same objective. A clamor had already risen, mainly in Britain, for a "second front" to be established somewhere in assistance to the floundering Red Army, which, though hailed by sustained and glittering eloquence in the English-speaking world, was still on the run. There apparently was a solid contingent in England still, who, despite the record of failing to supply Poland with any help at all prior to or during invasion by the Germans in September 1939, thought substantial military support could be furnished to Stalin. Those who disparaged this position in England in the late fall of 1941 were smeared as "Munich men," frightened by "fear of a Russian victory," by far the most contemptible attitude anyone might have in the view of the new legions of Communism's adulators, high and low alike, in the Motherland of Parliaments. One of them was not the new Supply Minister in the Churchill regime, Beaverbrook, who had impressed even *Time* with his "spectacular verbal leap into bed with Russia," and who was reported to be the principal voice clamoring for a British expeditionary force to be sent somehow to Stalin's assistance, "in the Ukraine or the Donetz Basin."<sup>152</sup> Neither Beaverbrook nor *Time* nor anyone else suggested how this force was to be translated to such distant places, but nothing was said about consulting with David Lawrence on the matter. Some heavenly assistance might have been contracted for, perhaps.

Nevertheless, the atmosphere of geniality toward Stalin and the Reds continued to prevail, and the slow, piecemeal gains were more substantial than the impulsive and unrealizable projects which were hatched in more fevered minds. Diplomatically the story was one of uninterrupted success. In Washington, the 24th anniversary of the assumption of the Leninists to power in Russia was celebrated at a reception at the Soviet embassy that was hailed as one of the largest diplomatic functions ever held in the city,<sup>153</sup> to be followed shortly by the return of Stalin's "greatest diplomat," Maxim Litvinov, once more as the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the U.S.A. His projected return to "the scene of his greatest diplomatic triumph," the negotiation of U.S. recogni-

tion of the Soviet in 1933, was looked upon with much satisfaction, while *Time*, for reasons ungiven, chose to call attention to "his name at birth," allegedly Max Wallach.<sup>154</sup>

Still other moves were considerably cloaked, especially the State Department's pro-Soviet pressure on Finland, still at war with Stalin in the late fall of 1941. Once hailed as "gallant little Finland," this unfortunate land was now the recipient of special malice for persisting in its hostility to the Russians. With Secretary of State Hull publicly testifying to his faith in the Soviet's commitment to "its full part in standing side by side with all liberty-loving people against the common menace,"<sup>155</sup> it seemed to be only good faith to work with them in crushing an active military enemy. The argument seemed to be that with the joint commitment to defeat Hitler, there should not be a limitation upon indirect Soviet ties, including mutual action against Finland, since its continued belligerence only worked in behalf of German welfare.<sup>156</sup>

On the domestic material side a mixture of tendencies, developments, both slow and rapid, and an accretion of significant facts, reflected related circumstances. But the overall "defense" program masked specific aspects. One of the best sources in which to examine the week-by-week development in the U.S. of an American-style system rivaling those of the enemy and designed to combat them was Lawrence's *U.S. News*. The disciplining and planning of industry and the increased state regulation of the economic system geared almost exclusively to the success of the national state in warfare are patently observable, and these did not take long to become institutionalized.

On July 4, 1941, Lawrence complained editorially, "The United States is on the threshold of national socialism," adding that "Inroads of national socialism are unchecked by either Republicans or Democrats who have hitherto defended our system of private initiative."<sup>157</sup> Three weeks later he had already seen the light and changed his tune. "Every issue is a Defense issue," he now announced, adding, "Every Defense item is actually a peacetime item, temporarily put to Defense use."<sup>158</sup> Peripherally he noted that nationwide, politicians were grumbling that their home areas were not getting enough "defense patronage." Lawrence soon had joined those who used "defense" to dissolve the difference between war and peace and within weeks of his remonstrance against these developments, had emerged as a suave advisor to such sectors of the business world which had not yet caught on to the consequences of what was taking place. Coaching businessmen to be alert and cash in on the vast conversion of industry to war production, he uttered as an aside, "Government isn't a respecter of individual interests, isn't too much concerned



about individual hardships so long as its own purpose is served."<sup>159</sup> This stood in strange contrast to his whooping enthusiasm for the political lace trimming and fancy filigree decorating the famed bogus "Atlantic Charter," one of the very few at the time of its alleged promulgation to take it seriously. But Lawrence was not misleading the business community when he described what was going on in the late months of 1941. Arthur E. Burns, economic advisor to the Works Progress Administration, estimated on October 31, 1941, that 700,000 people working in the non-defense sector had lost their jobs in the months of August and September alone.<sup>160</sup> On the other hand, 75% of the total membership in the CIO electrical workers union in mid-September were engaged in defense work. One was able to understand without wonder why its leader, youthful James B. Carey, was, as *Time* described him, "an earnest supporter of the Roosevelt foreign policy and closely identified with the defense program."<sup>161</sup> U.S. defense spending in October, 1941 was already \$50,000,000 a day, and \$5,000,000,000 in various products and arms had already been sent to Britain, though there was no published breakdown of what part of this may have been transferred to the Soviet Union.<sup>162</sup> And all was catapulting at a pace relished by employers, marred only by a suggestion that same month by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., that profits should be limited to 6 per cent, a profit ceiling which was supposed to prevail in Hitler Germany as well, though the latter had nothing to do with the proposal by the former.<sup>163</sup>

It was obvious that profit margins had not the slightest relationship to such figures, though the public at large rarely saw anything substantial in the fact department relating to the subject. One such occasion was the issuance of a preliminary report by the House of Representatives Naval Affairs Committee early in December, a few days before the Pearl Harbor attack, that some U.S. ship-building companies were making 150% profits on naval building defense contracts. A followup report by the Office of Price Administration of one unnamed defense industry indicated that 86 of the 88 companies in this venture were making 6% or better, that 44 of the 88 were averaging 42.6% profits and up, and one of the 88 was achieving a 112% profit margin.<sup>164</sup> Senator David I. Walsh, affronted by such disclosures, was quoted as predicting "an awful day of reckoning" "when the U.S. public got the figures" on the total situation, though in retrospect this might have been interpreted as an attempt at humor. There never was a "day of reckoning," and the American public never "got the figures."

The evolution of "aid" to Stalin had expanded the vision of some of the leaders of American defense industry, getting their first glimpses of the staggering possibilities which lay in expan-

sion throughout the globe. Russia at the time of its revolution, 1917-1922, was a dream which had quickened even the World War I generation of businessmen, industrialists and financiers.<sup>165</sup> And there had always been the fantasies built around China's "400 million customers," as the title of Carl Crow's book (1937) put it. The coming of a new war simply made it possible to erect even higher cloud castles upon the older ones. The spectacle which William Batt put together upon his return from the Soviet late in 1941 is in that class, Batt, president of the famous ball-bearing manufacturing concern, SKF, and recently appointed a director of the super-bureaucracy created by Roosevelt to direct war production, the Office of Production Management (OPM), came back to America "as an outspoken advocate of the policy of bigger and better help for Russia," a vibrant profile in *U.S. News* proclaimed on November 21. Batt went on to describe the complete reversal on his previous views about Soviet industry, and Russian ability to use machine tools. He confessed to be vastly impressed by the technical competence of Russian mechanics, "ingenious, intelligent, and technically trained," a view which was contradicted by General John R. Deane, Roosevelt's troubleshooting liaison man in the Soviet later, during the war years, who in his book *Strange Alliance* described an entire tire factory shipped from the U.S.A. to the USSR which the Russians failed to put together though working on it the whole war. Batt passed encomiums to the Reds all down the line: the officers were "able, confident and brave," and Stalin "intelligent and amazingly well informed" (fifteen years later Khrushchev and his colleagues berated Stalin as being personally responsible for the disasters of 1941-1942 through his abysmal personal ignorance). Batt concluded his amazing piece of special pleading by declaring that industrial management and organization seemed to be good, and that their inspection standards "compared favorably with our own." All this was placed before the readership as the judgment of a nationally known industrialist, now a defense official.<sup>166</sup> Perhaps it was all a preliminary device to make palatable the issuance of Special Allocation Order No. 1 by the OPM a few days later, which instructed 35 U.S. machine tool plants to place Stalinist orders ahead of even American and British requests, on the order of \$10-\$15 million for the next calendar year.<sup>167</sup> The U.S. was still not a belligerent.

The aid program for Stalin had moved ahead on both administrative and practical levels. On the latter, *Time* pictured a formidable collection of U.S. manufactures intended for the USSR, unloaded at a Persian Gulf port, the photographer having made sure that the labels of the Ford and Youngstown Sheet & Tube companies were prominently displayed.<sup>168</sup> American free



enterprise was now demonstrably at work making sure of the survival of Stalinist Communism.

On the former, a complication ensued which once more broke open the old religious sore. At the conclusion of the paper work which detailed the arrangements concerning the U.S. aid program, a Kremlin dinner was thrown to celebrate. An unnamed U.S. official involved in the labors was a guest at the feast and was quoted as describing Stalin as "a nice old gentleman." But the explosion was created by Wallace Carroll, United Press correspondent in Moscow, who reported that Stalin proposed a toast to Roosevelt, which ended in the expression of the generalized entreaty, "May God help him in his task." Stalin's remarks were reported by *Time* to have been translated by the diplomat Oumansky, and certified to be correct.<sup>169</sup> Repercussions of this were muffled by the sensational Japanese attack on the U.S. naval base in Hawaii a few days later, preventing a repetition of the immense squabble precipitated by Roosevelt a few weeks earlier concerning the allegation of religious freedom in the USSR. But there were a few reverberations of this incident for some time thereafter, and incredulity was the principal reaction to this last effort at imputing godliness to Stalin prior to the formal belligerence of the U.S.

The Pearl Harbor disaster also diverted all but a few from another contemporary political event, the news that Willkie, famed corporation lawyer and 1940 presidential election Republican opponent of Roosevelt, had agreed to defend William Schneiderman, Russian-born secretary of the Communist Party in California, against a federal charge of having uttered a fraudulent oath of allegiance to the United States. Mentioned in *Time* in the issue which was dated the day after the Hawaii attack,<sup>170</sup> it caused a flush of pleasure in the *New Masses* of a day later, its lead editorial remarking, "The fact that a man of his [Willkie's] prestige and conservative outlook undertakes the defense of a leading Communist undoubtedly reflects the changed political climate in the country during the past few months."<sup>171</sup>

### **Pearl Harbor Forces a Temporary Diversion in the Overall Drive to Assist the Soviet Union**

But for a few days at least all political matters relating to Communism at home and abroad were dissolved in the national bellow of indignation over the Pearl Harbor affair, and a brigade of the choicest partisans of the Roosevelt regime began a two-fifths of a century offensive aimed at distracting national attention completely away from any suspicions of possible administration pre-knowledge of the coming attack, and fastening the blame for it all

upon the military and naval commanders at Honolulu. This infamous enfilade blackened the character of these men but did not succeed in heading off a formidable amount of investigation and literature which did anything but entrench the desired result of this Roosevelt establishment.

Pearl Harbor made the fatalist argument come true. The varied forces ranging from pro-Communists of the 1934-1939 "popular front" to the fervid Anglophiles of 1939-1941 who had tirelessly argued that the entry of the U.S. into war with either Germany or Japan or both was "inevitable" were finally "vindicated," in their own mind, but in a way very much different from that expected. Their own propagandistic efforts to bring about this result as a matter of "conviction" and voluntary choice were a total failure. It was not "isolationism" which got America into the war. It was the inch-by-inch creeping intrusionism and "aid short of war" which created all the policy imperatives that slowly moved the country to a point where their threat to an adversary and the sustained pressure on that adversary finally produced the attack so dearly desired and needed by the administration's political warriors.<sup>171a</sup>

A good case can be made for the view that war with Japan was not entirely unwelcome in the U.S.A. at any time. Decades of political and propaganda hostility toward Japan on many levels in the U.S.A. preceded Pearl Harbor. Even men antagonistic to involvement in the European war after it broke out in 1939 did not feel the same way about mixing it up in the Pacific. Even the usually anti-war Senator George W. Norris (R.-Neb.) was quoted by *Newsweek* as late as the end of October 1941 as saying "I'm not so sure that war with Japan would be a bad thing. . . . I believe we could lick them. . . . Our bombers could set the whole island (sic) ablaze in one night. . . ."<sup>172</sup>

And contrary to the mountain of mendacious special pleading that flowed across the land afterward alleging unbelievable unpreparedness, the general belief prior to Pearl Harbor was that the country's defenses, and offensive strength, too, for that matter, were at a high pitch of development, ready for anything, even the obliteration of Japan itself, as Senator Norris believed. The public had been encouraged to feel that immense armaments and the best of war materiel were at hand, easily put to use in the destruction of any enemy. The fairy tale of innocent, unready America on the eve of the attack is not substantiated by what many millions of Americans read in nationally circulated periodicals for weeks prior to December 7, 1941.

Time had primed its millions of readers (readership surveys in the 1940s indicated that a publication's total reading audience might exceed its actual paid circulation by from 5 to 15 times that



number) with repeated accounts of the bristling armor and fire power prevailing here. On November 10, 1941, it had referred admiringly to Roosevelt as the man who "was waging the first great undeclared war in U.S. history,"<sup>173</sup> and later in the month, on the occasion of his press conference following the sinking of the U.S. destroyer *Reuben James* by a German submarine while on convoy duty for the British in the North Atlantic, the editors concluded from the substance of FDR's talk that "the U.S. was far into the unknown waters of war."

In its issue of December 8, unfortunately on the stands after the attack had taken place, *Time's* editors confidently assured Americans, expecting war any minute, that "Everything was ready from Rangoon to Honolulu, every man was at battle stations."<sup>174</sup> They went on in a gloating mood, describing the vast American and British war machine which was ready to spring on the Japanese should they snap under Roosevelt's "war of nerves" and "undeclared war" and react militarily. Nothing was more opposite to the whine and snivel of innocence and outrage which promptly rose to the heavens from these same war anticipators a few days later.

A respectable compendium of such material could have been collected, including accounts which actually picked out Pearl Harbor as the site of the coming attack weeks before it happened. Hallett Abend, a widely read newspaper reporter on matters Japanese in the pre-war decade, in his November 18 article in *Look*, "How the U.S. Navy Will Fight Japan," which was exposed to a possible reading audience of about 12 million, launched even more inspiring misconceptions than did *Time*. Abend, who shared with Hugh Byas of the *New York Times* a record for being consistently wrong about Japan and filing repeatedly misleading material about affairs there, was ludicrously off the mark in this confident puff as well, seeding his piece with the promise of a Stalinist attack on Japan from Siberia as soon as the shooting began. The meat of his vaticination concerning the coming Pacific war was wrapped up in the following:

When the clash comes, the Japanese fleet will have to stay in home waters, to guard the islands of the Empire against naval raids. Our own fleet will cruise somewhere west of Hawaii, with scout planes far over the seas day and night to prevent surprise raids on the Pearl Harbor naval base or on our own West Coast cities.<sup>175</sup>

This is the kind of gargantuan misinformation to which Americans were exposed as late as three weeks before the attack. But it indicates that at least on the popular level Pearl Harbor was openly expected to be the point at which the war might or would begin. The fundamental line of the Roosevelt defense corps in the

next quarter of a century was that the Washington establishment was totally unaware of such a possibility, and vaguely imagined the Japanese strike would be at Borneo or similarly irrelevant distant locations.

The ear-splitting barks of hostility toward the Japanese which rang out from all corners of American opinion, and especially from the long-believed contingent of radio and newspaper "old Japan hands," were remarkable in their barren thinness. Their desperate suggestions produced no Japanese casualties (the first in the U.S.A. were the cherry trees lining the tidal basin of Washington, D.C., cut down by pseudo-patriotic vandals), but their call for an obliterating victory never contemplated the consequences of the accompanying triumph of Asian Communism, an almost sure guarantee. Most of these "advisors" looked forward to nothing in Japan but an abyss of smoking ruins and corpses, and few of these seers were able to discern that a major revolution was under way in Asia, regardless of who won the war, which would stand any American or "Allied" victory in the area on its head in an extremely short time.<sup>176</sup> But the beams from a dimmer searchlight were never played on American public opinion than those emanating from these cloudy beacons.

### **Reactions and Second-Guessing Following Stalin's Avoidance of Involvement in the War Against Japan**

Roosevelt took America to war with Stalin's enemies within four days of Pearl Harbor. This was not reciprocated by Stalin, who pointedly stayed at peace with Japan and became involved in the Pacific war for just a few hours at its conclusion in August 1945 when there were many political plums to gather resulting from the gross oversight of his Anglo-American war partners. The staggering importance of this Red policy got little or no play in U.S. communications, and such as emerged were very largely apologies for Stalin's decision. The *New Masses* within days of the U.S. declarations of war on Italy and Germany in December 1941 began a continuous drumroll for the establishment of a "second front" in Europe by Americans in assistance of Stalin. But this journal did not exhort Stalin to go to war with Japan and open a "second front" against that land from its Pacific Siberian bases. The persistence of peace with Japan on the part of Stalin also made impossible any other party to the war establishing a "second front" from Siberia, and effectively denied the region to the bombing planes of its "allies" as well.

It amazed a few observers how little comment was aroused in the U.S.A. when the USSR failed to go to war with Japan. The usual apology was that the Russians had their hands full with



Hitler, and were fearful that the result of formal hostilities would be a big drive into Siberia by the Japanese. That the Reds in Siberia along the Korean, Manchurian and Chinese borders had fought many hundreds of battles with the Japanese in the previous decade was carefully neglected. All that was fed Americans was the notion of some antiseptic form of scrupulous state of peace existing in this region.

The *U.S. News* uttered a few quiet words on the subject a week and a half after Pearl, expressing the belief that Russian support was "vital, if the Allies are to attack Japan." The journal noted that Vladivostok was the nearest and likely most effective base from which an air attack might be raised, but conceding that without access, the chances of "avenging" Pearl Harbor were "slim."<sup>177</sup> A later discussion asserted that "A pact is needed binding all Allies to fight on all fronts until victory,"<sup>178</sup> but no Rooseveltian or Churchillian political magic ever moved Stalin a centimeter in this direction at any time.

It was generally conceded in American commentaries that Stalin had the freedom to stay out of the Pacific war, and no one ever mentioned the employment of any form of compulsion or pressure upon him to do differently, though Roosevelt held by far the most potent hand in this game, the threat of the withholding of lend-lease supplies until Stalin had become a full belligerent in the Pacific. It was never done, or even slightly hinted at as a possible move. The mouthpieces of comfortable affluence well exceeded the threadbare Communist organs in their solicitude for Stalin on this issue.

*Time* was perhaps the warmest and most sympathetic to the explanations as to why the USSR remained at peace with Japan after December 7, 1941. These were forthcoming from the new Stalinist ambassador to Washington, Litvinov, who boldly uttered harsh words at the combined enemy, describing them as a "vast conspiracy of international gangsters," but chose to see his master, Stalin, gingerly skirting the Far East contingent of these "gangsters," as engaging in eminently sound conduct in the maximization of the safety of his skin. As the author of the famous political cliché of the Popular Front, "Peace is indivisible," he certainly thought World War II was divisible. The Russians rarely admitted there was an Asiatic front in World War II. And *Time* supported the decision in substance by remaining uncritical of the hands-off-Japan decision of Stalin in separate commentaries on December 22, 1941,<sup>179</sup> and January 19, 1942. Nor was there the slightest diminution of the pro-Stalinist wave of support which swept across the Anglo-American peoples during the next three and a half years of war as a result of Red refusal to become involved in a truly world war with its anxious "Allies." In the mean-

time most of the belligerence aimed at the Japanese came from American song writers. In the first three days after Pearl Harbor, some 260 song titles were registered, involving a mixture of patriotic and racial-slur stereotypes, the latter mostly anti-Japanese. These and many more, before and after December 7, 1941, provoked the famed band leader, Paul Whiteman, to castigate the entire product musically to mid-January, 1942 as "dribble." Remarked the portly Whiteman, it was "enough to make a band leader lose weight."<sup>180</sup>

### **The Dimensions of the Propaganda War as Waged by the Authors and Publishers**

In examining the respective tasks facing American public opinion shapers and war propagandists, it becomes apparent that the selling of fear and hate of the enemy via negative messages<sup>181</sup> was vastly more simple than the chore involved in creating favorable and positive visions of an ally, especially in case that "ally" enjoyed the largely critical stance which had been the experience of the Soviet in the U.S. in its more than two dozen years of existence down to mutual belligerence in late 1941. Concerning the Japanese, the job could be done largely on the visceral level, and insulting and taunting songs were a very visible example of what might be employed. There was no corresponding mode for the salesmanship of devices productive of warm and appealing dispositions toward the USSR. There the processes demanded mainly rational discourse, at least for an introductory intermission, after which emotional messages might become employable after a time of commonly shared wartime hardships. It is for this reason that the earliest efforts and gestures had a warily exploratory flavor, for the most part, and acquired a confident and positive content some time later.

The book world trailed well behind that of magazine and newspaper journalism in the sales campaign in the West in behalf of Stalinism, a matter of timing and the nature of their different operational methods. The decade or more of heavy pro-Soviet salesmanship among authors which came to an end roughly about the time of the Russo-German pact in 1939 was followed by a confused interim of much contradictory effort and a strong tendency to shy away from more Stalinist accolades except among the devoted Party regulars and their most devoted and ardent fellow travelers, still a healthy contingent. The opening of the Russo-German phase on the war in mid-1941 caught the industry unprepared to take full advantage of the situation. Only a handful of outright pro-Stalinist tracts were able to hit the market before Pearl Harbor, and they had to share the spotlight with tomes



which were anything but friendly. The six months after Pearl was a time for reversing the gears and eventually launching a flood of pro-Communist volumes, which reached successively higher landmarks in each of the three years of war still remaining.

The two most blatant pro-Soviet tracts which managed to get produced and marketed early by major publishers were those by veteran Bolshevik adulators, Maurice Gershon Hindus' *Hitler Cannot Conquer Russia* (Doubleday) and Anna Louise Strong's (Mrs. Joel Shubin) *The Soviets Expected It* (Dial). These hurry-up jobs caught reviewers by surprise, and they were obviously not ready for them yet, even such committed ink and paper warriors as Clifton Fadiman of the *New Yorker*. He allotted both works very cool and skeptical reception, identifying Strong as a "well-known apologist" for the Soviet, but not Hindus, who was just as prominent in this category.<sup>182</sup> *Foreign Affairs* was rather quizzical about Hindus, while mildly calling attention to Strong's work as mainly a justification for Soviet foreign policy, contrary to the momentary consensus which thought Stalin's line had turned out to be an incalculable disaster. A weak and uninformative review of her book by Elizabeth Barnes in the *New York Herald Tribune* was delayed until early in January 1942, but it was fiercely dissected in the same paper six weeks earlier by Isabel M. Paterson, and a few days later by William Henry Chamberlain in the *Saturday Review of Literature*. Chamberlain, like Lyons a disaffected former admirer of the Bolshevik "experiment," called attention to Strong's party line interpretation of everything, remarking that hers was the least critical study of Russia and apology-for-Stalin since that published some years earlier by the "Red Dean of Canterbury," Hewlett Johnson, which indeed was in a special class by itself.

Chamberlain, who had just become the editor of a new magazine, the *Russian Review*, did not deal as harshly with Hindus' book in the *New York Times* as had Lyons in the *American Mercury*, but was reserved as to the outcome of the war in Eastern Europe. Like everyone else who wanted Hitler defeated without Stalin taking advantage of the consequences, Chamberlain was caught in the same bind. Doubting Hindus' cheerful confidence that there was no fear that Stalin would as Chamberlain put it, "exploit a victory to spread his brand of dictatorship over a great part of Europe beyond Russia's proper ethnological frontiers," he held up further judgment on Hindus' pro-Red tract. At the moment it did not appear that Stalin was in any position to defeat Hitler without immense help from the capitalist nations, so it did seem to be excessive to worry about this matter.

Another reviewer who did not handle Hindus too kindly was the Council on Foreign Relations regular Philip E. Mosely, in the *Yale Review*, though he fell short as well of Lyons' critical level. Hindus

received the warmest treatment in the New York *Herald Tribune*, the alleged organ of New York plutocracy. His 300-page book, published less than three months after the outbreak of the Russo-German phase of the war, was hailed by Joseph B. Phillips, who added, of Hindus, "Of all the authors who have written about the Soviet Union, Mr. Hindus has been the most consistent and thorough investigator of the changes which the Bolshevik state has made in the mental and social makeup of the Russians," and was further commended by Lewis Gannett in the same newspaper a week later as the author of a new volume to add to his previously published *Red Bread* "and other good books on Russia."

Other major pro-Soviet books bearing 1941 imprints were too late to be paid much attention until the following year: Walter Duranty's *The Kremlin and the People* (Reynal and Hitchcock), Lucien Zacharoff's "We Made a Mistake"—Hitler (Appleton-Century), and the prize winner of the early era, Davies' *Mission to Moscow* (Simon & Schuster), a book so unabashedly Stalinist that the even-worse moving picture based on it drew chuckles from Stalin himself when he first viewed it. Billed by *Foreign Affairs* the following spring as "one of the best informed books to appear in recent years on Soviet Russia," the book was already profiting from the time lag and American belligerency since its publication. Duranty's book was heavily attacked by Louis Fischer, still another defector from the pro-Red clique among the literary men. Though it was not as unsophisticated a piece of special pleading as that of Zacharoff, who tried to turn the Red Army's pell-mell retreat across Russia in the closing months of 1941 into a great victory, as had an earlier lot of writers who similarly succeeded in converting the British disaster at Dunkirk, in the late spring of 1940, into a stirring triumph.<sup>183</sup>

To be sure, there were works praising Stalin and Russian Communism coming out in 1941 that nearly matched the "Red Dean," but they were being published in England, and were unreviewed and unavailable in the U.S.A., such as the British Communist Party's spokesman Pat Sloan's *How the Soviet State is Run* (London: Lawrence), Maurice Dobb's *Soviet Economy and the War* (London: Routledge), and the Austrian Marxist refugee Erich Strauss' *Soviet Russia* (London: Lane), which Woolbert in *Foreign Affairs* a year after publication called "one of the better informed and more thoughtful books on Russia."<sup>184</sup> But Americans were exposed primarily to British war writing in the form of speeches and journalism emanating from much better known public figures such as Julian Huxley's *Democracy Marches* (Harper), John Boynton Priestley's *Out of the People* (Harper) and the now-Churchill-cabinet-minister Ernest Bevin's *The Balance Sheet of the Future*



(McBride), all of whom seemed pre-occupied with the postwar consequences of the war, with their talk of future "world union" and "community of nations" in a "security club" as well as the opening the war was providing for advancing their own variety of a British welfare state soviet.<sup>185</sup>

A more stealthy kind of pro-Sovietism was always the negative line of attacking its enemies (the favorite cover of all Communists was the generalized mantle "anti-fascist"), one of 1941's prizes being *Men of Europe* by "Andre Simone," the pseudonym of one of Europe's most tireless and ubiquitous Comintern agents, Otto Katz. Well known in the U.S.A. for his Communist-line book on why France collapsed in 1940, his latest work, issued by the quasi-Communist publishing house, Modern Age Books, was a generalized attack on virtually every European politician not in the pro-Soviet orbit. An occasional reviewer such as Fadiman identified its firm Stalinist line, contradicted a few days later by the *Herald Tribune's* Joseph Barnes, who struggled manfully to disabuse the potential reader of the idea that "the political line of the book" was Communist. Barnes went along with the general position of not exposing the writer's real name and Comintern affiliation, which actually was not done until the following year in the U.S.A. But in the meantime he stretched the credulity of the people with any sophistication about foreign politics at all by pleading that Simone's bitter attack on all the critics of Stalin and his "appreciative" chapter on the Red dictator could not be interpreted as "in the Moscow line."<sup>186</sup> Once more a moneyed influential capitalist organ was supplying a service no openly Communist paper could ever have expected to make possible.

The release in America of books hostile to Communist Russia had slowed almost to a halt before the mid-1941 reversal of the trend of world politics in Eastern Europe. Only Lyons' *Red Decade*, more a report on pro-Soviet sympathizing by non-Communist Americans in the 1930s than an anti-Soviet work, drew much attention in the closing months, with major and mainly non-critical reviews by Bruce Bliven in the *New Republic*, Niebuhr in the *Nation*, Max Eastman in the *New York Times*, and Chamberlin in the *Saturday Review*, as well as Woolbert in *Foreign Affairs*.<sup>187</sup> The serious attacks on Stalinist Russia in book form were limited, and mainly the work of non-Americans who had been there, voluntarily or otherwise, as well as being very hard to come by in the U.S.A. Notable among them were Anton Ciliga's *The Russian Enigma* (London: Routledge), a book which actually had been issued in 1940 and comprised the hostile impressions of a Yugoslav Communist who had resided in the USSR from 1926 to 1935. An even more inimical book was Joseph Ameal's *Red Hell* (London: Hale), the author's account of two decades' residence in

the Workers' Fatherland, much of it in prison and penal gulags, which affronted the *Foreign Affairs* reviewer, about the only one in the U.S.A. His account was looked upon as "too lurid and prejudiced to be taken at face value,"<sup>188</sup> but no amount of luridity or prejudice in the many books by escapees from Hitler Germany was considered warranting a caveat in their cases: the sky was the limit in derogation of Nazi Germany.

About the only book generally available in the U.S.A. in the above class was Lilian T. Mowrer's *Arrest and Exile* (Morrow), the story of Olga Kochanska, one of the Poles deported to Russia after occupation of the eastern two-thirds of Poland by the Red Army in the fall of 1940. The review by Katharine Woods in the *New York Times* stressed Mme. Kochanska's scathing contempt for Russian Communism after experiencing it for awhile, though one might have questioned her dismissal of it all as insignificant. But even here an anti-Hitler lesson was inserted in the estimate, as it was the subject's opinion that Hitler should never have been allowed to "grow great" as a result of fear of Russian Bolshevism.<sup>189</sup>

Still another class of escapee literature regaling the American public in 1941 were such sagas as Arthur Koestler's *Scum of the Earth* (Macmillan), an account of his residence in French concentration camps for those who fled Spain after the demise of the Communist-led resistance against Franco,<sup>190</sup> and Lion Feuchtwanger's *The Devil in France* (Viking), a similar story of incarceration in French concentration camps after apprehension as an enemy alien in the summer of 1940.<sup>191</sup> Still another was the German refugee Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* (Farrar and Rinehart). The former Frankfurt-born psychoanalyst, descended from a long line of rabbis, seemed to be interested, in this book, which became immensely influential in America, primarily in why people would abandon their "liberties" and "take refuge in a totalitarian regime" only in Germany,<sup>192</sup> choosing to ignore Stalinist Russia, many magnitudes more totalitarian than authoritarian Germany. The war call in all these was mainly subliminal, for the most part, however.

The forthright appeals to sally forth came mainly from American newspapermen and were more oriented toward a pro-British position, indicating that they had been in formation some time before mid-1941. The most influential of these were Leland Stowe's *No Other Road to Freedom* (Knopf), a turgid brief by this Chicago *Daily News* foreign correspondent, known best for his later admissions of having fabricated the stories of Norway's fall in 1940 as the work of internal traitors, as well as his flustered post-war pro-Communist apologetics, and that of Joseph C. Harsch, *Pattern of Conquest* (Doubleday), the *Christian Science Monitor's* Berlin correspondent for the previous 18 months. More



generalized was Pierre van Paassen's *That Day Alone* (Dial), a collection of semi-fictional yarns highly praised by leftist reviewers, especially Hindus, and bearing the main message of the unavoidability of a generalized postwar planned economy.<sup>193</sup> More strongly Anglophile-oriented were Forrest Davis' *The Atlantic System* (Reynal and Hitchcock) and H.R. Knickerbocker, *Is Tomorrow Hitler's?* (Reynal and Hitchcock). Davis, the one time *New York Daily News* rewrite man, was most appreciated by the well-entrenched elite Anglophile establishment, while Knickerbocker, known even better as a radio than a newspaper journalist, became particularly involved in incensed attacks on American opponents of the Roosevelt war drive, heaping ferocious abuse on Lindbergh in particular. Still others concerned specialized attacks on external German programs, such as *Smash Hitler's International* (Greystone), by the improbable team of the psychological war specialist Edmond Taylor, the liberal economist Eliot Janeway, and the ardent apologist for both Russian and Chinese Communism, Edgar Snow.<sup>194</sup>

By comparison with all this, the publishing world exposed Americans to little literature involving a strategic war concept dealing with Japan. Nothing rivaling the Taylor-Janeway-Snow recipe for Germany came out in 1941, the last such being the *New York Times* cable editor Robert Aura Smith's *Our Future in Asia* (Viking) of the previous fall, an explicit summary of how Washington, London and Wall Street viewed the Far East, with its exhortation for a swift and presumably easy war against Japan to preserve the British colonial status quo especially in Southeast Asia. The 1941 fare varied from the breezy tourist-style *Honorable Enemy* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce) by Ernest O. Hauser to the bitter denunciation of Japan by the ancient Korean, Syngman Rhee, the "president of the provisional Korean Government in exile" since 1911, *Japan Inside Out* (Revell). In between there were the stiff establishment treatise by Paul M.A. Linebarger, *The China of Chiang Kai-shek* (Boston: World Peace Foundation), an idealization which Chiang himself was to obliterate with his own two books two years later, and a pair of volumes by supporters of China's still almost submerged-from-view brand of Communism. The message of T.A. Bisson's *American Policy in the Far East, 1931-1941* (Institute of Pacific Relations) and Nym Wales' *China Builds for Democracy* (Modern Age Books) was anything but obscure. The latter author, in reality Helen Foster Snow, the wife of Edgar Snow, idealized "industrial cooperatives" in the Red-occupied areas of northwest China, while Bisson, a veteran apologist for Chinese Communism in both liberal and Communist papers, summarized much earlier writing for a Communist-dominated organization which was to become nationally known

only after the anti-Communist reaction of the early Cold War set in a half dozen years later.<sup>195</sup>

### **The Ante Rises After Pearl Harbor on Production and Appropriations for Stalin**

With Pearl Harbor and full-fledged belligerency four days later, the end of a season of delicacy concerning matters Stalinist was just one of the consequences, even though the passage by the House of Representatives a week after the attack of a national defense appropriation bill for \$8,243,839,031 brought from *Time* an almost apologetic tag that, after all, "only \$78,000,000" of this vast sum was intended for Russian lend-lease.<sup>196</sup> For the British, American entry into the war was a life raft of indescribably vast dimensions, far more esteemed at this early moment for its part in this economic salvation department; British income taxes in the Pearl Harbor week were 50% of its workers' pay, and 95% of "big incomes."<sup>197</sup> At this same time, Sir Kingsley Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was telling the House of Commons that Britain had already spent the equivalent of \$33,200,000,000 to fight the war so far,<sup>198</sup> with the end far from in sight, the consequences of which were evident to the far-visioned. Julian Huxley, in New York City the same day, predicted that "The United States will be the most powerful country when the war is over, while Europe will be a mess."<sup>199</sup> It was interesting to see how few political and ideological warriors cared about the outcome; there was a long and beautiful war to fight and experience, which no one wanted to deny himself through such ignoble artifices as the termination of hostilities via negotiation. As for another outcome of the war, one had to consult Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's editorial in his five-year-old weekly, *Social Justice*, an unmentionable source among the chic of the day. Two weeks after Pearl Harbor, Rev. Coughlin predicted, "Karl Marx will win this war."<sup>200</sup>

### **Davies' Book Mission to Moscow Sets the Tone on the Adulation of Soviet Communism for the Rest of the War**

While noted public figures as diverse as Huxley, Caldwell, and Rev. Coughlin were ruminating presciently about the likely situation prevailing at war's end, there took place the first major literary advancement of Stalinist fortunes in American public consciousness, the publication of ex-Ambassador to Russia Davies' *Mission to Moscow* (Simon & Schuster). Out just two weeks after Pearl, it was the subject of at least three score stentorian reviews in as many weeks in the nation's largest and most prestigious periodicals and newspapers. *Time* led off shortly after



Christmas, 1941 with a three and a half column review but handled as though the book were foreign news.<sup>201</sup> A few days later came Joseph Barnes's front page treatment in the *Herald Tribune Books* and identical placement of that of William Henry Chamberlin in the *Times Book Review* the same day, guaranteeing blanketing the Eastern portion of the country with massive and lengthy attention. A few days after that came that of Henry C. Wolfe in the *Saturday Review*, by which time the publishers had already run a half-page advertisement in the *Herald Tribune Books* which was heavily decorated with huzzas from 51 other major United States publications. Included in this triumphal spread were the following: "most competent, disinterested study of the Soviet Union" (*Boston Globe*); the best book on Russia "since the two-volume study by Sidney and Beatrice Webb" (*Chicago Daily News*); "a political document of the first importance as well as a piece of extraordinary sanity" (*Chicago Sun-Times*); "perhaps the most valuable book to be published on the subject of Russia in the past decade" (*Houston Post*); "Actually the first volume on Soviet Russia which will be taken seriously by all students of Soviet affairs" (*Chicago Jewish Daily Courier*); "the one book above all to read on Russia" (*New York Times*); and the following benediction from the *Daily Worker*: "Mr. Davies has supplanted a great deal of current misinformation about the USSR with realistic, clear-cut and objective reporting."<sup>202</sup>

Barnes's review<sup>203</sup> was as kindly as one might have been led to expect from him, in view of his substantial pedigree in handling things Soviet with a gentle touch. Wolfe hailed it as "One of the most significant books of our time,"<sup>204</sup> but the general shouting approval on all sides made Joseph Starobin's six-column effulgence in the *New Masses* almost an anti-climax.<sup>205</sup> There was little doubt that Davies' book had replaced among the Party<sup>206</sup> the up-to-then prize diplomatic volume by an American in the twentieth century, the 1933-1938 *Diary of ex-Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd*, lovingly edited by his far-leftist children. One strong assertion by Davies was given special attention by the *New Masses*, his declaration on page 434, "The bogey that a war would entail Communism in a defeated Germany and Central Europe is plain bunk." Another pregnant quotation from Davies was that by Wolfe in *Saturday Review*,<sup>207</sup> a reference to an unnamed Polish government figure who boasted prior to the September 1939 campaign, "within three weeks after the outbreak of war, Polish troops would be in Berlin." That they were there as prisoners of war was not the intent, for sure, though these were not days to call attention to Polish belligerent confidence in victory prior to hostilities; the total effort of "Allied" propaganda in the time following Pearl Harbor was to establish firmly the myth of a

peaceful and utterly non-provoking Poland, overrun by a brutish German horde, in a one-sided act of "aggression."<sup>208</sup>

Few books published in the U.S.A. have been greeted by such an avalanche of reviewer approval in such a short time as *Mission to Moscow*. By the end of March 1942, the list of favorable testimonials was nothing short of sensational. The amazing thing was that it was criticized by anyone. Such as it was, unfriendly commentary on Davies' book gathered largely at one point, his acceptance without any reservation of the Stalinite explanation of the 1936-1938 massacres and mass jailings as a unified program of cleansing the USSR of German and Japanese collaborators and agents. Chamberlin had held back a little on this matter and also questioned Davies' "complete endorsement of Soviet foreign policy."<sup>209</sup> Even *Time* realized the problem here, and in its marathon vote of acclaim had demonstrated a little difficulty in accepting Davies, while projecting doubt on the earlier estimate of the Dewey Commission's write-off of the "purge" trials as frame-ups. The only harsh condemnation of *Mission to Moscow* was by Margaret Marshall in the *Nation*. But to appreciate why she was so appalled at Davies' defense of the purges, one had to know something of the history of the *Nation* in the same period, when it was torn apart into two camps as a result of conflict over this same matter.<sup>210</sup>

Though barely in the wartime embrace as "allies," Americans had tendered to the Russians a major propaganda triumph in the shape of a book written by a millionaire,<sup>211</sup> promoted lavishly by a major publisher and boosted in almost feverish language by nearly every organ of the heretofore scorned "capitalist" printed communications media. It was a task which could not have been achieved by a Communist Party machine in the Western Hemisphere even had it been a thousand times as large. *Mission to Moscow* went into five printings its first month, and for a time early in the American phase of formal participation in the war, it was hard to hear anyone talk about anything else. As an aid to assist the American young especially in learning to "love Russia," little compared to it for some time. Nothing ever approaching it by many light years ever appeared in Communist Russia, according the U.S.A. a similar favorable and affirmative image. The one-sided love affair could now be considered to be fairly and fully launched.



## Notes

1. Cowley, "Marginalia," *New Republic* (July 12, 1943), p. 50. In view of the havoc the Pakt caused among the *New Republic's* editors and contributors, it is very likely that some of them also joined the rush to the psychiatrists' couches.

Between August, 1939 and June, 1941 there did develop among outraged liberals a compensation mechanism in which was expressed the outward, formal rejection of Stalinist affections. During this time this distaste was represented by the spreading of the expression "Communazi" as a descriptive term for the forces of Stalin and Hitler, accused continuously of being in an "alliance." It grew in intensity after the collapse of France in June, 1940, then slackened noticeably in the early months of 1941, almost disappearing after June, 1941 and the start of the Russo-German war. There were comic and sometimes sour aftereffects of this "Communazi" episode and interlude, as liberals relapsed into old and comfortable postures with respect to Stalinist Russia. An example was the awkward publication timing of the autobiographical *Opinions of Oliver Allston* (E.P. Dutton), by one of liberalism's most hallowed literary figures, Van Wyck Brooks. Brooks admitted in this book to have found much that was admirable in Soviet Communism but had decided subsequent to the Pakt "to fight both Communists and Fascists." Dorothy Brewster, in her caustic review of this book in the *Communist New Masses* (December 30, 1941, pp. 20-21), inquired rhetorically, "Was he [Brooks] fighting them both a short time ago when he sponsored the meeting called by the Council for Soviet Relations to celebrate the anniversary of the recognition by the U.S.A. of the USSR [November 17, 1933]?" Brooks was just one of a formidable battalion which wanted to have forgotten their 22 or so months of pique and resentment at Stalin's "betrayal," in August, 1939.

2. As Lawrence Dennis was wont to point out in the postwar era, in his newsletter *Appeal to Reason*, in the American South, as a general rule, the more racist the state, the more ferociously eager for combat with the Hitler regime it tended to be.

3. Part of the calculated program of synthetic patriotic ritual which was infused into everyday life in the U.S.A. accompanying this tidal wave of print and talk was the device of playing the *Star Spangled Banner* before the commencement of formal public gatherings, especially prior to the start of athletic contests. Thirty years after the end of World War Two it was still a preface to almost all such spectacles except perhaps dog races and wrestling matches. People were already complaining that it was being overdone in 1941, at which occasion *Time* commented, "The tune of *The Star Spangled Banner*, which has been the official national anthem for only a decade [1931], is an old British drinking song. . . . It was the club song of London's 18th Century Anacreontic Society. Called *To Anacreon in Heaven*, it was written by John Stafford Smith, the society's organist. Author Francis Scott Key, although believed to be tone-deaf, was apparently familiar with the original song." *Time* (December 22, 1941), p. 56.

4. Throughout this study, the place of publication will be identified for all books other than those issued by publishers in New York City, which latter will be assumed by its omission.

5. Luce lent his prestige to young John F. Kennedy by signing the foreword to Kennedy's undergraduate thesis at Harvard, published under the title *While England Slept* (Wilfred Funk, 1940), and exploiting a persuasive line adopted by publicists both here and abroad. It became fashionable in the 1940s to write books alleging someone or other "slept" as a device to demonstrate *ex post facto* wisdom. Following the Kennedy essay came Denna F. Fleming's *While America Slept: A Contemporary Analysis of World Events from the Fall of France to Pearl Harbor* (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1944). Fleming was probably the most incandescent pro-war interventionist academician in the South, the equivalent to Frederick

L. Schuman of Williams College. As a member of the Vanderbilt University faculty and a radio news commentator on Nashville, Tennessee's station WSM, Fleming was a formidable pedagogical warrior. Like many of them, once the war was over he went through a transformation into one of the most heart-rending pleaders for world peace and for understanding of the Stalinist world. It is unlikely anyone "slept" anywhere, but were mainly overtaken by events and the fortunes of war. The alleged nap of Americans in the 1930s does not hold up against the facts; a complaint in the year 1938, for example, was lodged against the export the previous year by the U.S. of munitions and warplanes which exceeded in dollar value the amount spent by the wartime Wilson regime on the tools of war for the entire World War I year of April 1917 to April 1918. See e.g., the critical editorial "Munitions Trade" in *Colorado Springs Gazette*, July 9, 1938, p. 4.

There were \$10,000,000,000 spent on arms in Britain during the premiership of Churchill's predecessor, Neville Chamberlain. This was a prodigious sum of money fifty or so years ago, when, for example, the minimum wage in the U.S.A. was thirty (30) cents an hour, and a fifth of the labor force was unemployed even at this rate. The above sum suggests that this can hardly be called "sleeping," when, in addition, the air was rent in the English-speaking world with one treatise after another excoriating the immense sums being spent on the production and trade in arms, world-wide. But to this day there can be heard a type of blatherskite trying to convince anyone willing to listen that at the outbreak of war in September 1939 the United Kingdom was milling around in muddled and confused disarmament. It was peculiar, amusing, and to some, depressing, that of the many newscasters, columnists and newspapermen and politicians pushed to the fore, from 1940 on, bawling to the world of their oracular powers in predicting and warning of trouble with Japan and Germany from 1931, if not earlier, not one displayed the faintest soothsaying ability on the much closer trouble with Russian and Chinese Communism. It may be argued that exhibiting propensities of this sort might have been dangerous in the era of the ascendancy of Hitler, for several reasons. Hostile sentiments about communism in the era of the Grand Amour with Stalin, the most one-sided political love affair in history, were most likely to be denounced as "spreading rumors planted by enemy agents." The people of the United States were still living with the consequences 40 years after it had become politically safe late in 1945.

The 1939-1945 era bustled and jostled in the U.S.A. with all manner of politicians, journalists and military analysts stridently claiming to have been the first to "recognize the Nazi peril"; some preferred to be seen as such well before the movement took shape in Germany. This contingent especially bloomed after Pearl Harbor, and there seemed to be some kind of correlation between having "early spotted the Hitler menace" and vaulting into big wartime jobs and ultimately in the postwar political machinery. But it was just peripherally embarrassing to them that none came forth as oracles and seers prophesying the "Commie peril," demonstrating near total blindness to a "Communist menace" until well after the Cold War had set in, whereupon belated wisdom in this sector became fashionable. But there were holdouts who did not become political giants in this capacity until after the Korean war had broken out in mid-1950.

6. See *Foreign Affairs* (October 1941), pp. 193-196 for the enthusiastic promotion of the books mentioned in this section. The reviewer of the journal's "Recent Books on International Relations" section was Robert Gale Woolbert.

7. *Foreign Affairs* (January 1942), p. 377. Habe, originally Janos or Jean Bekessy, had an established pedigree for anti-Hitler politics. (See letter from Philip de Ronde, an ex-captain in the French Foreign Legion, to *Time* (November 10, 1941, pp. 4-5). Restored to political fragrance by the outcome of 1945, it was possible to read Habe-Bekessy's tiresome political sermons decades later in various of the world's journals. Lania was born Lazar Herrmann in Kharkov in 1896. Originally a Communist, he professed to have left them and become a Socialist in 1923. He



claimed to have been an enemy of Hitler since 1924 and to have interviewed him, at which time he admitted to knowing only two German words but claimed the ability to find Hitler's dialect, grammar and sentence structure defective, during his talk with him. See also Lania's *Today We Are Brothers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942). There will be substantial attention to both these propagandists subsequently.

In examining the propaganda literature attacking Hitler Germany, one is struck by the heavy percentage of authors who are either for a Soviet Communist alternative or one or another of half a dozen varieties of some other kind of Marxian socialism. As an economic system, there are no "free enterprise" critiques; almost every attack which does not reveal the author as a partisan of some species of Marxism is by a Jew of indiscernible political persuasion, whose position is understandable in view of Hitler's policies toward Jews. What would have been the reception worldwide of the Hitler regime had it not flourished its racial program in the manner it did has been the subject of substantial rumination over the decades.

The percentage of Marxist or socialist critiques of Mussolini Italy and Japan is even higher than of Germany. When a search is conducted into what the people attacking Italy and Japan were for, it invariably ends at the front door of a Communist or socialist splinter group, if not directly in the fold of the Communist International. The literary adversaries of Japan either directly or indirectly voted for both a Red China and a Red Japan between 1931 and 1945. The exception in the case of Japan consisted of discomfited Englishmen alarmed at the simultaneous decay of the Empire in Asia at Japanese hands. They succeeded in getting half of what they sought in both Germany and the Far East. Had the Western "allies" been just a little more obtuse and myopic, they might have got the rest.

The issue in Italy remained in doubt still after more than three decades beyond war's end, although thanks to the "liberators" bringing back to Italy the Communists who had fled to Moscow in the 1920s during the Mussolini era, followed by a vigorous and unremitting offensive conducted thereafter, Italy in the postwar generation had Europe's largest Communist party outside Russia itself. It was characteristic of the behavior of Italy's returned Reds that their earliest act under the umbrella of their "democratic allies" was the repulsive murder of their adversary, Mussolini.

8. The political rehabilitation and refurbishment of Churchill, begun after Munich by pro-war sectors of both left and right in the Anglo Saxon world, embellished through the war in coalition with additional Tories and also American Anglophiles of non-leftist persuasion, was continued into the post-war period by a "conservative" movement which relished his return to venomous attacks on communism. But they conveniently overlooked his part in launching the Reds on their course of conquest through his impulsive and heedless all out support, 1941-43. His foot-dragging tactics thereafter were in harmony with all the other bad policy-making which had marked British leadership since Versailles, following which they had consistently done the wrong thing at the wrong time in the wrong place. Churchill the journalist opportunist would have been a better subject for scrutiny than the illusion of Churchill the ineffable statesman of the ages. Essential for any beginning attempts to produce some kind of balanced view of Churchill are Francis Neilson, *The Churchill Legend* (Appleton, Wis., C.C. Nelson, 1954) and Emrys Hughes, *Winston Churchill, British Bulldog: His Career in War and Peace* (Exposition Press, 1955.)

Churchill's rushing into an alliance with Stalin may have appeared to have been a purely impulsive and heedless act, growing entirely from the fortunes of war and short range enthusiasms. It was the British military analyst General J.F.C. Fuller however who called attention several years later in his book *The Conduct of War 1789-1961* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961) that Churchill had suggested an alliance with Stalin repeatedly prior to becoming wartime Prime Minister and

mentioned four such occasions in the first volume of his *The Second World War*, in March, 1938 (p. 213), September, 1938 (p. 229), May 4, 1939 (p. 285), and May 19, 1939 (p. 293).

General Fuller commented further on Churchill's further wild swings of opinion change on the Soviet Union after his becoming First Lord of the Admiralty shortly after Britain declared war on Germany September 3, 1939 culminating in his bafflement by Stalin's invasion of and investment in half of Poland, the other half of the action begun by the Germans. Sir Winston's attempt to cover himself by remarking in *The Second World War* (Vol. 1, p. 351) that he "never had any illusion" about the Communists prompted Gen. Fuller to inquire rhetorically why he "had so ardently courted them" in the time before the war started.

And the culmination had occurred October 1, 1939 when Churchill had made his celebrated confession of being unable to predict Soviet behavior, it being "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." People for most of two generations were taught to sit back in awe at this literary hokum as though it were the purest of political wisdom, but Gen. Fuller suggested that Churchill could have learned by consulting "any work on Soviet foreign policy" in the fall of 1939 that it had not changed an iota in 20 years. Regardless of what Churchill was to say then or later, however, by his actions he came down on the side of those who preferred Central Europe to be dominated by Stalinism.

It is possible to argue that had the charlatans of Versailles created a smaller and more realistic Poland in the first place, the diplomatic crisis of 1939 and the war which ensued might never have happened. From another point of view however a clash between Germany and the Soviet Union would have come about later anyway since the main question which the Polish interlude just obscured momentarily was the ultimate location of control over Central Europe. That both Germany and the Soviet Union had serious territorial grievances against this "new" Poland can be considered merely a temporary digression and diversion.

9. Not everyone was mesmerized by Churchill's rhetoric. Following the loss of Singapore, the sinkings of the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* and the passage of a German flotilla through the Strait of Dover, Robert Willis, secretary of the London Trades Council, protested, "We must break loose from the stupefying magic of Churchill's oratory. Fine words don't win battles. Whenever we suffer a reverse and whenever news is bad, we are treated with a superb example of the mastery of the English language. The nation is being drugged by high sounding phrases." Quoted in *Newsweek* (February 23, 1942), p. 37.

10. Churchill's reckless decision to back Stalin completely, without the faintest vestige of a *quid pro quo* from Stalin, has produced a heated literature defensive of this act, but of little explanatory substance. There was nothing for the Reds to do but take advantage of it. Churchill's additional action begun in 1941, instructing a specially created organization to plan for a continent-wide operation "to coordinate all action by way of subversion and sabotage, to set Europe ablaze," as reported by William Stephenson in William Stevenson's *A Man Called Intrepid* (Ballantine ed., 1977, p. 97), loosed in the world one of the most incredible episodes of foolish political mischief in all time. It was Churchill's bombers which "set Europe ablaze." His operation, which poured down money, explosives and automatic weapons upon the Stalinist underground and "resistance" by parachute drops for over four years in eleven countries set up a murderous political situation in each land. It had as its legacy a pro-Communist political infirmity which was likely to prevail for several generations after Churchill's passing.

That Churchill began to entertain second thoughts in 1943 and thereafter, and began to show signs of political wisdom is *ex post facto* acumen of the most hopeless sort. If Britons ever hoped to return to a status of importance in the affairs of Middle Europe after World War II as in the period 1919-1939, such hope was damaged beyond repair by Churchill's spinal cord reaction to Hitler's invasion of Russian-held Poland. It can be argued that Britain faced an insoluble



dilemma and was doomed to expulsion from both Central European influence and Far Eastern preponderance regardless of which of the two contesting powers there were winners. It is obvious they faced this consequence if the Germans and Japanese won, and it was their classic choice of the man on a burning yacht in a typhoon, staying on and burning to death or jumping off and drowning. Churchill stayed on and the British Empire and influence were incinerated in a Red holocaust.

11. The standard apologia detailing the careful and cautious edging of Roosevelt and his principal advisors to a program of material assistance to Stalin in 1941 is William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Undeclared War, 1940-1941* (Harper, 1953), identified on its title page as "Published for the Council on Foreign Relations." (Chapters 17 and 25.) Professors of history at Harvard and Amherst, respectively, Langer and Gleason held high posts during the war with the redoubtable global espionage agency, the Office of Strategic Services, the direct ancestor of the modern CIA. They also held similar positions in the early CIA and were so identified when their book was published.

12. Especially informative on the matters described above are "Judex," Anderson's *Prisoners* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1940), and Ivor Montagu, *The Traitor Class* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1940), which contains much valuable information, though written from the point of view of the Central Committee of the CPGB. Ramsay's own account of his arrest and incarceration for over four years may be found in his book, *The Nameless War* (Devon, England: Britons, 5th rev. ed., 1968). On Ramsay's release from prison on September 26, 1944 see "Bold Etonian," *Newsweek* (October 9, 1944), pp. 60-61. Despite all that has been written, much still remains unclear about the arrests of Capt. Ramsey and Tyler Kent, a code clerk at the U.S. Embassy in London who intercepted secret dispatches between Roosevelt and Churchill confirming their illegal efforts to bring America into war against Germany. Kent made records of the incriminating messages, hoping eventually to make them public in the United States. He was arrested at his London apartment on May 20, 1940, and found guilty of violating the British Official Secrets Act in a closed trial. He spent the rest of the war in a British prison. [A copy of the trial record, including a listing of the hundreds of messages intercepted by Kent, as well as the intercepted diplomatic dispatches themselves, are at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The secret Roosevelt-Churchill exchange has been published in *Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1984; Warren F. Kimball, ed.) For Kent's own account see "The Roosevelt Legacy and The Kent Case," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1983, pp. 173-203. See also: William Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid*, pp. 84-85.]

13. The above matters were quoted in *Newsweek* (July 7, 1941), p. 11. An interesting aspect of the right-left coalition for war, but trying to stay clear of an alliance with the CPUSA, was the presence of Jay Lovestone, head of the CPUSA until 1928 when he had been removed by Stalin, as director of the Trade Union Division of the Committee to Defend America. *Newsweek* (July 14, 1941), p. 10. Long after the war it was revealed that the Fight for Freedom Committee was a totally bogus organization, created out of whole cloth by British Intelligence and winked at by the Administration and its police agencies, used mainly to harass American anti-war groups and promote diversionary ruses to distract Americans from the multifarious British propaganda activities. See especially Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid*, pp. 279, 324-25.

In retrospect, in terms of proportion, one of the ludicrous episodes of the propaganda war in America was the sight of the immense British propaganda enterprise and the octopus-like Communist apparatus, spending vastly-larger sums and employing a multitude of persons and mechanisms in press, radio and film, yelling in unison at the threadbare operations of pro-German George Sylvester Viereck. A

dozen major American publishers turned out a veritable Communist five-foot-shelf of books between 1933 and 1945, and enough pro-British books to fill an entire library. But the dozen or so pro-German or anti-interventionist products of Viereck's Flanders Hall firm were considered an equivalent by the pro-war propaganda machine, right and left alike. The long-delayed *The German Report* (Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1961) by O. John Rogge, unsuccessful both as prosecutor of the sedition case in 1944 and the defense counsel for the Communists in 1950, was still exaggerating the influence of Viereck at this late date.

14. In response to the Gallup Poll question, "Do you think the U.S. should declare war on Germany and send our army and navy abroad to fight?" the September, 1939 "No" total was 94% of the respondees; in October, the "No" response was 95%, in December, 96.5%. In April 1940, after the invasion of Norway by the Germans, the "No" response to this question was 96.3% and in June, 1940, after the collapse of France, it was 93% "No."

15. "War of the Dinosaurs," *Time* (June 30, 1941), p. 9.

16. "Lenin-Lease Bill," *Time* (June 30, 1941), p. 13. This issue of *Time* featured a cover picture of Stalin and one of his most ballyhooed generals, Marshal Semyon Timoshenko.

17. Even after 1945, new words were invented to describe Russia territorial grabs under Soviet auspices, while pro-Stalinist students of "imperialism" ground out millions of words describing this policy in conventional terminology as applied to everyone else.

18. "Looking the Other Way? The New Party Line," *Time* (July 7, 1941), p. 12-13.

19. *Time's* contempt and meanness toward the Stalinists in America was reflected in numerous recollections of Communist detachment toward the war in the period of USSR neutrality and the CPUSA's stance of anti-involvement. One of these was the reproduction of a bit of doggerel attributed to the U.S. Reds in the not very distant past:

Oh Franklin Roosevelt told the people how he felt

We almost believed him when he said,

'Oh I hate war

And so does Eleanor

But we won't be safe till everybody's dead.'

*Time* (July 7, 1941), p. 13.

Some recalled the bitter words of the CPUSA's leader, Earl Browder, a few months earlier when he was convicted for forging a U.S. passport; in the *Daily Worker* for February 25, 1941 he had remonstrated, "If my kind of crime rates four years in prison, what should be the punishment for Franklin Roosevelt, who got a third term [as president] on a false passport, a promise to keep America out of war? I think the supreme punishment for this crime will be written in history that he betrayed the peace and prosperity of the American people." It did not take Browder and his associates long to change that tune after June 22, 1941.

20. *U.S. News* (July 4, 1941), pp. 26-28, for all above citations by persons responding to this first poll published after the outbreak of the war in Poland between Germany and Russia. *U.S. News* billed itself on its cover every week as "The Only Magazine Devoted Entirely to Reporting, Interpreting and Forecasting the News of National Affairs." It established a frightfully bad record as a "forecaster." A slogan carried over Lawrence's weekly editorials, credited to George Washington, read: "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

21. *U.S. News* (July 11, 1941), pp. 32-33, for all above citations in this second installment of queries.

22. *Newsweek* (July 7, 1941), pp. 11-12 for ex-Pres. Hoover's remarks and those of



the preceding participants in *Newsweek's* roundup of reaction to the new phase of the war. Sen. Taft was especially subjected to subsequent abuse for his views, but the criticism abated after the Cold War with the USSR set in after 1945 and the bills for this consequence of "victory" began to appear.

23. "Against Both Sides," *Time* (July 7, 1941), p. 9.

24. Washington Report, *U.S. News* (July 25, 1941), p. 5.

25. "Back to the 16th Century," *Time* (July 7, 1941), p. 21.

26. *New Masses* (July 8, 1941), p. 6. The *New Masses* was the only weekly journal presenting the "Marxist outlook on world events"; it also presented an undeviating Stalinist outlook at any given moment and was probably the most articulate reflector of Stalinist opinion in the U.S.A. during World War II among the journals which were frankly Moscow transmission belts. To many people, it and the *Daily Worker* constituted the totality of the Communist press here, but there were others of some importance, such as *Soviet Russia Today*, *People's World*, *The Communist*, (official organ of the CPUSA), *Amerasia*, and the *Far Eastern Survey* of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which were the two centers for the dispersal of Chinese Communist propaganda, for the most part, while *Science and Society* specialized mainly in Marxist theory. But there were at least three dozen other publications of far greater circulation, and incredibly more affluent, whose editors and contributors numbered several warmly pro-Soviet partisans of the pen, and whose output and influence were thousands of times more significant. On the other hand, it is not known that a single pro-American journal or writer existed or was produced in the Soviet Union during the entire war.

27. A careful reading of the business and finance sections of the nation's newspapers and magazines 1939-1945 will open up to one an aspect of World War II which is almost entirely lacking in what passes for the history of that time in most conventional tomes to this day.

28. "Soviet Ambassador Oumansky, Back in Favor in Washington's Social and Official Circles," *U.S. News* (July 11, 1941), p. 41. Oumansky was the beneficiary of a sustained news picture campaign which made him appear almost winsome.

29. On Steinhardt and related matters, see "Life in the Capital," "People of the Week" and "Washington Whispers" columns in *U.S. News* (July 4, 1941), pp. 38, 40. Said the editors, "U.S. diplomatic advisers were almost unanimous in urging President Roosevelt to support Stalin as against Hitler, on the ground that Hitler was the real threat."

30. Letter from Paul Jones of Columbia, Ohio, in *Time* (July 21, 1941), p. 4.

31. *Newsweek* (August 5, 1941), p. 25.

32. *Christian Century* (July 9, 1941), pp. 881-882.

33. *Catholic Times* and *London Tablet* quoted in *Christian Century* (July 16, 1941), p. 900.

34. "Catholics Will Not Join Hitler's Crusade," *Christian Century* (July 16, 1941), pp. 900-901. How British intelligence were able to recruit so many notable Catholics into their fraudulent "Fight for Freedom" organization is a matter worthy of respectful consideration as well as suspicion of their powers of discrimination.

35. *New Masses* (July 8, 1941), p. 21. On Col. Donovan's new post in the Roosevelt amateur spy and psychological warfare agency being created at this same moment, see below, note 181.

36. "Bishop Speaks," *Time* (July 14, 1941), pp. 42-43.

37. *Catholic World* (July, 1941), p. 395.

38. *Catholic World* (August, 1941), pp. 515-516.

39. Maynard, "Catholics and the Nazis," *American Mercury* (October, 1941), pp. 399-400.

Rev. Gillis was affronted by Willkie's 180-degree turnabout on foreign policy, especially as represented by the latter's speech of June 18, 1940: "I want to repeat what I have said on several occasions, that despite our sympathy for the Allied cause we must stay out of the war. In these times, when our hearts are confused, we must keep our heads clear. We do not intend to send men from this continent to fight in any war. We shall not serve the cause of democracy by becoming involved in the present war; we shall serve that cause only by keeping out of the war. It is the duty of the President of the United States to recognize the determination of the people to stay out of war and to do nothing by word or deed that will undermine that determination. No man has the right to use the great powers of the Presidency to lead the people indirectly into war; only the people through their elected representatives can make that awful decision; and there is no question as to their decision."

40. "Cantuar and Commissars," *Time* (August 4, 1941), p. 28.

41. "Hitler Attacks Stalin," *Christian Century* (July 2, 1941), pp. 855-856.

42. Editorial, *Christian Century* (July 9, 1941), p. 875.

43. Holmes, "If Russia Wins," *Christian Century* (July 30, 1941), pp. 954-956.

44. "Shall We Fight for Russia?" *Christian Century* (September 10, 1941), pp. 1104-1105. Wieman's letters in response to this (*Christian Century*, September 10, 1941, pp. 1114-1115, and September 24, 1941, p. 1180) went into greater detail, which sounded like much domestic reform talk being heard in Britain at that moment; the U.S.A. could avoid going Communist only by massive post-war economic reform, and that could be achieved only by breaking down domestic hostility to Communism, the main barrier to reform. The latter could best be realized by joining with the USSR in the current war. This was amazing reasoning, in view of the utter absence of the slightest tendency to "go Communist" registered anywhere in the U.S.A. at that moment.

45. *Newsweek* (July 28, 1941), p. 26.

46. On reportage of Conant's speech see "Tepees and Propaganda," *Time* (July 14, 1941), pp. 51-52. *Time* continued its booming of war mongers from the respectable side, and teased the chastened Communists continually. The most recent target after Conant's speech was the Red-lining head of the National Maritime Union, Joe Curran, and the NMU's about-face in now supporting the Anglo-Russian cause. "Hail A-Starboard," *Time* (July 21, 1941), p. 17.

47. *Newsweek* (September 15, 1941), p. 28.

48. *Newsweek* (September 22, 1941), p. 24.

49. *Time* (December 29, 1941), p. 26.

50. On Caldwell's estimate of the war in Eastern Europe on his return from Russia four months later, see below. Caldwell and his wife, the famous photographer, Margaret Bourke-White, were in Moscow between May 1 and October 1, returning to the U.S.A. by way of Siberia just before the Pearl Harbor attack.

51. Straight, "For a Free World," *New Republic* (August 11, 1941), p. 182.

52. *New Masses* (August 12, 1941), p. 19. Other stirring testimonials of Prof. Perry's sort were also published from the artist Max Weber and Emil Lengyel.

53. *Christian Century* (August 6, 1941), pp. 986-987. He returned to the fear-of-Communism theme in his report published in the issue of October 15, 1941, p. 1285.

54. "We have not heard that he is agitating for the intervention of Switzerland,



his own country, as a belligerent," the editors concluded pointedly. Editorial, "Barth Says Britain's War Is Christian," *Christian Century* (September 17, 1941), p. 1132.

55. Kilpatrick, "Karl Barth and His Times," *Christian Century* (October 8, 1941), pp. 1235-37.

56. Editorial, "Is It a Holy War?" *Christian Century* (October 8, 1941), pp. 1230-32.

57. *Christian Century* (August 27, 1941), p. 1061.

58. *Time* (August 11, 1941), pp. 9-10.

59. *Time* (August 11, 1941), pp. 10-12.

60. *Time* (August 18, 1941), p. 11.

61. Hopkins' visit was originally interpreted for its readers as a gesture to offer "moral support" to Stalin. *U.S. News* (August 8, 1941), p. 4; the editorial position was somewhat braver shortly thereafter.

62. On the above see "War Dramas, Old and New: Praise for Prowess of Soviet Troops," *U.S. News* (August 8, 1941), p. 17. On p. 40 of the same issue it was reported, "Harry Hopkins, in and out of Moscow, is dealing with matters involving delicate political relationships as well as matters of supply. . . . Some important officials in Washington are wondering if something Mr. Hopkins told him caused England's Prime Minister Churchill to say that U.S. was very near the verge of war."

63. "Role of Harry Hopkins in Forming a World-Wide Anti-Nazi Front," *U.S. News* (August 15, 1941), pp. 7-8.

64. *U.S. News* (August 15, 1941), p. 17. The preservation or restoration intact of the European colonial domination of Africa and East Asia also appeared to be taken for granted.

65. "Roosevelt-Churchill: Inside Story of Meeting," *U.S. News* (August 22, 1941), pp. 7-9, contained the material under the heading, "What it means to Russia." *U.S. News* (September 12, 1941), p. 5, reported the first U.S. tanker carrying gasoline to the Soviet had arrived in the Siberian port of Vladivostok.

The preaching fervor and deep religious faith of David Lawrence in the Roosevelt-Churchill "Atlantic Charter" laid out in a two-page editorial ("The Eight Points," *U.S. News*, August 22, 1941, pp. 18-19), is one of the most painful things of the 1941 public opinion molding journalistic propaganda to re-read, especially his profound conviction that it was unfailing evidence that the "Allies" planned a "peace without vengeance" and that the German government's warning to their people that they would be dismembered if defeated and that their economy would be locked up behind punitive walls could be dismissed as idle talk by Germans and all others as well. But the German propaganda to their people in 1941 as to their fate if vanquished came closer to actuality by at least a light year than did the vaporings of the "Atlantic Charter"; for five years after defeat their worst fears were realized. Had it not been for Anglo-American panic that the Russians might end up with all of Germany as a satellite, the punitive program in Germany after the war might have gone on indefinitely. When Lawrence bumbled about "our humane peace terms," he created an embarrassment for the future of no small dimensions. But he was right in one prediction, when he declared, "We are to be part of the European orbit for generations to come."

It is indeed a tribute to the human powers for self-delusion that over 40 years after the event we still see books published which talk about the issuance of something called the "Atlantic Charter" and "signed" by Roosevelt and Churchill on a British warship off the coast of Newfoundland in August, 1941. What was originally a simple press release handed to a radio operator, and intended largely to be a diversion and concealment for what they had really talked about, quickly

became a noble document rivaling the Magna Carta, The Petition of Right, the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation. That there was no such document was admitted as early as 1944 but writers by the hundreds since that time wearily attest to there being a stately position-paper supposedly outlining the reverent state of affairs which was to prevail in perpetuity once the enemy of 1941 had been annihilated and the planet redeemed in a vast bath of hot lead and blood.

66. *U.S. News* (September 26, 1941), p. 12.
67. *U.S. News* (October 10, 1941), p. 6.
68. *Fortune* (August, 1941), pp. 46-47, 136-146.
69. Hopkins, "Hitler Won't Win," *American Magazine* (July, 1941), pp. 24-25, 123-124.
70. Hopkins, "The Inside Story of My Meeting With Stalin," *American Magazine* (December, 1941), pp. 14-15, 114-117. Political leadership of this kind largely explains the predicament of the West from mid-1945 on, but the beatification of Churchill in the Anglo-American press made criticism almost impossible. The ex post facto yarns about Churchill's attempts to recoup lost ground in 1943 and 1944 described a largely impossible situation.
71. *Newsweek* review in issue for September 1, 1941, p. 42. That by Roosevelt in *New York Herald Tribune Books* (September 14, 1941), p. 4. Roosevelt repeated in his review Lyons' criticism of the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* "for having given space deliberately or gullibly to radical reviewers," when in a few weeks both were to expand upon this practice many magnitudes.
72. *American Mercury* (August, 1941), pp. 135-143; Lyons was sure Stalin was going to be overthrown in a very short time.
73. *American Mercury* (November, 1941), pp. 583-589.
74. Pp. 5, 20. Said Eastman, echoing Lyons, "Stalin is the weaker of two gangster-tyrants, and common sense demands that we support him in his resistance to Hitler."
75. *New Masses* (December 9, 1941), p. 21.
76. *Newsweek* (September 8, 1941), p. 12. As a 100% creation of British intelligence services in the U.S.A., it must have been a little trying for the latter to gear up its fraudulent organization in this country against the Communists when at home Churchill and prominent people in his government were continuously huzzaing Stalin and the British home front was vociferously acclaiming all things Communist. But such difficulties were not discernible to the American public, the imposture having been executed so skillfully.
77. *Newsweek* (September 22, 1941), p. 9.
78. *U.S. News* (September 19, 1941), p. 13.
79. "Communist Muffling," *Newsweek* (September 15, 1941), p. 9.
80. There is ample evidence that the economic involvement of the U.S.A. in the war, 1940-1941, had as much to do with the steady involvement in the war as the economic aspect of Anglo-American affairs, 1915-1917 had with the entry into the war of that time, despite the steady efforts of a regiment of obscurantist academics to expunge this from the record.
81. *Time* (September 8, 1941), p. 10.
82. The first week of December, 1941 newspapers in the U.S.A. were printing pictures of weeping Russian peasants outside their burning homes, with the captions frankly ascribing such firings and the general destruction in the neighborhood to the Red Army. It was significant that no soldiers of either side appeared in these photographs, which suggested that the damage was being done to



the home front far behind the battle lines. See the general approval of this destruction by the Red Army in *Time* (September 1, 1941), pp. 22-23. On *Time's* reproduction of Stalinist propaganda from *Red Star* as "news," see the issue for September 8, 1941, p. 15.

83. *Time* (September 22, 1941), p. 52. This effusion was accompanied by a cheap, subtle attack on the music of Richard Wagner, though this time there was no suggestion for the extirpation of German music. For the embarrassingly fulsome description of the first performance of this new Shostakovich symphony in the U.S.A. see below.

84. *Time* (September 29, 1941), p. 12. Oswald Garrison Villard reported that the Legion's vote was "under direct pressure from President Roosevelt, according to Gov. Heil of Wisconsin, who was at the convention." "The Military Outlook," *Christian Century* (October 8, 1941), pp. 1240-1241.

85. *Christian Century* (September 24, 1941), p. 1190.

86. *Newsweek* (September 29, 1941), p. 10.

87. Mowrer, "44 Ways to Beat Hitler," *Look* (September 23, 1941), p. 10. *Look* became part of the liberal press with a vengeance in 1941, and as the wartime '40s wore on, it, more than the liberal literary weeklies, became the special organ for the more spectacular trial balloons of the liberal correspondents, columnists and radio commentators. The *Nation* gradually became the forum for European left wing refugees more than of any other attitudinal group, while even such a staid agency of Eastern Anglo-American-controlled financial voices and its associated world politics as *Foreign Affairs* opened its pages more and more year by year to pro-war leftist liberals, especially from the fall of 1941 on, when the various impulses for interventionism began to grow together, regardless of their differing strategies and objectives.

88. "Iranian Aftermath," *Time* (September 15, 1941), pp. 21-22.

89. *Newsweek* (September 1, 1941), p. 6.

90. *Time* (September 15, 1941), p. 18.

91. *New York Herald Tribune Books* (November 23, 1941), p. 18. Cripps was the founder of the London leftist paper *Tribune*, which, along with Laski's *Herald*, were far more the sources of British collectivist, and, at the same time, pro-Soviet, ideas, than any of the organs associated with left partisan sects.

92. *Look* (September 9, 1941), p. 38.

93. "Biz Meets Facts," *Time* (July 21, 1941), pp. 73-74.

94. Villard, "This Global War," *Christian Century* (September 10, 1941) pp. 1108-09. A decade and a half later, Wm. F. Buckley, Jr. and Brent Bozell and their associates were tormenting these same liberals with this identical language and rhetoric, only this time in promoting a war against the liberals' erstwhile Communist "allies," even if it meant "burning out the farthest star."

95. Villard, "The Military Outlook," *Christian Century* (October 8, 1941), pp. 1240-41.

96. On Dewey's views see Ruth Byrns, "John Dewey on Russia," *Commonweal* (September 18, 1941), pp. 511-513.

97. See Prof. Childs' letter to the *New York Times* for January 11, 1942, reprinted in *Frontiers of Democracy* for March 15, 1942.

98. "Progressives for War," *Time* (July 7, 1941), p. 48.

99. "Switch," *Time* (October 13, 1941), pp. 68-69. The colleges selected were Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Cornell, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Iowa, Chicago, Missouri, Minnesota, Northwestern and Stanford.

100. "Tanks and Thanks to Russia," *Time* (October 6, 1941), p. 25.
101. For this question and replies below see issue of October 17, 1941, pp. 28-30.
102. *U.S. News* (October 10, 1941), p. 48.
103. On above see *U.S. News* (October 24, 1941), pp. 9, 19.
104. *U.S. News* (November 28, 1941), p. 44.
105. See analysis in *Newsweek* (October 6, 1941), p. 30.
106. "Everybody for Freedom," *Time* (September 1, 1941), p. 53. A liberal fixation in particular during the war of 1939-1945 was the tendency to use the term "clerico-fascist" in describing the European enemy states, and to accuse their leaders at the same time of trying to abolish religion. It was essential to this ploy to ignore utterly the subventions enjoyed by the Christian churches in Hitler Germany, the special position of the Roman Catholic church in Mussolini Italy, and the favored status of the Church in Slovakia under Msgr. Tiso, as well as in Hungary and Rumania, let alone what prevailed in Franco Spain, an enemy in the eyes of the Stalinist-oriented liberals everywhere. This was a studied working of both sides of the street; the Russian Orthodox Church was fully behind Stalin, but no liberal was inclined to describe Soviet Russia as a "clerico-fascist" state.
107. This was proposed by Serge Bolshakoff in the London journal *The Month* (September-October, 1941): "Bolshevism is a *de facto* religion though without God." Bolshakoff explained that its main doctrine was that matter is eternal and mind only its derivative, in essence a pantheism akin to that of the evolutionists of recent vintage.
108. In a widely circulated statistic resulting from a poll in 1941 it was estimated that religious preferences of the U.S. Armed Forces were as follows: Protestant: 59%; Catholic: 31%; Jewish: 2%. Those expressing no preference were 8%. This was compared with a U.S. church membership survey in 1936 in which the breakdown was 55% Protestant, 37% Catholic and 8% Jewish.
109. "Peace Without Platitudes," *Time* (October 13, 1941), pp. 43-44, 46. *Time* excerpted this from a somewhat longer work which was published under the same title in *Fortune* (January, 1942), pp. 42-43, 87-90. It was of interest that Dulles mentioned the Soviet Union only once in this lengthy treatise, in an aside referring to the war with Finland in 1939-1940. Otherwise his critique of the new world order he saw taking place and the one he preferred to take place both had no Soviet Russia in them. It might be noted that his preferred future was couched in more platitudes than the Roosevelt-Churchill proposal wrapped in the "Atlantic Charter." Dulles' utter repudiation of the balance-of-power concept was his most striking contribution.
110. Liberal social democrat Marxists in the U.S.A. were always circumspect in the selling of Tillich, with the accent always on his function as a theologian of sorts. His political pedigree was usually masked until well after the war. Such works of his as *Die sozialistische Entscheidung* (Offenbach-am-Main, 1948) rarely surfaced in America.
111. Neibuhr's intellectual turncoatism on the subject of war was as spectacular as that of MacLeish. As an editor of the journal *The World Tomorrow* in the first half of the 1930s Neibuhr was famous for statements hostile to ever participating again in any war which might break out anywhere. This journal, heavily dominated by socialist and pacifist clergymen, devoted extensive space in its issue of May 10, 1934, summarizing a poll of 20,870 clergymen of 12 religious bodies in the U.S.A., nearly 13,000 of whom responded that they were determined "not to sanction or participate in any future war," according to the summation by Kirby Page (p. 222.) Niebuhr's separate statement was quite in harmony with this view.
112. There was no book such as Ray Hamilton Abrams' *Preachers Present Arms*,



the famous chronicle of clerical belligerence in World War One, after the end of World War Two. Though many had strong views on the subject, no class of educated persons exhibited less martial fervor during and after the war than the nation's clergy of all persuasions. This role was dominated by their long-time adversaries, the secular liberals, once determinedly pacifist, but steadily grown more affectionate for left-Marxist causes about the world. These latter easily outdistanced the bellicose divines of 1917-1918 in advocacy of American involvement in gore production, 1937-1945. Though there were a number of prominent clerical figures who lent their position and prestige to war propaganda, probably more English than Americans, there was little of the "holy war" aspect in their effort. Civilians dominated this latter emanation from the propaganda factories.

An outstanding characteristic, and probably the predominant one, of 20th century American liberalism, has been its notorious and almost comic selective indignation. Political policies and practices which have aroused deafening condemnation when employed by their enemies anywhere have been winked at, condoned and at times vociferously applauded when similarly put into effect by their friends. Minority control, total obliteration of civil rights, racist exclusion, sustained denial of majority rule, comprehensive terrorist suppression of rivals and adversaries, and the commission of mass murder and systematic political massacres, have all drawn their support and apologia or have been almost totally ignored for many decades. The identical programs, put into effect by enemies of liberalism, have excited a volume of disapprobation and condemnation which surely has been by decibel measurement heard in outer space.

**113.** *Time* (October 6, 1941), p. 77. The clever smearing of Quisling, for many years a prominent anti-Bolshevik in Norway, was probably the outstanding piece of character assassination achieved by Anglo-Russo-American propaganda in the entire war. Essential to any understanding of the magnitude of the savagery inflicted on Quisling personally and his systematic defamation in every other respect is the book by Ralph Hewins, *Quisling: Prophet Without Honor* (John Day, 1966). Hewins was a chastened major perpetrator of the literary outrages on Quisling.

**114.** "Power Politics," *Time* (October 13, 1941), p. 11. The story was illustrated with a Talburt cartoon from the *New York World Telegram* depicting a beaming Stalin wearing a halo marked "from F.D.R." Some idea of how the spreading of the war to Russia had scrambled the situation for Catholics can be understood by a study of the refugee German Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein's "Christian World Revolution" in the January, 1942 *Atlantic Monthly* (pp. 104-111), a tortured think piece trying to make a case for Catholics against Hitler, knowing the vast anti-Communist U.S. Catholic position. The presence of Stalin on the side of the otherwise sainted "Allies" was a bone in the craw of the pro-war liberal Catholic, especially, for the entire war.

Loewenstein, who fled Germany early after the triumph of Hitler, established a formidable pedigree as an author of anti-Hitler works in England and the U.S.A., some of them lengthy tomes which argued an idealistic Catholic conservative line, and dwelt upon a "new Germany" to come once the Nazis were destroyed. Among these were *The Tragedy of a Nation* (London: Faber; New York: Macmillan, 1934) and *After Hitler's Fall* (London: Faber; New York: Macmillan, 1935). The first had an introduction by Henry Wickham Steed, and was used as a piece of anti-German propaganda by the English war party. Loewenstein found out after 1945 what kind of a Germany his Anglo-American hosts were interested in, and his views in the 1950s were far different as a consequence.

**115.** "Pointing to the Record," *U.S. News* (October 10, 1941), pp. 28-29.

**116.** *U.S. News* (October 17, 1941), p. 25; this entry repeated the *Herald Tribune's* criticism of "whitewashing the Kremlin," an indication that there were limits even to this major affluent Anglophile organ's accelerating receptivity to pro-Stalinist puffs.

117. "Are the Four Freedoms a Delusion?" *Christian Century* (October 15, 1941), pp. 1262-64.

118. "An Issue Without Substance," *New Masses* (October 14, 1941), p. 21.

119. *Time* (October 13, 1941), pp. 20-21, for the comment on the formation of the "Anti-Hitler Front." The Stockholm paper *Aftonbladet* in September, 1939 printed replies made by the Comintern to Swedish Communists querying on grand strategy, of which the following were especially significant:

Q. How can a world revolution be evolved rapidly?

A. By a long war, according to the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Q. Is a European war apt to promote the interests of the Comintern?

A. Yes.

Q. Can a Russo-German pact promote the outbreak of war?

A. Yes.

This material was reprinted in *Life* magazine in the U.S.A. also in September, 1939.

120. *Newsweek* (October 13, 1941), pp. 54, 59.

121. *Time* (October 20, 1941), p. 15. The feature story on Russian aid was on pp. 13-14 of this issue.

122. *Time* (October 27, 1941), p. 17. "Anti-fascist" propaganda long had it both ways. Hitler Germany and German-occupied lands in Europe were systematically described as a fearful animal cage in which no one made a move unless under observance by the German home state security police, the Gestapo. At the same time this propaganda reported on scores of books by escapees by every imaginable route, whose authors described additional thousands of escapees of every imaginable station of life.

123. *Time* (October 27, 1941), pp. 24-26.

124. Probably the earliest notice of the impending publication of Davies' book was in the "Turns with a Bookworm" column written by Isabel M. Paterson, in the *New York Herald Tribune Books* issue of October 26, 1941, p. 30.

125. *New Masses* (October 28, 1941), p. 5.

126. A nearly full page advertisement of this celebration was run in the *New Masses* (October 28, 1941), p. 25.

127. *New Masses* (November 4, 1941), p. 22, for this and above references.

128. *Fortune* (October, 1941), p. 105. The people responding to this poll apparently were questioned in August, 1941.

What the attitudinal situation was in the U.S.A. from December, 1941 to the end of August, 1945 has to be looked at from two perspectives. If one follows the book publishers, most by far of the magazines, newspapers, the polls and the radio, it was substantially to the left. But this was mainly deceptive, a thin icing over a vast national community in factories and in the armed forces, which was largely untouched by all of this. When their views were allowed to leak out under anonymous auspices and circumstances, they indicated anything but a desire for a stunning new style postwar leftist world. If anything this majority of the national community expressed a yearning for a return to the prewar situation as closely as it could be approximated. The transparent politics of the poll takers and the majority of the mouthpieces of radio and print seemed to act upon those holding to the former sentiment as a warning to remain in an underground.

129. Chamberlin, "America Faces the Iron Age," *Christian Century* (October 29, 1941), pp. 1331-34. It is hard to find even a few lines of realistic political writing in the six months prior to U.S. involvement in World War II on the subject of Stalinist Russia and its stake and likely part in a world victorious over Germany, Italy and Japan. There are hundreds of pieces everywhere by people concerned with the



future threat of Hitler to the U.S.A, much shuddering over the possibility of Nazi "domination of the world," but also almost as much synthetic advice on what had to be done to Germany when the British won the war. Scores of postwar visions contained only the Anglo-American powers, and never any Communists. One of the best indicators of this near-total discount of Russian Communism in the future was the long think-piece by Raoul de Roussy de Sales, a pet French propagandist of the moment, in his "Socialism and the Future," in the *Atlantic Monthly* (December, 1941, pp. 694-704), largely an account of the vastly preferable collectivism of the Roosevelt New Deal to those represented by the various socialisms of more dogmatic sort, as the pattern for a future planetary order. Enthused de Roussy de Sales,

It may be that by siding with the democracies (much against his will) Stalin will eventually save the independence of his country and his own regime. But, even if he should sit among the victors, it will not be in the capacity of the head of Communism and world revolution, but as the national leader of the Russian people. I do not say that a joint victory of the United States, England and the USSR will mean necessarily the disappearance of Communist rule in Russia, but if there is to be a new international order after this war (provided it is not Hitler's) those who will give shape to this order are men like Roosevelt and Churchill or their successors—not Stalin. (p. 699)

The short-circuiting of this grandiose kind of dream, which was expressed in printed and oratorical form thousands of times, 1941-1945, when the "victors" finally "sat," was achieved with most of these same intellectual opinion-making prophets observing with mouths agape wondering what had happened. But the likes of de Roussy de Sales is what the wartime American intellectual was brought up on.

130. Editorial, "Canterbury Sees Moscow In a New Light," *Christian Century* (October 22, 1941), pp. 1291-92.

131. Editorial, *Christian Century* (November 12, 1941), pp. 1399-1401. On Niebuhr's turnaround from non-belligerent to warrior see note 111, above. One might profit from comparing the sophisticated differences between Niebuhr's statements in the pre-war 1930s in such as *The World Tomorrow*, for example, and the more transparently pro-Soviet *Nation*.

132. Editorial, "Clergy Poll," *Commonweal* (October 31, 1941), pp. 37-38.

133. "Catholic Clergy Vote Against War," *Christian Century* (October 29, 1941), pp. 1323-24.

134. *Time* (December 1, 1941), p. 44. There was a similar recruitment of interventionist preachers by Kenneth Leslie, editor of the *Protestant Digest*, a petition signed by 1000 Protestant clergymen, calling for increased aid to the "anti-Hitler" forces in the world. The increasingly pro-Stalinist orientation of this journal became the subject of steadily mounting attention in the closing two years of the war and after.

The clever Anglo-American propaganda ploy of selling their respective populaces on a war against only Hitler personally and the "Nazi tyranny" involved ineluctably a war for the mass destruction of millions of Germans who were not Nazis and were not particularly enchanted by Hitler. In this way was their basic Germanophobia concealed under high-sounding verbiage and empty, wordy "principles." In the same way the fiercely pro-war Communists and their ardent liberal allies had not the slightest compunction about the urban massacres by Allied saturation strategic bombing, which obliterated many German fellow Marxists. In reality their pretension about Marxist ideology was an utter fraud, in that they looked upon the annihilation of presumably blood-brother ideologues with considerable relish, and gloated over it thousands of times. The ultimate advantage

of this concealed program of ethnic mass murder was postponed until that stage of victory was reached where atrocity propaganda came to the fore to guide postwar policy; the ascribing to the enemy of what has befallen him is the essence of successful atrocity propaganda.

135. Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid*, p. 136.

136. It may be a long time before Americans see again the kind of personal courage demonstrated by Lindbergh in his campaign against the Roosevelt Administration's war-bound drive. Defenders of FDR who have perennially lamented their champion's abuse by the nation's press are hard put to produce anything to compare with the venomous attack on Lindbergh, which actually continued in one way or another for over 30 years, until his death in Hawaii in 1973. In the 1947-1957 period it became a verbal reflex of sobered liberals to complain heatedly of "guilt by association" in the numerous investigations of sustained pro-Stalinist activism on their part in the previous decade. Some might have remembered profitably the grossly malicious allegations by Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, that Lindbergh was acting in the best interests of Adolf Hitler by urging a policy of neutrality.

137. *Time* (September 8, 1941), pp. 12-13.

138. *Time* (August 11, 1941), p. 10.

139. "The Unsilenced," *Time* (September 8, 1941), pp. 12-13.

140. *Time* (October 6, 1941), pp. 18-20.

141. The evolution of thinking about the weekly newsmagazines as truthful, impartial and reliable sources is not the subject of this study. Much of their reputation along such lines accrued as a result of their phenomenal growth during World War II, by which times they were all mainly transmission belts for official governmental views and had engaged in extremely drastic self-censorship. In the immediate pre-war period they were ceaselessly shifting about, searching for stances from which to operate, though becoming weekly a more and more pro-official or "establishment" organ in each case, a situation which was undoubtedly inevitable, given their socio-economic origins.

In the case of *Time*, which engaged in the most bald-faced efforts at posing as a detached observer of affairs, its protestation that it had no ax to grind was enough to tickle almost any political funny-bone. The exigencies of following the American Century line of its founder and owner, Henry Luce, produced much the same problems as those facing any ideological journal, though the results were more variable. Some weekly issues were detached and realistic, while others were such obvious propaganda for their pet views and causes that the management could have given away crowns and pounds to *Pravda* or *Volkischer Beobachter* and still have had them squirming with jealous admiration.

*Time's* politics were not entirely visible, but it appeared to yearn for a situation resulting from a homogenization of U.S. majority political parties, and the regrouping of them into two different bodies, the American Century supporters for global intervention indefinitely, and the wizened little remnant an "isolationist" sect, existing only to put up token opposition at elections, to give the illusion that operationally the country had not become a one-party state such as was abominated when seen elsewhere in the world.

In their June 9 issue the editors had declared that "every man is a propagandist, whether he knows it or not." When this was questioned by a correspondent as to whether this also applied to *Time*, the editors expanded upon it in this manner: "*Time* makes no claim to being unbiased and impartial." "But *Time* does set as its goal to be fair in reporting and never takes sides in partisan affairs." (July 14, 1941, pp. 2-3.) This howler was of course simply superb double-think; its side-taking in "partisan affairs" was already blatant and widely-recognized. A good example dealt with the matter of whether the country should support Roosevelt's obvious



pro-war policies or not. The latter had long been tagged with the pejorative epithet "isolationist." And even *Time* recognized it was a traditional view of lengthy standing in the U.S.; "The doctrine of U.S. isolationism has a long and honorable past," it admitted (October 6, 1941, p. 19). But what irked the editors and owner at that moment was its effectiveness in frustrating the political and journalistic warriors and their many elite and affluent fellow travelers, in banking, business, industry and the universities.

It was bad enough to put up with labor figures, disaffected liberals and anti-communist leftists, influential pacifists such as Paul Comly French, the likes of Edmund Wilson, Norman Thomas and John L. Lewis, the Writers' Anti-War Bureau, the Keep America Out of War Congress, the Womens' League for Peace and Freedom, and many other related groups and personalities. Even more formidable and surely more effective were the America First Committee and the immensely influential newspaper groups headed by Col. Robert R. McCormick, Joseph Patterson and William Randolph Hearst, Sr.

Many found it riotously funny to see *Time* berating and belaboring the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst press as "news-slanting." In reporting foreign affairs, no one stood ahead of the American Century press when it came to "news-slanting" on U.S. foreign policy and international relations. *Time* was enlisted in the war on Germany and Japan long before the rest of the country, and steadily reported anti-war neutralist activity as though it were barely a non-criminal enterprise. As late as six days before the Pearl Harbor attack, *Time* had lambasted McCormick's extremely influential *Chicago Tribune* as "unsurpassed for furious bias since frontier journalism" (Dec. 1, 1941; pp. 60-64.) In this incredible piece of complex hypocrisy, *Time* omitted any criticism of the other two major Chicago newspapers, the blatantly pro-war tabloid owned by the millionaire Marshall Field, the *Sun*, and the *Daily News*, owned by Roosevelt's own Secretary of the Navy, the wealthy Col. Frank Knox, as equally guilty of "furious bias" on the same subject. Of course, *Time* itself was the most clearly identified printed source in the major periodical press in which "news-slanting" in behalf of the pro-war camp was recognizable policy; it probably did more with the verbal reflexes "isolationist" and "internationalist" (its preferred euphemism for "interventionist") of all organs of printed communication in the U.S.

142. *Time* (November 3, 1941), pp. 21-22.

143. *Newsweek* (November 3, 1941), p. 20.

144. See especially the lead editorial in the *New Masses* (November 11, 1941), p. 21, for one of these.

145. Lamont, "What Americans Are Learning," *New Masses* (November 11, 1941), pp. 3-40.

146. See especially quotes on pages 19 and 31 in the November 17, 1941 issue of *Time*. In the first of these *Time* quoted from Hitler's speech in the second week of November in which he referred to Churchill as "the crazy drunkard who for years now has been ruling England." The reason for the almost offensively fulsome adulation of Stalin was not discernible, nor was it ever so. There were no counter-demonstrations of affection for England anywhere in Russia then, nor were there ever any. Fighting their own war for their own objectives, one might have understood that there was no compulsion among Russians to demonstrate "solidarity" with the English; the members of the non-Russian Comintern could be depended upon to engage in any public effusions of such sentiment thought necessary. At home in Moscow, all was business, Russian business. But if anything, there should have been recognition among Russians that English help was more important to them than any Russian help to the English. The latter was microscopic, other than the function the Eastern Front played in diverting part of the German air force from English targets; but even here the assistance was more imagined than real.

147. *New Masses* (November 11, 1941), p. 19, for quotations cited below.

148. Cot's political pedigree was expertly obfuscated by American liberals until the publication of his biography of Marx in the symposium *The Torch of Freedom* (Farrar and Rinehart, 1943), edited by Emil Ludwig and Henry B. Kranz. This revelation by Cot was sufficient to pinpoint his *Front Populaire* sentiments, if his occasional essays in *The Protestant* were insufficient illumination.

149. "What's Behind the Urals?" *U.S. News* (November 14, 1941), p. 19.

150. "The Yeas and the Nays," *U.S. News* (November 7, 1941), p. 49.

151. Lawrence, "Hitler Defeats Hitler," *U.S. News* (November 14, 1941), pp. 20-21. Lawrence was one of the most strident voices in the U.S.A. complaining why nothing had been done about "aggression" by Japan since 1931 and by Germany since 1933. He continued this well after the European war began. However, he was one of the very last to see Stalinist Russia a threat or an "aggressor." As a prognosticator of trouble in this quarter he had one of the poorest records in American journalism.

152. *Time* (November 10, 1941), pp. 29-30. Mass journalism tends to put its moguls into a position vis-a-vis the State where their conversion into commissar types is almost inevitable.

153. *Newsweek* (November 17, 1941), p. 22. Roosevelt sent the note pledging a billion dollars in lend-lease aid to the Reds on the 24th anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's severance of diplomatic relations with the Bolsheviks in 1917, and Litvinov (see note below), whom Wilson refused to accept as the first Red ambassador to the U.S., was appointed Stalin's new U.S. ambassador the same day, a matter of odd timing which called to mind to a few the 180-degree turn of U.S. liberalism on the Bolsheviks in a quarter of a century.

The ecstatic rehabilitation of Litvinov as a result of his restoration to good odor in the Soviet diplomatic bureaucracy with his appointment to America led to several kinds of rejoicing among the non-Communist fellow travelers and ardent well-wishers of the USSR in the U.S.A. One of the consequences was a re-raking over of the dramatic events of 1937-1939, as the Soviet ploy of "collective security" and the "popular front" collapsed, leading to the refusal of Americans to back Roosevelt in his "quarantine the aggressors" trial balloon of October, 1937, then the Munich agreement of September, 1938 and the diplomatic revolution of August, 1939, the immediate precursor but not necessarily the trigger of the hostilities which ensued the following month.

One of the most comprehensive was that by the veteran Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, Walter Duranty, whose pedigree as a friend of the USSR was outranked by very few. His lengthy commentary was delayed in publication ("He Who Got Slapped," *Collier's*, January 3, 1942, pp. 12, 39-40) but got an exposure before a subscriber total of nearly 3,000,000 Americans, and probably millions of others as well, something no Communist could have expected to achieve in a number of lifetimes. Inspired by the proceedings at the Nov. 7, 1941 Soviet Embassy reception on the 24th anniversary of the "Soviet National Birthday," Duranty, who had met Litvinov as far back as 1919, proceeded to lavish praise on the latter as the father of the whole "collective security" gambit between 1934 and 1939. Rejoicing that Americans were becoming so voluble in their praise of the Red Army's loudly advertised resistance to the German invasion, Duranty undertook to scold those who had abandoned the pro-Soviet positions earlier.

Duranty reasserted once more that the real victim of the Munich pact between the French and British, represented by Daladier (and Bonnet, the actual French diplomat on the scene) and Chamberlain, and the Germans, led by Hitler, was the Soviet Union, and the Czechs secondarily. Though the majority of even Communist-hating "conservatives" adopted the Red pejorative term "appeasement" (claimed to have been his invention by the British Communist Claude



Cockburn) to describe Munich, a demonstration of political ignorance which must have kept Communists about the world laughing for the last 45 years, it should be pointed out that the Stalinists and their friends were considerably more astute in seeing the real dimensions of the Daladier-Chamberlain-Hitler proceedings in Munich. A vigorous assertion that the Munich operation was first of all an anti-Communist agreement was made by Charles A. Davila, former Rumanian minister to the U.S., some months later, but buried in the back pages of the *Nation* (July 25, 1942, p. 80.) It was the substance of Davila's view that had the "democracies" "stood" with the Czechs at Munich that the Red Army would have been in Central Europe in a matter of days. This could be divined by a straining of Duranty's prose as well. In his high acclaim of what he called Litvinov's "greatest speech" before the League of Nations at Geneva, Duranty pointed out that in essence it was "a fruitless attempt to convince the French and British delegates that Russia would adhere with all its influence, and force of arms if need be, to its pledge to aid Czechoslovakia." (emphasis added.) How any support for the Czechs could have been supplied by anyone except Stalin was not imagined then, and in view of what happened in Poland a year later, could hardly have been imagined by anyone later.

A loud and substantial part of the American Right in recent times has wanted it both ways; they have pushed for an unremitting anti-Communist program and at the same time have mouthed the Left revulsion for the Munich pact, using the same descriptive catcalls as the Communists and fellow travelers they pretend to abominate. (Somehow or other they have managed to overlook that in France with the exception of the political exotic Henri de Kerillis, the only opponents of Daladier on Munich in the Chamber of Deputies were the 75 Communists.)

Despite this long-standing verbal dust cloud, through which few have been able to peer, the French-British decision at Munich had much good to say for it. It was consistent with their Russian policy from at least 1933 as well, since "standing" with the Czechs would not only have opened the gates of Central Europe to the Red Army; such a decision would have placed them in accedence to old Soviet frontier rectification demands. By bellowing in unison with the Left over Munich, the Right, particularly that in America, have voted in favor of the Red Army being in 1938 where they eventually were, thanks to their American "allies," in 1945.

The major ingredient of the Cold War for nearly 40 years has consisted of *ex post facto* American remorse over this consequence, and the wearisome and only feebly successful rebuilding of a power concentrate in what is left of non-Communist Europe to match off against a Communist saturation of total power in Central and Eastern Europe, to which tacit approval was tendered long before Yalta. It may be that the Anglo-French position was hopeless, and that the small countries fabricated at Versailles and after, lying between Germany and Russia, extending from Finland to the Black Sea, were doomed to either German or Russian interference. But on the face of it, Chamberlain and Daladier emerge as towering figures of wisdom compared to Churchill, Duff Cooper, Lord Halifax, Lord Lothian, Anthony Eden and Robert Vansittart, and the likes of Attlee, Cripps, Bevin, Shinwell and Morrison. Concessions to Germany resulted in undesirable consequences, but the former did not bring the Red Army into Central Europe, which is what the logic of the challenge to Germany called for. One can throw up barrels of stale propaganda accusations of German intentions to "conquer the world," but until pressured to do otherwise, the Anglo-French policies down to the end of March, 1939 still pitted German ambitions against those of the Soviet, allowing themselves a position to move about, at least relatively, as to their best interests. Once the commitment to support either the Germans or Russians was made, the outcome was predictable and often predicted: either a German- or Russian-dominated Central Europe. The long-range vision of the Churchill wing of British leadership is that they preferred Russian to German, and they promptly got it. Churchill's opening of the Cold War with his March, 1946 speech at Fulton, Missouri is the perfect testament to his political myopia.

A related rumination of the time, and since reiterated in many hundreds of books and thousands of smaller pieces, is that if only the British and French and the American people had backed Roosevelt in his "quarantine" doctrine of October, 1937 (Actually fully developed by Stalinists a good 2½ years before FDR's speech in Chicago), Hitler, intimidated, would have evaporated in fear, the Germans would have slunk home and cowered in their basements, and a Central Europe tailored to Anglo-Franco-American specifications and desires would have prevailed in perpetuity. This theme is always built on a foundation of theoretical statecraft from which the Soviet Union is always omitted. Therefore the possibility of a German-Russian agreement *à la* that of August, 1939, but occurring well before it, is breezily ignored and never considered. If being checked by a British policy turnabout in late March, 1939 led to the Pakt five months later, is there any reason that adoption of a similar line in October, 1937 might not have brought about a diplomatic revolution resembling the Pakt but, say, in March, 1938?

Again, the upholders of the above-mentioned strategy to "contain" Hitler wish not to confront the obvious: the Anglo-French and their moral supporters in America were through in Central Europe, and that it was a matter of whether they would support the Germans or the Russians in this region. The entry of the Americans directly in the situation as a consequence of the military events of 1944-1945 did not alter this at all. From a European point of view it has been a nuisance at best, and a replacement of an inept and impotent Anglo-French policy by one which has yet to be demonstrated to be very much better. American Cold War "containment" simply put the problem into suspended animation for a generation, and now going on to another. One might summarize the U.S.A. apologetic satirically as follows: it was a lovely, noble, righteous war; if only the Communists, with whom we were in such exalted wartime partnership, had not tried to gain anything out of the victory and allowed the spoils to accrue to their Western "partners," all would be well in the world.

154. "Mr. Wallach Goes to Washington," *Time* (November 17, 1941), pp. 23-24; "Litvinoff's Return," *Time* (December 8, 1941), p. 29. Still others identified Litvinoff as originally Moysheev Vallakh, the son of a Jewish bank clerk in Bialystok, Russia. His employment record, 1908-1918, prior to his emergence as a Bolshevik bureaucrat reputedly involved work as a clerk, draftsman, newspaper reporter and traveling salesman, supposedly for a corset manufacturer. Those who jeered at the German Foreign Minister, Joachim Ribbentrop, as a one-time wine salesman neglected to point out that one of their diplomat heroes had also spent much time on the road.

155. Associated Press report, in *Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph*, December 11, 1941, p. 11. The steadily accelerating propaganda from pro-Soviet spokesmen in the U.S.A. of all kinds from 1941 on, stressing Soviet faithfulness to their given word, always skipped rapidly past the expulsion of the USSR from the League of Nations on December 14, 1939 for carrying on the war with Finland in the first place.

156. "There Goes Finland," *Time* (November 17, 1941), p. 15.

157. Lawrence, "'Loyal Opposition'—Where?" *U.S. News* (July 4, 1941), pp. 18-19.

158. *U.S. News* (July 25, 1941), inside back cover.

159. *U.S. News* (August 22, 1941), p. 23.

160. *Colorado Springs Gazette*, November 1, 1941, p. 4.

161. *Time* (September 15, 1941), p. 16.

162. *Time* (October 27, 1941), p. 13. In the summer of 1941 the National Resources Planning Board published a pamphlet titled "After Defense—What?" This suggested that this top-level think tank looked upon the flood of defense



spending as a short term phenomenon, and that its unemployment blotter effect would be short lived, thus requiring a new impulse, unlike either the New Deal or "defense spending" to perform the function of putting Americans to work. That a succession of wars, followed by a succession of defense programs, would serve to postpone this problem, which the NRPB saw shaping up right away, did not cross the minds of the eminent economic savants.

163. *U.S. News* (October 10, 1941), p. 48. Roosevelt was reputed to be "greatly amused" at the "violently unfavorable" reaction to this proposal from "many Congressmen who once favored keeping the profits out of war." Another remarkable somersault had been performed by a sector of American opinion in five years, as it began to sink home what some of the economic consequences of gearing up the "arsenal of democracy" portended for local districts.

164. *Time* (December 8, 1941), p. 28.

165. One of the almost forgotten episodes of the earliest years of the Bolshevik upheaval was that associated with the mining engineer Washington B. Vanderlip, representing a mainly Los Angeles-based investor group seeking from Lenin a mining lease on Kamchatka. Vanderlip, who declared to Americans that the "Red terror" was simply propaganda and was not taking place, drew a remarkable amount of space in the American newspapers from October, 1920 on into 1922.

166. "What Mr. Batt Saw in Russia," *U.S. News* (November 21, 1941), p. 15, for above observations. The near-panic attached to "defense" beginning in the early summer of 1940 and the sharp turnaround from criticism to accolades for industrial war production was not without its problems. There was a largely concealed struggle between the incumbent New Deal bureaucrats of the top rank, reluctantly doffing domestic reform for planetary martial roles, and the newly perfumed industrial moguls recruited for the job of mass-producing billions of dollars of all kinds of weapons, sometimes referred to as the "dollar-a-year" men. These top executives entered quasi-government service presumably waiving federal compensation, though the immense revenue accruing to their companies via arms contracts seemed not to be a subject worth discussing publicly. The subject of dispute over the pressure to produce for Stalin was even more concealed, though it can be assumed to have had some influence in these conflicts over direction of policy. An interesting contemporary book over this fight at the top was Carlisle Barger's *Confusion on the Potomac* (Wilfred Funk), attacked in *Foreign Affairs* but otherwise reviewed in a commendatory way, even a year after publication (1942).

167. *Time* (November 24, 1941), p. 87. A week before the Pearl Harbor attack, an organization of American interventionists, the Associated Leagues for a Declared War, had named James W. Gerard, the U.S. ambassador to Germany during the early years of World War One, as their honorary chairman. Gerard took on the symbolic post, declaring that "the time had come to declare a state of war with Germany." Associated Press report, *Colorado Springs Gazette*, December 1, 1941, p. 1. But the way things were going in terms of public disaffection for initiated belligerency, it might have been a very long wait for ex-Ambassador Gerard and the Associated Leagues had not the welcome assault by Japan a week later brought about the dearly-desired war declaration.

168. *Time* (December 8, 1941), p. 25.

169. "Nice Old Gentleman," *Time* (December 1, 1941), p. 25.

170. *Time* (December 8, 1941), p. 20.

171. *New Masses* (December 9, 1941), p. 19. Willkie's gratuitous volunteering of the opinion that the *Communist Manifesto* was "one of the great historical documents" earned him the criticism of Rep. Paul Schafer of Michigan on the floor of the House of Representatives. It was a strange testimonial to hear from the lips of a well-to-do corporation lawyer.

**171a.** The largest part of the justification for American involvement in World War II has been *ex post facto*; on the basis of what happened after hostilities were joined, participation has been hailed as vindicated, and all ensuing and subsequent policies have been explained as the ultimate in rectitude.

This became progressively a convention, in the generation after the war, when repeated publication of information and previously suppressed documentation and memoirs revealed, for instance, that the pretense of neutrality on the part of the Roosevelt administration was a garment, not a tissue, of lies, and that it was an arm of Britain almost from the beginning of the war. In a similar way, the sustained revelation of mendacity all during the war was increasingly and often vociferously hailed as justified in view of the alleged monstrousness of the enemy's subsequent behavior. That little of this would have ever taken place had the war been terminated on a negotiated basis, as was possible on many occasions, is rarely if ever allowed to enter into the account. It is always a convenient rationalization to claim nobility for one's behavior at one moment by calling attention to specious factors at a later time which appear to give ersatz righteousness to the initiating action. The clever ploy of provoking a response, in order to justify what is done in reaction to it, and which was intended or hoped for to begin with, is hardly a novel device in the history of statecraft, however.

**172.** Sen. Norris quoted in *Newsweek* (October 27, 1941), p. 16. The opinion of Sen. Norris was actually quite widespread, and undoubtedly accounted to a serious degree for the intractability of the Administration toward Japan, and the unwillingness to negotiate anything; the attitude seemed to be that one does not have to compromise with weak inferiors. The widely read commentator on military and naval matters, Major George Fielding Eliot, urged war on Japan in his column, and in other writings; "We have but to stir a finger, and they will sustain such a defeat as they will not recover from this side of total ruin," is the way he confidently stated the matter. Roosevelt was known to have a very low opinion of Japan as a naval power, while liberal and Communist opinion makers vaulted back and forth on the subject, portraying Japan as an invincible juggernaut, especially threatening to Stalinist Siberia and the future of Communism in China, and, alternately, as a thin shell of superficial strength but with "feet of clay," easily destroyed by a Western military foray whenever the latter made up their mind to confront them. One should be aware of the incredible opportunities that lay in the hands of those interested in misleading and lying to the American public about Japan, in these times. Those non-Japanese Americans who had a real command of Japanese were estimated by Archibald MacLeish, the chief of the American propaganda services, to be only three of a total U.S.A. populace of nearly 135,000,000. The editors of *Publishers Weekly* were a little more generous in their estimate; they concluded there were about 100. See "Global War Demands New Skills in Foreign Languages," *Publishers Weekly* (September 26, 1942), p. 1192, for the quote from MacLeish, and their estimate. An absorbing summary of contemporary misconceptions about the Japanese is the section "Prodding Japan into War," in Porter Sargent's *Getting US into War* (Boston, 1941), pp. 525-545.

**173.** *Time* (November 10, 1941), p. 13.

**174.** *Time* (December 8, 1941), p. 11.

**175.** Abend, "How the U.S. Navy Will Fight Japan," *Look* (November 18, 1941), pp. 20-21.

Part of the over-confidence in the sureness of a swift victory in a matter of a few weeks over Japan in any likely war, which was almost universal (financial "experts" did not think Japan had enough money to fight more than two months), was a result of many decades of belief that Japanese industrial quality was extremely poor, partially due to the experience of seeing nothing but toys, Christmas tree ornaments and electric light bulbs in American shops. Many years of hilarious stories had gone around describing Japanese naval vessels as comic craft at best.



One of the great yarns which was retold with many novelty decorations concerned a Japanese dreadnought which allegedly turned turtle and sank upon its launching, because it had been faultily constructed from stolen plans previously tampered with by U.S. or British agents. This was revealed after Pearl Harbor to have been only a torpedo boat, the *Tomoduru*, which tipped over because of overloading with guns and torpedo tubes, when it had insufficient displacement, according to *Time* (December 22, 1941), p. 24.

176. An amazingly large number of people in public communications in the U.S. complacently expected that the prying loose of Japan from the British, French and Dutch colonies in the Far East would be followed by a genial and uneventful restoration, after the entry of the U.S. into the Pacific War, in the same way their colleagues dealing with the war in Europe expected pro-British or pro-French regimes to return to control of the region between Germany and Russia. Part of this mindless complacency was due to the widely-encouraged belief that the Western powers were deeply loved in the Orient by all except the Japanese, partially due to generations of Sinophile sentiments encouraged by missionaries, among other things. In harmony with this was an incredible piece in *Time* two weeks after the Pearl Harbor bombing, "How to Tell Your Friends From the Japs" (December 22, 1941, p. 33), which was worse than no tipsheet at all in aiding distinguishing one sub-racial group of Orientals from another.

The entry of the United States into World War II via the Pearl Harbor attack triggered another development which had bittersweet responses in both the business community and the consumer public: the machinery of price controls, rationing and many other nagging harassments which so bedevilled those subject to them and so elated those who made and administered them. Frustrated by the failure of domestic New Deal agencies to loose the controls upon the land, so dear to the controllers among the bureaucratic multitude employed in its police actions, the war brought about the regulators' dream. It now became high patriotic duty to govern and regulate the citizenry's tastes, and massive doses of sumptuary legislation soon flowed out, to the delight of the element made responsible for applying it. The agency primarily involved, the Office of Price Administration, soon became the most hated agency of the entire war, and was loaded down with the haughtiest and most insufferable people that the general populace had to put up with for the next five years. Particularly offensive to a growing number was its first chief, Leon Henderson, despite continuous efforts in the mass media to sell him as an economic giant. The glamor portrait in the *U.S. News* (May 8, 1942, pp. 14-15), titled "Leon Henderson, Boss of Our Economy," had many counterparts. Eventually he simply had to be replaced in the interests of domestic war morale and societal tranquillity, by a somewhat less abrasive personality, Chester Bowles.

Usually ignored were the army of underlings gathered around Henderson, delighted by the enhanced aura of their collective egos, and they may have done as much to annoy and infuriate the national community as their boss, if not more so. Most prominent of these was John Kenneth Galbraith, Henderson's deputy administrator, a one time professor of economics at Princeton University and an editor of Luce's business mouthpiece magazine, *Fortune*, in the mid-1930s. "Tall, towering" Galbraith, as *U.S. News* described him, had been in the OPA prior to Pearl, and was credited by *Time* (December 22, 1941, pp. 33-34) for swiftly instituting the legislation, apparently prepared well before, which made it virtually impossible for Americans to procure new automobile tires, just days after the Hawaii attack. Thus a new occupation was made possible for organized crime, and the Mafia sequestered many billions directing the national campaign of supplying those goods which the OPA managers decreed were not to be purchased legally by the citizenry, or which they were to have only in very limited supply. This story has yet to be told, though much of the lunacy of the program of price controls and rationing has been described with great effectiveness by Professor Fred Shannon in his *America's Economic Growth* (Macmillan, 1951). A notable list of future

luminaries from the legal world and the economics professoriat worked at one time or another for the OPA, including future Nobel Prize winner Milton Friedman and future President Richard M. Nixon.

177. *U.S. News* (December 19, 1941), p. 13.

178. "Far-Flung Strategy to Defeat Japanese," *U.S. News* (December 26, 1941), p. 11. An amusing by-product of the abstention of Soviet Russia from the Pacific War was the reaction of some elements of the American Left which traditionally abominated the USSR, especially the Socialists long led by Norman Thomas. He insisted that the U.S.A. should have declared war on just Japan as a consequence of Pearl Harbor, and not given Stalin a windfall by going to war with his enemies in Europe as well, since he had not reciprocated by adding Japan to the Soviet war opponents. The *New Masses* was deeply offended by Thomas' proposition, and denounced him as a "Quisling Socialist." *New Masses* (January 6, 1942), p. 19.

179. "Litvinoff's Problem," *Time* (December 22, 1941), p. 14, contained the most succinct of the expert evasions of Stalin's newest ambassador to the U.S.A. on the absence of a two-front war in Soviet views of the world situation. (The continuous application by Stalinist flacks of the pejorative "gangster" to its enemies became somewhat wearying especially to the scattered and dispersed enemies of the regime, who considered that the nearest thing to a "gangster" regime in international politics, in terms of legitimacy, was that descended from Lenin and Trotsky and administered at that moment by Stalin.)

180. Wide World press service report, in *Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph*, January 18, 1942, p. 1. From a cultural point of view, the music of World War Two probably reached a new low in quality. From Russia came pretentious compositions which were mainly organized noise, while the output of the West, from both sides of the battle lines, consisted largely of senseless ditties or ballads so treacly sentimental that they were largely an incitation to desertion. As things turned out, there was a heavy reliance on the popular music and jazz of the West prior to the phase of American involvement, which even proved to be true in the case of the enemy in the Far East; dependence on recordings of earlier vintage was commonplace on radio in most war sectors.

The effort of the music industry in the U.S.A. to produce quality propaganda songs was quite dismal (World War Two was not the singing war that World War One was). An incredibly bad pro-Stalinist song, "If That's Propaganda, Make the Most of It," was composed expressly for a Russian War Relief Benefit in the fall of 1941 by Harold Arlen and Ira Gershwin; *Time* published its lyrics (November 3, 1941, p. 51) while remarking that "Tin Pan Alley has now gone at least halfway to town for Russia." A tune with some of the entire war's silliest lyrics, "Any Bonds Today," composed by Irving Berlin, was actually copyrighted by Treasury Secretary Morgenthau (*Time*, December 22, 1941, p. 55.) But the depths were plumbed by the Pearl Harbor attack, which resulted in the launching of the following: "They Asked For It," "You're a Sap, Mr. Jap," "The Japs Haven't a Chinaman's Chance," "The Sun Will Soon Be Setting for the Land of the Rising Sun," "We Did It Before and We Can Do It Again," "Remember Pearl Harbor," "So We'll Knock the Japs Right Into the Laps of the Nazis," "They Started Something But We're Gonna End It," "Let's Take a Rap At the Japs," "Taps for the Japs," "We're the Guys To Do It," "We've Got To Do a Job on the Japs, Baby," "Those Nasty, Nasty Nazis," and "We're Gonna Find a Fellow Who Is Yellow and Beat Him Red, White and Blue." *Time* (December 29, 1941), p. 46.

181. The Roosevelt regime's psychological warfare division was at work on Germany many weeks before involved formally in hostilities. *Time's* "The US Short Wave" (November 31, 1941, pp. 54-56) revealed that the ardent Stalinist sympathizer Lillian Hellman's more pro-Communist than anti-Nazi play *Watch on the Rhine* was being shortwaved overseas in a German translation via New York City's station WRUL, and that the ex-secretary to the ex-Ambassador to Moscow, Davies,



one Stan P. Richardson, with the aid of Joseph Barnes, ex-foreign editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, and the Chicago journalist Edmond Taylor (author of *Strategy of Terror*) were at work on a comprehensive radio program of psychological war propaganda dovetailed closely to administration recipes. Taylor, who became a major figure in the amateur spy organization which straddled the world during the war, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the ancestor of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), has been memorialized at length in the book by R. Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (University of California Press, 1972).

Richardson, Barnes and Taylor were identified by *Time* as working under the Coordinator of Information, an office secretly created by Roosevelt in July, 1941, with a largely unvouchered budget and headed by a World War I veteran, William J. Donovan. The COI evolved into the OSS, probably the most over-rated agency in the history of espionage, and which did incalculable mischief detrimental to long-term U.S. interests in behalf of both European and Asian Communism. Its research chief in 1941 was James Phinney Baxter III, President of exclusive and costly Williams College, and it gradually recruited a legion of leftist liberal academics, journalists, ideologues and assorted upper and upper middle class offspring of American moneyed Anglophiles, from the Little Ivy League colleges, in particular. This whole was heavily sprinkled by ferocious Marxist professionals of both domestic and European refugee backgrounds, and later a contingent of professional murderers and related vicious recruits from the ranks of the Mafia and other enclaves of American and European organized crime.

Fright is one of the most ancient political capers which has been perpetrated against people by their leaders since recorded history. It enjoyed an enormous vogue, 1933-1945, and was generously employed with considerable effect all during the war, especially. Americans went through three episodes in particular, in the 1940-1941 period, when people in authority threatened them with invasion by the Germans first, then by the Germans and Japanese simultaneously, and then by just the Japanese. President Roosevelt had in his inaugural address in March, 1933 effectively utilized Henry David Thoreau's declaration, without giving the latter credit, to the effect that the only thing Americans had to fear was "fear itself." In his pronouncements on the European war in the last eighteen months before American involvement, however, FDR had not the slightest reservation in spreading fear in the hope of making political capital out of it, and driving the populace into the arms of the warrior interventionist segment of the total. He specialized in fright about the possible consequences of German actions. His predictions as to the dire circumstances of possible German moves never came within the slightest possibility of realization, but they helped overcome skeptical reservations widely held by those opposed to his interest in becoming a belligerent. The Luce publications cooperated spiritedly in putting his nightmares before the public. *Life* featured the trial balloon which involved the prediction of an invasion of both coasts by German and Japanese "hordes," and *Time* always put his threats of other kinds of trouble before its readers prominently and persuasively. Though nothing happened in 1940, the fright-threats got much worse in 1941.

In July a variant of the possibility of German paratroops descending upon Iowa was the scare that Hitler's forces would sweep across the many thousands of miles from Poland to the Pacific shores of Siberia and arrive in Vladivostok in days, to undertake an invasion of Alaska via Siberia, which was expected to be a swift German victory in the manner of Norway, presumably helped out with local traitors, apparently ("Another Norway," *Time* [July 7, 1941], p. 14). This ploy was right in focus for Republican Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington, long the proponent for a road from Seattle to Alaska. Now the drive for this began at a far more heated tempo, as an aid to promote the intensive militarization of the latter to forestall this possible debacle. *Time* was right with him.

Roosevelt was not satisfied with this, and in his speech to Congress later in the month, on which he was reported to have spent a large amount of time, he again suggested to that body that the U.S.A. was in "infinitely greater" danger at that moment than it had been in the summer of 1940, the time of the launching of some of the most incredible threats (*Time*, July 28, 1941, p. 7).

Still another venture in these turbulent currents was undertaken by the President. At the Navy League dinner in Washington at the end of October, 1941 he made public two famous "documents" he claimed he had come upon, the first a "secret map" purporting to show how Hitler planned to cut up Central and South America into five vassal states and the second another "secret" which was a plan "to abolish every religion in the world" and to replace them with "an international Nazi Church" with Hitler's *Mein Kampf* presumably replacing the Bible, and undoubtedly all of the other holy books about the planet. These were substantially fabrications of British intelligence, probably by leftist Germans in their employ, and planted upon a source delighted to try them out on his listeners. *Time* soberly reported these as fact. (*Time*, November 3, 1941, p. 11.)

The big scare about a possible Japanese invasion of the entire West Coast was part of the hysteria following Pearl Harbor, and may have had more to do with distracted leadership other than Roosevelt. Part of this was accompanied by a rumor that an evacuation of the entire West back to a line in the Continental Divide slightly west of Denver was about to become policy, from which a last ditch stand was to be made. It may have caused the panic in Secretary of War Stimson's coterie which led to the order to round up the entire Japanese-American population for incarceration in concentration camps.

All this agitation and panic stands in strange contrast to the evaluation by *Time* eight years after the end of the war. In the lead article under "National Affairs" in the issue for October 18, 1953 the editors calculated, "distance prevented any European enemy from dreaming (sic) of forcing a decision on the U.S. by sending major forces to this country"; "The worst that the U.S. faced in World War II was the possibility that Europe and Asia, in the hands of its enemies, would be able slowly to weaken the U.S. or to force it to fight without allies on distant and unfavorable battlefields." Though no one can "force" another to go vast distances to fight, the last portion of the *Time* analysis sounded much like what the U.S.A., a "victor," ended up doing anyway in Korea and Vietnam.

**182.** On the reviews in this section: Fadiman reviews in *New Yorker* (October 4, 1941), p. 86, and (December 6, 1941), p. 108. Woolbert's review in *Foreign Affairs* of Hindus in issue of January, 1942, p. 384, but Strong review delayed until issue for October, 1942, p. 783. Barnes review in *New York Herald Tribune Books*, January 11, 1942, p. 13. Chamberlin reviews in *Saturday Review of Literature* (December 20, 1941), p. 7, and *New York Times Book Review*, October 12, 1941, pp. 9, 26. The Paterson critique was buried in the *New York Herald Tribune Books*, November 30, 1941, p. 34. Mosely review in *Yale Review* (December, 1941), pp. 394-396. Phillips' review in *New York Herald Tribune Books*, September 28, 1941, p. 6, while Gannett, long-established *Herald Tribune* critic and long-famed as one of the most combative liberals decorating the *Nation*, included his kindly estimate of Hindus in a roundup of current literature, "Books You May Be Reading This Fall," *New York Herald Tribune Books*, October 5, 1941, p. 2.

**183.** *Foreign Affairs* review of Davies given the top billing in the section devoted to World War Two books in issue for April, 1942, p. 571. Duranty reviewed in same issue, p. 578, while the Zacharoff book delayed until the October, 1942 issue, p. 783.

**184.** *Foreign Affairs* (October, 1942), p. 782. These English imprints were frequently unnoticed anywhere except in *Foreign Affairs*, which usually devoted no more than a line or two in general description, as in the case of the Sloan essay, "An uncritical pro-Communist description of the structure and functioning of the



Soviet Government." (April, 1942, p. 578.) Another London imprint of 1941 which went unnoticed in the U.S.A. was Kingsley Martin's *Propaganda's Harvest* (Kegan Paul). Strauss was identified cryptically as "formerly connected with the labor movement in Austria," but his arrival time in England was not mentioned.

185. These 1941 imprints generally received late reviews, all being mentioned in the April, 1942 *Foreign Affairs*, pp. 568-573. Included with them was the Air Ministry secretary, J.M. Spaight's *The Battle of Britain* (London: Bles), an account of the German air attack on the country and the Royal Air Force's counter-attack on Germany, a book which Americans might have learned a great deal from, but did not see.

186. Fadiman review in *New Yorker* (September 13, 1941), p. 74; Barnes review in *New York Herald Tribune Books*, September 21, 1941), p. 18. Even Woolbert in *Foreign Affairs* was repelled by Simone's latest work; his critical note appeared in the issue for January, 1942, p. 381.

187. The reaction to Lyons' book was remarkably subdued in view of its poor timing as far as publication was concerned. Even in the liberal weeklies it was treated circumspectly, though both the author and most of the commentators on the book had records of previous enthusiasm for the Bolsheviks at one time or another. It appeared malapropos to just a few that a book criticizing enthusiasm for Soviet foreign politics should appear at just about the moment a general drive in that direction was about to get under way once more.

188. *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1942), p. 578; review of Ciliga in issue of October, 1941, p. 202. Also published in 1941 was John Kenneth Turner's *Challenge to Karl Marx* (Reynal and Hitchcock), almost as awkward a book as that by Lyons. Turner was vigorously attacked by the British Marxist David W. Petegorsky in the *New Republic* (November 17, 1941).

189. Woods review in *New York Times Book Review* (November 2, 1941), p. 10. These disillusionist books about the USSR in early wartime should be compared with the American classic of this sort, *Proletarian Journey*, by Fred Beal (1937).

190. Fadiman in the *New Yorker* compared Koestler's book to that of Aladar Kuncz, *Black Monastery*, published posthumously in 1934 by Harcourt Brace; the author was a Hungarian school teacher on vacation in France at the outbreak of World War I who was interned as an enemy alien and spent the war in French concentration camps.

191. The closing blow in behalf of Communism struck in *Time* prior to direct U.S. participation in World War Two involved a review of Feuchtwanger's book, published in the late fall of 1941 by Harold Guinzburg's Viking Press, and heavily promoted. A book largely devoted to Feuchtwanger's wailing about his experiences in a French concentration camp as an enemy alien, its review in *Time* would surely have earned the misinformation prize of the year had one been awarded. It included a breath-takingly dishonest description of the author as "a peace-loving contemplative Jew of 57" who allegedly "had no interest in politics."

Its anonymous author apparently concluded that no reader was familiar with the liberal, fellow-traveler and Communist press in America, to whom Feuchtwanger was a well-known and fiercely-controversial figure. Ignored was a then-recent fact: other than Corliss Lamont, Feuchtwanger had been the first person published by the *New Masses* in its issue of July 15, 1941 of a group asked to comment on the significance of the just-erupted war between Germany and Russia. Nothing from the Soviet Foreign Office could have exceeded Feuchtwanger's incandescent Soviet sentiments. He rejoiced that the "enemies of the USSR" who had "tried to hide the truth about the Soviet people" were now being unmasked, and that, thanks to the spreading of the war, "this malicious gossip" had been "shattered," and people everywhere were taking "a better look at the USSR" and recognizing the "nobility" of the Soviet Union and also "Stalin's speeches, with their bold and

simple realism." Feuchtwanger was further comforted to note that "The recognition that the Soviet peoples fight for America's safety" was being "expressed in the statements of the American government," a curious distillation of official pronouncements not discerned by much of anyone else.

Ignored by *Time*'s incredible reviewer was that Feuchtwanger had already run his whitewash of French Stalinism of 1938-40 past liberal reviewers, as an article early in 1941, and had earned a stinging denunciation from Dwight MacDonald, as "the number one world literary spokesman for the Stalin regime," in *Common Sense*. MacDonald had accompanied this with a lengthy string of quotations from the Communist literary magazine *Das Wort* when Feuchtwanger was editing it in Moscow in 1936-1937, including the latter's bitter attack on American liberals for questioning the vicious Moscow trials. Now posing as an enemy of totalitarianism and scribbling feverish anti-Hitler pro-war tracts, MacDonald insisted Feuchtwanger was a systematic peddler of falsehoods in the former department, and finished his deflating critique of this man who "had no interest in politics" by quoting from one of his *Das Wort* essays in 1937, in which Feuchtwanger had enthused, "One breathes again when one comes from this oppressive Western atmosphere of a counterfeit democracy and hypocritical humanism into the invigorating atmosphere of the Soviet Union." In view of this encomium to the Stalinist heaven on earth, there were those who wondered what Feuchtwanger was doing in the corrupt and degenerate America he so detested such a short time before. And it was reviews such as this which made some observers wonder why *Time* repeatedly issued scoffing disparagements of the *Nation* and *New Republic* as "pinko."

It was characteristic of *Time* to suppress basic information about the politics of persons subject to profiles in its pages as was the case with Feuchtwanger. At about the same time, in hailing the talents of the artist Anton Refregier, who had received \$26,000 for the murals in the San Francisco Post Office under the aegis of the Works Progress Administration, *Time* omitted mention that Refregier, born in Moscow in 1905, and in the U.S.A. since 1921, was a veteran hero of the *New Masses* and *Daily Worker* editors; see report in *Time* (November 17, 1941), p. 54.

192. Woolbert review in *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1942), p. 568.

193. Woolbert described Stowe's book as "engrossing" in *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1942), pp. 376-377; it was the first-listed in the section of wartime books. Stowe mentioned being sent to Europe in September, 1939 for the Chicago *Daily News*. Hindus' review of van Paassen in *Saturday Review of Literature* (November 18, 1941), p. 13; see also review of van Paassen by J.M. Minifie in *New York Herald Tribune Books* (October 19, 1941), p. 3, another kindly puff. Harsch was highly praised in *Foreign Affairs* January, 1942), p. 377; van Paassen hailed in issue for October, 1941, p. 778.

194. *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1942), p. 569, praised Davis' book as a "sound and timely" work dealing with the "Anglo-American entente for the control of the seas," not just the Atlantic, as the title suggested. Knickerbocker's work was pushed even more strongly by *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1942), p. 571. Carrying a foreword by another nationally known warrior correspondent, John Gunther, the book got a similarly loud burst of praise from still another emotionally-involved foreign newsman, William L. Shirer, in the *New York Herald Tribune Books*, November 9, 1941, p. 5. Shirer's rise to pre-eminence among the *Herald Tribune*'s reviewers of World War Two books will be examined in detail subsequently. The Taylor-Janeway-Snow joint effort may have been the basis for a position paper for the coming Office of Strategic Services (OSS), outlining an American counter-offensive against Italo-German policies and propaganda.

However, this work was mainly ignored in favor of a nearly simultaneously published volume, *The Spoil of Europe* (Norton) dealing with much of the same subject. One of the mystery books of the war, it was credited to "Thomas Reveille,"



the alias cover for a refugee European who rejoiced in the real name of Rifat Tirana, an utter unknown, but guessed by some to be an Albanian Communist. Hired in a super-secret job in the Roosevelt pre-war war machine, he ground out this book which was preceded by a foreword by still another of the enthusiastic journalists for war, Raymond Gram Swing, and vociferously hailed by uncritical reviewers in all the choice sources, from *Foreign Affairs* through the prestigious dailies, as an insightful book into wartime Germany and its occupied regions in Europe. Reviewer after reviewer strained buttons in heaping praise on it, for reasons which will probably never be known. As a war call it had its merits, but as a description of the German economy and that of German-occupied Europe it had no particular virtue that could not be found in the estimates of Marxists and near-Marxists of the stamp of Franz Neumann, Max Werner, Fritz Sternberg and Gunter Reimann. Its message of a shaky and disintegrating economic nightmare prevailing in the Hitler-controlled areas of Europe encouraged the impulsive to think a war would be a sudden success if undertaken soon under American auspices. Its failure to indicate what really was going on, and that those anxious for martial endeavor in America faced a tough and resourceful enemy who was about to take on the whole world for another four destructive and bloody years, performed a mean chore utterly antagonistic to American interests. It fattened the illusions of eager interventionists into thinking they were facing a puff-ball which would pop in a few months, while concealing the real world, setting up the wrecking of Europe and the killing of many millions, and guaranteeing Stalinist Communism for tens of millions of others.

There were a few voices of complaint about its shortcomings but they were buried in scholarly works of limited circulation. Hailed by left-liberals, e.g., Swing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1941, by Joseph Barnes in the *New York Herald Tribune Books* for August 31, 1941, p. 3, and described in *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1942, p. 377) by Woolbert as "one of the most competent books to appear since the war began," it even panicked the normally skeptical William Henry Chamberlin, who declared that it was "extremely impressive because so well documented." This raised some eyebrows in Academe, and set some wondering what book Chamberlin was talking about, since the European history specialist E.C. Helmreich (in the *American Political Science Review* for December, 1941, p. 1177) had panned "Reveille" severely for his extremely weak documentation. Complained Helmreich, "there are virtually no footnotes," so that it was impossible to trace his quotations. Another Central European specialist, M.W. Fodor, pointed out serious weaknesses of *The Spoil of Europe* in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (January, 1942), p. 178.

195. For brief comments on the above volumes see *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1942), p. 386; (October, 1942), p. 785. Hauser's book was the only one with general distribution. The others had influence mostly in the academic community. Another contribution in 1941 to the pro-Red literature on the Far East by Miss Wales (Mrs. Snow) was *Kim San: The Life Story of a Korean Rebel* (John Day), an edited collation which by and large failed to endear itself to reviewers. Rodney Gilbert in the *New York Herald Tribune Books* (November 16, 1941, p. 4) was repelled by the portrait which emerged, and which presumably entranced Miss Wales. The book's subject came across to Gilbert as "a daft, conceited, murderous little prig." Such sterling "anti-fascist revolutionaries" of Korean stamp were a little while in becoming celebrities among Americans of "advanced social consciousness."

196. *Time* (December 15, 1941), p. 74.

197. *Time* (December 15, 1941), p. 38.

198. Associated Press report, in *Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph*, December 16, 1941, p. 10.

199. Huxley quoted in *Time* (December 15, 1941), p. 53.

200. *Social Justice* (December 22, 1941), p. 4. Rev. Coughlin seemed to be echoing a view expressed by an almost polar political opposite, the novelist Erskine Caldwell, a short time before. Caldwell, with his wife, Margaret Bourke-White, a photographer famous for her "proletarian" portraits (especially the very worst she could find in the rural U.S. South, *You Have Seen Their Faces*), had spent from May 1 to October 1 in Moscow, and had returned to the U.S. via Siberia just before the Pearl Harbor incident. Speaking to an interviewer in Spokane, Washington on December 1, Caldwell declared, "Russia—not England or the United States—will win the war in the end." And he added as a closing caution, "If the Allied countries try to cheat Russia, they're going to regret it." Associated Press report, *Colorado Springs Gazette*, December 1, 1941, p. 1, and December 3, 1941, p. 4.

201. *Time* (December 29, 1941), pp. 23-24.

202. Quotations from publisher's advertisement, *New York Herald Tribune Books*, January 4, 1942, p. 8. The heavy space and attention given to Davies' book in this paper, endlessly referred to by *Time* as "the arch-Republican *New York Herald Tribune*," may have puzzled some who might have identified such an appellation as an indication of powerful conservative leanings. What such persons needed was an education on the people who dominated the paper's book review pages, whose pro-Soviet special pleading already was substantial, and which was to accelerate at an impressive rate for the duration of the war.

203. *New York Herald Tribune Books*, January 4, 1942, p. 1.

204. *Saturday Review of Literature* (January 10, 1942, p. 5.

205. *New Masses* (January 13, 1942), pp. 20-22.

206. Davies' book was just as fiercely acclaimed among the affluent circles connected with Eastern capital as it was by the USCP, however. It drew enthusiastic approval and top billing in the April, 1942 issue of *Foreign Affairs* (p. 571) as well.

207. Wolfe's review was titled "No Radish," apparently intended to be complimentary to Davies and a testament to his sincere pro-Stalinism; the term "radish" had long applied to persons with superficial affection for Stalin but fundamentally opposed to him secretly ("red outside, white inside.") A similar cognomen, "beefsteak Nazis," had for years been applied to the legion of Marxists who voted against Hitler, 1930-1933, and then joined National Socialist organizations thereafter ("brown outside, red inside.")

208. There is no study of the voluminous literature by Poles in the 1919-1939 interim not only predicting but welcoming a war not only with Russia but with Germany, and confidently forecasting victory over both and a substantial enlargement of the geographical scope of the Polish state which would follow such victory.

209. Chamberlin review in *New York Times Book Review* (January 4, 1942), pp. 1, 15. *The Times* reported January 22 that a fifth printing, bringing the total of copies to 54,000 had already taken place.

210. Marshall review in *Nation* (January 31, 1942), p. 118. The *Nation* editors had already objected to the publisher's use in their advertisement of what appeared to be a testimonial from President Roosevelt for the book but which actually was a part of a letter FDR had written to Davies in 1940 when the latter had resigned as a special assistant to the State Department. *Nation* (January 24, 1942), p. 93. Simon & Schuster were not dismayed by this; in a display advertisement at the end of March, 1942 they featured prominently a tribute from Soviet Ambassador Litvinov. *New York Times Book Review* (March 29, 1942), p. 12.

211. Davies had hardly evacuated the political arena. In a profile in the *U.S. News* at the moment his book was selling in avalanche fashion (January 30, 1942, p. 38), it was revealed, "Joseph E. Davies, whose dispatches written while he was U.S. Ambassador to Russia now are a best seller, spends most of his time around the State Department these days." It went on to say, "He is working on problems of war refugees in many corners of the world."



[Nearly forty-five years after the precipitation of the German-Soviet war, in June, 1941, millionaires have become quite common in the U.S.A. and the influence of a very large number of them is minimal if perceptible. But in 1941 this was anything but the case, and the impact of American millionaires in mass communication and in the diplomatic and opinion-influencing circles, especially about public affairs and foreign relations, was pronounced and most often conclusive. When we talk of 1941 we talk of a time when many millions in the U.S.A. had no job at all, and when millions of others worked for \$700-\$900 a year at pay which ranged between 30¢ and 45¢ an hour. To be recognized as a millionaire in an economic climate such as this must be obvious to even the mentally arrested as enjoying a special status difficult to describe, and capable of having an impact on the total community of vast scope. One should keep this in mind while assaying the dimensions of this study.]

## Book Reviews

**THE ABANDONMENT OF THE JEWS: America and the Holocaust, by David S. Wyman. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, 444pp, Hb, \$19.95.**

*Reviewed by Mark Weber*

Most of the important information assembled in this significant new book has already been presented and evaluated by others, most notably by Bernard Wasserstein, Martin Gilbert and Arthur Morse. But in *The Abandonment of the Jews*, David Wyman goes further than any other historian to accuse the Allied wartime leadership of passive complicity in the Holocaust.

Wyman makes no secret of his basic outlook. In the preface he describes himself as "strongly pro-Zionist" and a "resolute supporter of the state of Israel." He is a member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles. The bias that pervades this book is reflected, for example, in Wyman's reference to "the alleged Russian massacre of Polish officers at the Katyn forest." (p. 334. Emphasis added.) While eager to accept at face value the unsubstantiated Holocaust story, Wyman is unwilling to acknowledge the indisputably established Soviet slaughter of thousands of leading Poles in the Katyn forest near Smolensk.

Wyman devotes just three pages of "evidence" for the Holocaust itself, including a lengthy excerpt from the widely-quoted affidavit of Hermann Graebe (Nuremberg document 2992-PS) describing a mass shooting of Soviet Jews in 1942. Wyman does not mention (and probably does not know) that in 1964 and 1965 Graebe was proven to have been a professional liar who perjured himself in 145 Allied "war crimes" trials, and that his famous "eyewitness" affidavit is now thoroughly discredited. (See: *Der Spiegel*, 29 December 1965, pp. 25-28) Also cited is Goering's well-known letter of 31 July 1941 to Heydrich which Wyman describes as the "directive" for "the systematic extermination of all Jews in the Nazi grip." But as the letter's text (not given by Wyman) makes rather clear, and as Martin Broszat and some other anti-Hitler historians have conceded, Goering's reference to "the final solution of the Jewish question" in this key document meant peaceful emigration and deportation, not extermination.

Wyman's main charge is that the British and American political leaders, including President Roosevelt, turned down numerous proposals that they knew would have saved hundreds of



thousands of European Jews from certain death at German hands. In doing so, Wyman argues, the Allied leaders showed inexcusable indifference, betrayed their own highly-touted moral principles, and therefore share some historical responsibility for the slaughter of European Jewry.

But there is another explanation for this apparently heinous negligence: Along with others in a position to know, the Allied leaders did not believe their own propaganda that Germany was systematically destroying Europe's Jews. (This point has already been dealt with at some length in *The Journal* by A. Butz, Winter 1982, and K.C. Gleason, Winter 1984.) Wyman assembles compelling evidence for this alternative explanation, but like other Holocaust historians, he ignores the obvious and tries instead to make the evidence fit his preconceived thesis. To the unbiased reader, the facts he presents actually cast severe doubt on the Holocaust story.

Rabbi Stephen Wise, who was president of both the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, announced at a press conference in late November 1942 that, according to information confirmed by the State Department, the Germans had already killed two million European Jews as part of an "extermination campaign." In fact, the State Department had confirmed nothing of the kind. Two weeks later, its specialist for European Jewish affairs, R. Borden Reams, urged higher Department officials to try to persuade Wise "to call off, or at least to tone down, the present world-wide publicity campaign concerning 'mass murders' and particularly to ask Dr. Wise to avoid any implications that the State Department furnished him with official documentary proof of these stories."

The State Department issued a formal statement, which was made public on 4 September 1942, protesting the "brutal mass murders" of "hundreds of thousands" of Jews deported from Germany and other countries under German control "in accordance with the announced policy of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews of Europe." But as Wyman points out, the day before this statement was made public, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles privately assured Wise that in reality the deported Jews were not being killed. The "real purpose" of the deportation program, Welles said, was "to use Jews in connection with war work" in Germany, Poland and Russia.

And although President Roosevelt had issued a vaguely worded condemnation in July 1942 of the alleged German extermination of the Jews, he privately told his close Jewish confidant Felix Frankfurter in mid-September 1942 not to worry because the deported Jews were simply being employed in the Soviet frontier area. While Walter Laqueur and a few other Jewish historians

have cited this revealing statement by Roosevelt, Wyman prefers to ignore it.

As Wyman repeatedly emphasizes, the U.S. and British governments turned down numerous proposals to accept European Jews out of fear that Hitler would eagerly turn over masses of Jews to the Allies. This issue was brought up, for example, at a White House conference on 27 March 1943 of top American and British wartime leaders, including President Roosevelt, U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, presidential advisor Harry Hopkins and the British Ambassador to Washington, Lord Halifax. Hull raised the question of having the Allies offer to accept 60,000 to 70,000 Jews from Bulgaria, a German ally. Eden replied

that the whole problem of the Jews in Europe is very difficult and that we should move cautiously about offering to take all Jews out of a country like Bulgaria. If we do that, then the Jews of the world will be wanting us to make similar offers in Poland and Germany. Hitler might well take us up on any such offer and there simply are not enough ships and means of transportation in the world to handle them.

The conference record shows that no one present objected to or even questioned Eden's statement. Apparently no one really believed the Allied story that the Jews of Poland and Germany were being exterminated.

Similarly, the representatives to the April 1943 joint British-American refugees conference in Bermuda also did not speak as if they believed the official claims of their own governments. Delegate Richard Law, the British parliamentary undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, said that if the Allies agreed to accept Europe's Jews, Hitler might offer two million of them, which would make the Allies "look exceedingly foolish." Another British delegate, Osbert Peake of the British Home Office, cautioned that the Allies should not relieve Hitler of the burden of having to care for Jews who couldn't work. "Many of the potential refugees are empty mouths for which Hitler has no use," Peake said. "It would be relieving Hitler of an obligation to take care of these useless people. If Hitler would agree to release a large number of old people and children, we should be placed in a ridiculous position . . ." One conference delegate explained the problem to reporters: "Suppose he [Hitler] did let two million or so Jews out of Europe, what would we do with them?"

In May 1943, State Department official Robert Alexander opposed proposals to accept masses of European Jews under German control because that would "take the burden and the curse off Hitler." In October 1943 a State Department advisor on



political relations strongly opposed any Allied offer to accept European Jews because the Germans might agree and the "net result would be the transfer of odium from the German to the Allied governments." The head of the British Foreign Office's Refugee Department, A.W.G. Randall, noted in an internal communication in late December 1943: "Once we open the door to adult male Jews to be taken out of enemy territory, a quite unmanageable flood may result. (Hitler may facilitate it!)" U.S. Treasury Department lawyer Randolph Paul commented on the Allied unwillingness to accept Jews: "I don't know how we can blame the Germans for killing them [the Jews] when we are doing this. The law calls [it] para-delicto, of equal guilt . . ."

At the end of May 1944 (when most of Europe's Jews had supposedly already been killed), the British War Cabinet's Committee on Refugees turned down a proposed arrangement for transporting large numbers of Jews from Axis-controlled Europe in part because it could "lead to an offer to unload an even greater number of Jews on our hands."

One of the biggest non-issues raised by Holocaust publicists in recent years has been why the United States did not bomb Auschwitz-Birkenau during the war. Chapter 15 of Wyman's book, much of which originally appeared in 1978 in *Commentary* magazine, is devoted to this question. Discussion of this issue was also stimulated by the release and publication in 1978 of a series of detailed aerial reconnaissance photos taken of the Auschwitz camp complex by Allied aircraft during the war. The most important of these were photos of Birkenau taken on various dates in April, June, August and September 1944, when as many as 10,000 Jews were supposedly gassed and cremated there every 24 hours.

While Jewish leaders and numerous publications eagerly misrepresented these photos to charge that Allied officials knowingly permitted the slaughter of Jews, these photos are actually important evidence that there were no mass killings at Auschwitz. The remarkably detailed enlargements of these photos show no evidence at all of the alleged extermination operation: no crowds of Jews awaiting gassing, no smoke or flame billowing from the crematories which were supposedly in continuous operation, and no trace of ashes or corpses. Although Wyman refers to them in passing, he says nothing about what these aerial photos show (or don't show).

America's most influential newspapers have warmly praised *The Abandonment of the Jews*. The *New York Times* alone ran no less than four glowing tributes: a lengthy front page review in the nationally distributed Sunday "Book Review" section, a second review in a week day edition, a "news" article "puff piece" about the book, and a sympathetic profile of author Wyman. Daily

newspapers across the country ran syndicated reprints of the laudatory *Times* pieces. The book was also enthusiastically reviewed by the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal* and *Christian Science Monitor*. Wyman appeared as the main guest on an ABC "Nightline" broadcast devoted to the book's central thesis.

Various writers, including nationally syndicated columnist Max Lerner and *Village Voice* contributor Sol Stern, have seized upon the book to castigate Roosevelt for his alleged complicity in the Holocaust. As a result of this kind of coverage, *The Abandonment of the Jews* may have already put a real dent in the Roosevelt iconography. The book's greatest significance, though, is probably as an expression of a growing trend to shift the collective guilt for what is regarded as history's most evil deed from Hitler and the Germans to *all* of non-Jewish humanity, including the Americans. For those who uphold the Holocaust story, as well as for revisionists who challenge it, *The Abandonment of the Jews* is an important work.

**ELIE WIESEL: MESSENGER TO ALL HUMANITY** by Robert McAfee Brown. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983, 244pp, Pb, ISBN 0-268-00908-2.

Reviewed by L.A. Rollins

Pushkin claims a beautiful lie is superior to a debasing truth. I don't agree: Truth alone elevates man, even when it hurts. The task of the writer is, after all, not to appease, or flatter, but to disturb, to warn, to question by questioning oneself.

—Elie Wiesel, *A Jew Today*, translated by Marion Wiesel (New York: Vintage, 1979), p. 130.

Robert McAfee Brown is a professor of theology and ethics at the Pacific School of Religion. In relation to "Holocaust survivor" Elie Wiesel, however, Brown regards himself as "the pupil," and refers to Wiesel as his "rebbe," or teacher. (pxii)

But although his teacher has written that the task of a writer is not to appease, or flatter, Brown flatters his teacher outrageously in *Elie Wiesel: Messenger to All Humanity*, his study of Wiesel's writings. Indeed, this literary lickspittle tells his readers right away, "This is not a 'critical' appraisal of Wiesel, and I make no apologies for the fact . . ." (*Ibid.*)

Rather than criticize Wiesel, Brown has devoted himself to brown-nosing his teacher. Thus, for example, he tells us that Wiesel "does not evade ghastly revelations of human depravity, nor will he let us do so." (p. 2) But this is hogwash, if only because of the fact that Wiesel routinely evades ghastly revelations of Jewish "depravity."



In an open letter entitled, "To a Young Palestinian Arab," Wiesel pretends to denounce "the injustice endured by Arab refugees in 1948." (*A Jew Today*, p. 122.) But, like any other Zionist propaganda hack, Wiesel puts the entire blame on Arab leaders, who supposedly "incited the Arab population to mass flight in order to return 'forthwith' as victors." (*Ibid.*) Wiesel makes not the slightest mention of the massacre of about 250 women, children and old men in the Arab village of Deir Yassin by Irgun and Stern Gang terrorists, commanded by those incipient statesmen, Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, on April 9, 1948, shortly before the Israeli "declaration of independence." Anti-Zionist author Alfred Lilienthal cites various sources regarding the impact of this massacre:

Jon Kimche, the Zionist writer, calling the incident "the darkest stain on the Jewish record throughout the fighting," stated, "The terrorist justified the massacre of Deir Yassin because it led to the panic flight of the remaining Arabs in the Jewish state area." Jewish writer Don Peretz described the result of Deir Yassin as a "mass fear psychosis which grasped the whole Arab community." Arthur Koestler wrote, this "bloodbath . . . was the psychologically decisive factor in the spectacular exodus of the Arab refugees." (*The Zionist Connection*, New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978, p. 156.)

According to Brown, "Wiesel seeks to enlist us in the ongoing struggle of light against darkness, of memory against indifference." (p. 192) Here he parrots Wiesel's phony rationale for habitually harping on "the Holocaust"—the importance of "memory." But the Deir Yassin massacre is just one of many episodes of Jewish history which Wiesel finds eminently forgettable.

Thus, Wiesel has written, "There were never any religious persecutions instigated, organized or implemented by Jews." (*A Jew Today*, p. 210.) Down the Orwellian "memory hole" goes the forcible conversion to Judaism of the Idumeans by John Hyrcanus. Also consigned to oblivion is the participation of Jews in instigating persecutions of Christians during the rule of pagan Rome. According to Bernard Lazare, the French-Jewish anarchist who later became a Zionist:

The Church, in those evil days, could not count on its rival, the Synagogue, for assistance; in some places where the struggle between the Jews and Christians had reached an acute stage the Jews, recognized by Roman legislation and possessed of vested rights, would join the citizens of the towns in dragging the Christians before the court. In Antioch, for example, where the enmity between the two sects was most bitter, in all probability, the Jews, like the pagans, demanded the trial and execution of Polycarp. They are said to have fed with great eagerness the stake upon which the bishop was burned. (*Antisemitism*, London: Britons, 1967, p. 37.)

Mister Memory has also forgotten the Jewish persecution of Jewish heretics. According to Lazare:

In 1232, Rabbi Solomon of Montpellier issued an anathema against all those who would read the *Moreh Nebukhim* [Guide of the Perplexed by Maimonides] or would take up scientific and philosophic studies. . . . The fanatical rabbis appealed to the fanaticism of the Dominicans, they denounced the *Guide of the Perplexed* and had it burned by the inquisition. At the instigation of a German doctor, Asher ben Yechiel, a synod of thirty rabbis met at Barcelona, with ben Adret in the chair, and excommunicated all those who read books other than the Bible and the Talmud, when under twenty-five years.

A counter-excommunication was proclaimed by Jacob Tibbon, who, at the head of the Provencal rabbis, boldly defended condemned science. All was in vain: those wretched Jews, whom everybody tormented for their faith, persecuted their coreligionists more cruelly and severely than they had ever been persecuted. Those whom they accused of indifference had to undergo the worst punishments; the blasphemers had their tongues cut; Jewish women who had any relations with Christians were condemned to disfigurement: their noses were subjected to ablation. (*Op. cit.*, p. 64.)

(The dictionary definition of "ablation" is: the surgical removal of a growth, organ or part of the body. Therefore, Lazare presumably meant that their noses were cut off.)

Despite these and similar facts, including some about the present-day State of Israel, Wiesel denies that Jews have ever perpetrated any religious persecutions. Indeed, he also denies that Jews have ever hated their enemies, or become executioners when they have had power and their enemies none. And he denies that any of the "notorious" killers in history were Jews. (*A Jew Today*, p. 210.)

Robert McAfee Brown, wretched creature that he is, studiously ignores Wiesel's brazen whitewashing of Jews. Meanwhile, he obsequiously echoes Wiesel's accusations against Gentiles, as well as Wiesel's hypocritical denunciations of those who deny his accusations.

To deny the truth of the "Holocaust" story is an "ugly way" to "avoid involvement," says Brown. (p. 8) "There is no greater indignity," he tells us, "than to say to a suffering person, 'Your suffering is a fake. . . . You invented it to gain sympathy. . . . You are an impostor.'" (p. 10) Furthermore, ". . . attempts to deny a past Holocaust almost ensure that there will be a future one." (p. 11) Brown even approvingly quotes Wiesel's characterization of revisionist writings as "the recent attempts to kill the victims again." (*Ibid.*) (I sometimes wonder if Wiesel isn't a resurrected victim of the homicidal "steam chambers" of Treblinka, he's so full of hot air.)



"In the face of those who 'speak obscenely' by attempting to deny the story, we too must register disgust. And having done so, turn our backs on those who disgust us and listen no longer, listening instead to Elie Wiesel telling the story once more, a story that supplies its own credentials." (pp. 11-12) Is this Brown's euphemistic way of telling us that Wiesel's tall tales about "the Holocaust" are *self-evidently* true? Apparently so.

Wiesel, it should be noted, does not claim to have been an eyewitness to any of the alleged mass gassings of Jews by the Nazis. Indeed, he only claims to have seen one event relevant to the allegations about mass extermination—the burning alive of a truck-load of babies in a flaming pit on the night that he arrived at Birkenau. Obviously it's a hell of a story. But is it true?

Consider what Wiesel himself has said in an anti-revisionist lecture given at Northwestern University:

The boy that began to talk to you tonight, where is he? Did he dream or live his dreams of fear and fire? Did he really witness the agony of mankind, through the death of his community? Did he really see the triumph of brutality, did he hear or imagine the laughter of the executioner? Did he really see killers throwing children, Jewish children, into the flames alive? I rarely speak about this, but in this place we must. For a very long while I resisted accepting this story as mine. For years and years I clung to the belief that it was all a dream, a nightmare. No, I did not see the children. I did not see the flames.

It was no dream. It was real. Jewish children, living Jewish children were thrown into the flames in order to save money because the gas was costly. (*Dimensions of the Holocaust*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1977, pp. 17-18.)

Wiesel does not tell us when, or how, or why he decided that the incident was real, and not a dream. He simply expects us to accept without question his present assertions about the matter. That may be good enough for Robert McAfee Brown, who revels in grovelling before the Shrine of the Sacred Weasel. But, for those of us who are not oblivious to Wiesel's obvious hypocrisy and dishonesty, his unsupported assertions are not conclusive evidence of anything. And, as a matter of fact, there are some positive reasons for doubt about Wiesel's story of children being burned in pits at Birkenau, though, for the time being, I'm going to keep those reasons for doubt up my sleeve.

As for Robert McAfee Brown, like the whale that swallowed Jonah, he swallows Wiesel's "Holocaust" stories whole. From that starting point, he devotes the bulk of his book to Wieselian weaseling about the moral, religious and theological "implications" of "The Event." He faithfully follows all the twistings and turnings of Wiesel's non-Aristotelian "Auschwitz logic." Paradoxes parade past the reader. "The Event" is relentlessly made mysterious.

And yet . . . through the mist of mystification some conclusions shine through quite clearly: the incomparable importance of "The Event"; the necessity of giving special attention to Jews as victims of "The Event"; and the guilt of Christians for complicity in "The Event." All the fundamental dogmas of Wiesel's brand of "Holocaust" Fundamentalism.

Brown, a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, of which Wiesel is the chairman, was not content to compose this book-length hymn of praise to Elie Wiesel. He had to dedicate it to him as well. In his dedication, he tells Wiesel, "At every stage" of the writing "it seemed a tampering with things I had no right to touch." For this reason, "I tried very hard, my friend, not to write this book." He should have tried harder—much, much harder.

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#### HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

### *Lessons of the Mengele Affair*

With the possible exceptions of Hitler and Himmler, no man has been so vilified in recent years as the personification of Nazi evil as Dr. Josef Mengele. The Mengele legend was the basis for two novels that Hollywood turned into popular movies: William Goldman's *The Marathon Man* and Ira Levin's *The Boys From Brazil*. In the latter film, Gregory Peck played a relentlessly malevolent Dr. Mengele who cloned dozens of little Hitlers as part of a diabolical Latin American Nazi conspiracy.

In countless newspapers and magazine articles, Mengele has been routinely accused of sending 400,000 people to their deaths in gas chambers while serving as the chief physician at Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1943 and 1944. The man dubbed the "Angel of Death" supposedly conducted gruesome "experiments" on selected Jewish victims and habitually delighted in sadistic atrocities. For example, according to *U.S. News & World Report* (24 June 1985) he enjoyed "giving candy to children he tossed alive into the ovens while he hummed Mozart and Wagner." The *Washington Post* (8 March 1985) reported that Mengele "routinely tossed babies into ovens alive" and "ordered pregnant women on to their backs, then stomped them until they aborted."

The media campaign reached a climax in June 1985 when the Mengele name was repeated daily on newspaper front pages and television network evening news broadcasts. Mengele's face stared from the cover of the gossipy mass circulation *People*



weekly. A hunt that had been going on for years finally came to an end when an international team of forensic scientists positively identified the mortal remains exhumed from a Brazilian grave as those of Dr. Josef Mengele. Testimony from relatives and former friends of the German physician and a large collection of documentary material further established that Mengele had died in a drowning accident in February 1979.

While no sane person would excuse or whitewash atrocities, no matter who commits them, a basic regard for truth and decency compels another, more thoughtful look at the Mengele legend. How much truth is there to the fantastic accusations?

The stock allegation that Mengele "sent 400,000 Jews to the Auschwitz gas chambers" is a falsehood based in part on misrepresentation. It is true that, along with other camp physicians, Mengele routinely selected persons who were capable of working from among the transports of new arrivals to the camp. Holocaust writers maintain that all Jews arriving at Auschwitz who could not work were immediately killed in gas chambers. The 400,000 figure is simply a conjectural estimate of the number of unemployable Jews who arrived at Birkenau in 1943 and 1944 while Mengele was the chief physician there.

Actually, large numbers of unemployable Jews were admitted to the camp and interned there. Consistent with other evidence, official German records show that a very high proportion of Birkenau's overwhelmingly Jewish population in 1943 and 1944 was unable to work. (See: G. Reitlinger, *Final Solution*, p. 125; and, A. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 124)

Many Jews survived the war as a result of medical care in the camp infirmary, which was under Dr. Mengele's general supervision. One such person was Otto Frank, father of the famous Anne Frank. After coming down sick, Otto was transferred to the camp hospital, where he remained until Soviet troops reached Auschwitz in January 1945. When the Germans evacuated the camp shortly beforehand, they left behind those who could not move, including sick, elderly and infirm inmates, and a number of children.

The most horrific charges made against Mengele, such as the tale that he tossed live babies into ovens, are sick and absurd fables that contradict what is known about the doctor's character. For example, as *Time* magazine reported (24 June 1985), Mengele was "given to occasional flourishes of gallantry: after transferring a pregnant Jewish doctor to Cracow to do research for him, Mengele sent her flowers upon the birth of her son."

It's conceivable, of course, that Mengele could have murdered inmates, although camp officials who committed such crimes risked severe punishment. For example, the Buchenwald camp

physician, Dr. Waldemar Hoven, was sentenced to death by an SS court for murdering inmates there.

Nationally syndicated columnist Jeffrey Hart told readers that he doubted many of the "monster Mengele" stories being peddled in the mass media. "... As a professional historian, I would urge some caution about many of the anecdotes that are being routinely accepted as fact," wrote Hart. "My own historical hunch is that much of this kind of thing is mythology, concocted as a kind of metaphor . . . I doubt the story that he killed a woman by crushing her throat with his boot. It will be a long time before scholars sift the fact from the fiction about Mengele." (*Washington Times*, 9 July 1985)

While Hart deserves praise for his cautious public skepticism of part of the Mengele mythology, he would show real courage if he looked at the entire Holocaust story with the same questioning eye. What's his "hunch" about the popular story, certified at Nuremberg, that the Germans manufactured soap from Jewish corpses? How about the stories of gassings at Dachau, Buchenwald, Mauthausen and Auschwitz?

The evidence seems rather clear that Mengele did, in fact, perform medical research operations on Auschwitz inmates. In this regard it's perhaps worth noting that the U.S. government conducted similar medical "experiments" both during and after the Second World War. American military physicians infected Negroes with syphilis without their knowledge as part of an investigation of new ways to treat venereal disease. And during the 1950s the CIA financed psychiatric experiments involving LSD, sleep deprivation, massive shock therapy and attempted brainwashing of hospital patients without their knowledge or consent. One survivor, Louis Weinstein, is now reportedly a "human guinea pig, a poor, pathetic man with no memory, no life." The U.S. government has been sued for redress on behalf of Weinstein and eight other persons. (*Washington Post*, 1 August 1985, editorial)

A flawed but enlightening article about Mengele by Professor Robert Jay Lifton of the City University of New York appeared in the 21 July 1985 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*. The lengthy essay begins by noting that "Mengele has long been the focus of what could be called a cult of demonic personality. He has been seen as the embodiment of absolute evil . . ." But, as Lifton explains, he was not the "nonhuman or even superhuman force" portrayed in the media.

As a young man Mengele was popular, intelligent and serious. During his three years of military service, mostly on the Eastern front, he proved himself a brave and diligent soldier, and received five decorations, including the Iron Cross First Class and Second



Class. As the chief physician at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Mengele was in charge of the large staff of inmate doctors, most of them Jewish, who treated inmates.

Lifton points out that the "eyewitness" testimony about Mengele at the well-publicized 1963-1965 Frankfurt Auschwitz trial was riddled with errors. For example, although Mengele was only one of numerous camp doctors who took turns deciding which new arrivals at Auschwitz-Birkenau would be assigned to work and which would not, a Jewish inmate who unloaded incoming transports insisted at the trial that Mengele alone was always there for the selections. When the judge commented, "Mengele cannot have been there all the time," the witness replied: "In my opinion, always. Night and day." Other former inmates described Mengele as "very Aryan looking" or "tall and blond," although he was actually of medium height, with dark hair and a dark complexion.

Among the many myths circulated about Mengele, Lifton writes, are the stories that he advised President Stroessner of Paraguay on how to exterminate the country's native Indian population, and that he made a fortune in South America in an extensive drug trade run by former Nazis.

A valuable contemporary record of Mengele's character and performance during his stay at Auschwitz is the "Evaluation of SS Captain Dr. Josef Mengele," dated 19 August 1944, prepared by the Auschwitz SS Physician's Office. (Original on file at the Berlin Document Center.) The report is very flattering:

Dr. Mengele has an open, honest, solid character. He is absolutely reliable, upright and straightforward. He does not manifest any weakness of character, bad tendencies or cravings. His emotional and physical make-up is outstanding.

During his period of service at the Auschwitz concentration camp, he applied his practical and theoretical knowledge to combating severe epidemics. With prudence and persistent energy, and often under the most difficult conditions, he completed every assigned task to the complete satisfaction of his superiors. He showed himself capable of handling any situation. In addition, he used what little free time he had to ardently further his education as an anthropologist.

His tactful and modest deportment is that of a good soldier. Because of his demeanor, he is especially well liked by his comrades. He treats subordinates with absolute fairness and requisite severity, but is nevertheless exceptionally admired and liked.

In his behavior, work record and attitude, Dr. Mengele shows an absolutely solid and mature outlook on life. He is a Catholic. His speaking manner is spontaneous, uninhibited, convincing and lively.

The personal evaluation went on to note that Mengele had "contracted typhus while conscientiously performing his duties as a physician at Auschwitz." It listed the awards he had received for bravery and outstanding service, and concluded that he was worthy of promotion.

After fleeing to South America to avoid becoming a show trial defendant, Mengele lived for ten years in Argentina and Paraguay under his own name. There is no evidence that he ever felt ashamed or guilty about anything he did at Auschwitz. To the contrary. In a letter to his son Rolf he wrote: "I have not the slightest reason to justify or apologize for any of my decisions or actions." (*Time*, 1 July 1985)

Among his personal papers found by Brazilian police in June 1985 was a rambling semiautobiographical essay entitled in Latin "Fiat Lux" ("Let There Be Light"), apparently written by Mengele while he was still living on a Bavarian farm shortly after the end of the war. The contents of the essay have so far not been made public. (*New York Times*, 23 June 1985)

Mengele occasionally spoke about his past with Mr. and Mrs. Stammer, a couple with whom he lived for 13 years on their farm near Sao Paulo, Brazil. Mrs. Gitta Stammer recalled that Mengele had said that the Jews had been an alien group working against Germany whom the Germans wanted out of their country. Mengele repeatedly insisted that he had not committed any crime, and that instead he had become a victim of great injustice. (*New York Times*, 14 June 1985; *Baltimore Sun*, 14 June 1985)

During the final years of his life Mengele lived with an Austrian couple, Wolfram and Liselotte Bossert, at their Brazilian farm. In an interview the Bosserts expressed great admiration and a special affection for their modest guest. In reply to a question about Mengele's alleged atrocities at Auschwitz, Wolfram Bossert said: "I admire him as a person for his many good qualities, not for what he committed. And even today there's doubt as to whether that's really true." (*Washington Post*, 10 June 1985)

A long-time friend of both Dr. Mengele and the Mengele family in Germany, Hans Sedlmeier, told a reporter: "I could tell you what Mengele did, what he did during Auschwitz, what he did after Auschwitz, but you wouldn't believe me. The newspapers won't print the truth, because it's not in the interest of the Jews. . . . I refuse to talk about the Mengele affair. Journalists have already written so many lies, and what the Jewish press has asserted. . . ." Apparently exasperated, he did not finish the sentence. (*New York Times*, 13 June 1985)

In its sensationalized treatment of the Mengele story, the mass media ignored what is probably the most important lesson of this entire affair. Right up until the summer of 1985, when it was con-



clusively established that Mengele had been dead since 1979, the "Holocaust experts" and professional "Nazi hunters" solemnly insisted that the German doctor was alive. Most of them maintained that he was hiding in Paraguay.

Israeli "Nazi hunter" Tuvia Friedman reported in late 1984 that Mengele had recently been sighted in Orlando and Tampa, Florida, and in New Orleans. (AP, 3 October 1984) A few months later Friedman announced that although he owned "major properties" in the United States, Mengele was probably in Italy. Moreover, the fugitive doctor had recently been spotted at a big Nazi reunion in Bermuda. (*Jewish Week*, 8 February 1985)

Stanley E. Morris, a federal official involved in the U.S. government's investigation of Mengele, told a reporter in May that "tons of information is coming in daily, most of it useless" about Mengele. "One letter was from a person who claimed to see Martin Bormann, Hitler and Mengele riding together in a convertible in Philadelphia," he said. (*New York Times*, 28 May 1985)

In late January 1985, U.S. Congressman Robert Torricelli (Dem.-NJ) returned from a visit to Paraguay with the "astonishing news" that Mengele was living in a German colony in the Paraguayan mountains. (*Newsweek*, 4 February 1985) Citing two supposedly very reliable sources, the *London Sunday Times* (10 February 1985) reported that Mengele was living "fairly openly" in Paraguay, spending much of his time in a log cabin near the summer palace of President Alfredo Stroessner.

The most famous "Nazi hunter" of all, Simon Wiesenthal, announced that he was "100 percent sure" that Mengele was living in Paraguay and charged that the Mengele family in West Germany knew just where. (*Newsweek*, 20 May 1985) By the end of May 1985, the reward money offered by Wiesenthal, the Israeli and West German governments, the Simon Wiesenthal Center and others for the capture of Mengele totalled \$3.4 million.

Internationally prominent "Holocaust expert" and "Nazi hunter" Serge Klarsfeld charged that "Mengele is in Paraguay under the personal protection of President Stroessner." The Paris-based Jewish lawyer even pinpointed his residence: "Mengele is living in a large private villa outside Asuncion, either one owned by Stroessner himself or by a friend of Stroessner." (*Newsweek*, 20 May 1985)

Klarsfeld's wife, Beate, flew to Paraguay in late May where she demonstrated in downtown Asuncion carrying a sign calling President Stroessner a liar for stating that he did not know where Mengele was living. While American television and newspapers lavished Mrs. Klarsfeld with praise and sympathetic coverage, the people of Paraguay rather naturally regarded her conduct as insulting and disgraceful. She was promptly ejected from her hotel.

As history has shown, it was not Stroessner who had been lying, but rather Klarsfeld and her self-righteous allies.

One of the few individuals who had the rare courage to publicly condemn the blazing irresponsibility of the "experts" in the Mengele case was A. Dane Bowen, Jr., a history professor at Lock Haven (Pa.) University. In a letter to the *New York Times* (29 June 1985) he admonished: "Both the professional Nazi hunters and those U.S. politicians who have chased votes at the expense of a friendly foreign power should be big enough to apologize publicly for having recklessly charged that the Paraguayan government has been currently or recently 'protecting' Josef Mengele."

For years, the "Holocaust experts" and "Nazi hunters" have been portrayed by the mass media as oracles of profound insight and trustworthy information. They are treated with an awed reverence not accorded other public figures, and even their most sensational allegations are accepted uncritically and passed on to the public as fact. But for all those who care to see, the dramatic finale to the worldwide search for Mengele discredited the "experts" and conspicuously pointed up their reckless disregard for accuracy.

Although the search for Mengele is now a thing of the past, the frenetic hunt for "Nazi fugitives" goes on. The undaunted Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles has even issued a "Most Wanted List," complete with rewards, of "Nazi war criminals at large." This may well prove to be yet another embarrassing miscalculation because high on the Center's list is Leon Degrelle, the charismatic Belgian political leader and wartime hero of the Wallonia volunteer SS legion. Now a Spanish citizen, the articulate Degrelle has been living openly in Spain for years and welcomes opportunities to defend his views. His presentations on Dutch and Spanish television in recent years were, by all accounts, highly persuasive. (Degrelle's gripping memoir of his wartime experiences, *Campaign in Russia*, was recently published by the Institute for Historical Review.)

It appears that as long as historical revisionists continue their work, there will be no let up in the media-conscious hunt for elusive "Nazi fugitives." Serge Klarsfeld candidly admitted to the *New York Times* (3 March 1985) that part of the motive for the intense focus on Mengele and other "Nazi criminals" in recent years has been to offset the challenge by revisionist historians to Holocaust orthodoxy.

—Mark Weber



## About the Contributors

JAMES J. MARTIN graduated from the University of New Hampshire in 1942 and received his MA (1945) and Ph.D. (1949) degrees in History from the University of Michigan. His teaching career has spanned twenty-five years and involved residence at educational institutions from coast to coast. Dr. Martin has contributed some of the outstanding books of revisionism related to the Second World War: the two-volume classic *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941*, *Beyond Pearl Harbor*, and collected essays *Revisionist Viewpoints* and *The Saga of Hog Island and Other Essays in Inconvenient History*, and his most recent work, *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide': The Public Career and Consequences of Raphael Lemkin*. He is a three-time contributor to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and has as well contributed to recent editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

L.A. ROLLINS is a Contributing Editor of the *IHR Newsletter*. He has also written for other publications, including *Reason*, *New Libertarian*, *Critique*, *Spotlight* and *The JHR*. He is the author of *The Myth of Natural Rights*.

MARK WEBER was born and raised in Oregon and received his higher education at universities around the world: Portland State University (BA, History, with high honors, 1976), the University of Illinois, the University of Munich, and Indiana University (MA, Central European History, with high honors, 1977). Based in Washington, D.C., Mr. Weber works as a freelance researcher, author and German translator. He is a frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review*, and presented papers to the 1980 and 1982 International Revisionist conferences. He is currently at work on a major revisionist study of the "Final Solution."

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### For The Record

With reference to my translation of Rudolf Jordan's article "Hitler, the Unemployed and Autarky" and my commentary, published in *The Journal*, Spring 1984, pp. 77-83, changes were introduced into my text by the editor, of which these two are the most notable:

(1) Page 81; the sentence (lines 12 to 14) that begins, "The actual statistics . . ." should read: "The statistics cited by the German historian Werner Maser answers these two questions." Galbraith does *not* quote these statistics.

(2) Page 82; the three sentences that conclude my commentary are not in the text I submitted to *The Journal's* editor.

Page 81, at line three below the first indented passage in the parenthetical passage, "Jordan's view and Galbraith's," I neglected to footnote Galbraith's assertion that Keynesian deficit spending ensured Germany's prosperity; see *Money*, pp. 225 and 226. Also, see my footnotes 1 and 5, pp. 82 and 83.

Rudolf Jordan, I have since learned, was the Gauleiter of Magdeburg-Anhalt and is the author of the book, *Erlebt und Erlitten* (*Experienced and Endured*), published after the war. Mr. Mark Weber writes to me that Burton J. Klein's *Germany's Economic Preparations for War* "confirms your basic point." On p. 81 Dr. Klein concludes: "Actually, Germany's rearmament [before World War Two] was on a much smaller scale than was generally assumed and it did not involve a large drain of resources from the civilian economy."

—Ronald Klett

# Behind the Balfour Declaration: Britain's Great War Pledge To Lord Rothschild

THE MEANING FOR US

ROBERT JOHN

(Paper Presented to the Fifth International Revisionist Conference)

## Acknowledgements

To Benjamin H. Freedman, who committed himself to finding and telling the facts about Zionism and Communism, and encouraged others to do the same. The son of one of the founders of the American Jewish Committee, which for many years was anti-Zionist, Ben Freedman founded the League for Peace with Justice in Palestine in 1946. He gave me copies of materials on the Balfour Declaration which I might never have found on my own and encouraged my own research. (He died in April 1984.)

The Institute for Historical Review is providing means for the better understanding of the events of our time.

Attempts to review historical records impartially often reveal that blame, culpability, or dishonor are not to be attached wholly to one side in the conflicts of the last hundred years. To seek to untangle fact from propaganda is a worthy study, for it increases understanding of how we got where we are and it should help people resist exploitation by powerful and destructive interests in the present and future, by exposing their working in the past.

May I recommend to the Nobel Prize Committee that when the influence of this organization's historical review and search for truth has pervaded the societies of its contributors—say about 5 years or less from now—that they consider the IHR for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Regrettably, some of the company in that award would be hard to bear!



**T**he Balfour Declaration may be the most extraordinary document produced by any government in world history. It took the form of a letter from the government of His Britannic Majesty King George the Fifth, the government of the largest empire the world has even known, on which—once upon a time—the sun never set; a letter to an international financier of the banking house of Rothschild who had been made a peer of the realm.

Arthur Koestler wrote that in the letter “one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third.” More than that, the country was still part of the empire of a fourth, namely Turkey.

It read:

Foreign Office, November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty’s Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

“His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur James Balfour.<sup>1</sup>

It was decided by Lord Allenby that the “Declaration” should not then be published in Palestine where his forces were still south of the Gaza-Beersheba line. This was not done until after the establishment of the Civil Administration in 1920.

Why was the “Declaration” made a year before the end of what was called The Great War?

“The people” were told at the time that it was given as a return for a debt of gratitude which they were supposed to owe to the Zionist leader (and first President of Israel), Chaim Weizman, a Russian-born immigrant to Britain from Germany who was said to have invented a process of fermentation of horse chestnuts into scarce acetone for production of high explosives by the Ministry of Munitions.

This horse chestnut propaganda production was not dislodged from the mass mind by the short bursts of another story which was used officially between the World Wars.

So let us dig into the records and bury the chestnuts forever.

To know where to explore we must stand back from the event and look over some parts of the relevant historical background. The terrain is extensive and the mud deep, so I shall try to proceed by pointing out markers.

### Herzl on the Jewish Problem

Support for a "national home" for the Jews in Palestine from the government of the greatest empire in the world was in part a fulfillment of the efforts and scheming of Theodore Herzl (1860–1904), descendant of Sephardim (on his rich father's side), who had published *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) in Vienna in 1896. It outlined the factors which he believed had created a universal Jewish problem, and offered a program to regulate it through the exodus of unhappy and unwanted Jews to an autonomous territory of their own in a national-socialist setting.

Herzl offered a focus for a Zionist movement founded in Odessa in 1881, which spread rapidly through the Jewish communities of Russia, and small branches which had sprung up in Germany, England and elsewhere. Though "Zion" referred to a geographical location, it functioned as a utopian conception in the myths of traditionalists, modernists and Zionists alike. It was the reverse of everything rejected in the actual Jewish situation in the "Dispersion," whether oppression or assimilation.

In his diary Herzl describes submitting his draft proposals to the Rothschild Family Council, noting: "I bring to the Rothschilds and the big Jews their historical mission. I shall welcome all men of goodwill—we must be united—and crush all those of bad."<sup>2</sup>

He read his manuscript "Addressed to the Rothschilds" to a friend, Meyer-Cohn, who said,

Up till now I have believed that we are not a nation—but more than a nation. I believed that we have the historic mission of being the exponents of universalism among the nations and therefore were more than a people identified with a specific land.

Herzl replied:

Nothing prevents us from being and remaining the exponents of a united humanity, when we have a country of our own. To fulfill this mission we do not have to remain literally planted among the nations who hate and despise us. If, in our present circumstances, we wanted to bring about the unity of mankind independent of national boundaries, we would have to combat the ideal of patriotism. The latter, however, will prove stronger than we for innumerable years to come."<sup>2a</sup>

In this era, there were a number of Christians and Messianic groups who looked for a Jewish "return." One of these was the



Protestant chaplain at the British Embassy in Vienna, who had published a book in 1882: *The Restoration of the Jews to Palestine According to the Prophets*. Through him, Herzl obtained an audience of the Grand Duke of Baden, and as they waited for their appointment to go to the castle, Herzl said to Chaplain Hechler, "When I go to Jerusalem I shall take you with me."

The Duke gave Herzl's proposal his consideration, and agreed to Herzl's request that he might refer to it in his meetings outside of Baden. He then used this to open his way to higher levels of power.

Through intermediaries, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the Sultan of Turkey by activities designed to reduce the agitation by emigre Armenian committees in London and Brussels for Turkish reforms and cessation of oppression,\* and started a press campaign to calm public opinion in London on the Armenian question. But when offered money for Palestine, the Sultan replied that his people had won their Empire with blood, and owned it. "The Jews may spare their millions. When my Empire is divided, perhaps they will get Palestine for nothing. But only our corpse can be divided. I will never consent to vivisection."<sup>2b</sup>

Herzl met the Papal Nuncio in Vienna and promised the exclusion of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth from the Jewish state. He started a Zionist newspaper—*Die Welt*, and was delighted to hear from the United States that a group of rabbis headed by Dr. Gustave Gottheil favored a Zionist movement. All this, and more, in a few months.

It was Herzl who created the first Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland, 29-31 August 1897.\*\* There were 197 "delegates"; some were orthodox, some nationalist, liberal, atheist, culturalist, anarchist, socialist and some capitalist.

"We want to lay the foundation stone of the house which is to shelter the Jewish nation," and "Zionism seeks to obtain for the Jewish people a publicly recognized, legally secured homeland in Palestine," declared Herzl. And his anti-assimilationist dictum

\*A letter entered in Herzl's diary on 15 May 1896 states that the head of the Armenian movement in London is Avetis Nazarbek, "and he directs the paper *Huntchak* (The Bell). He will be spoken to."

\*\*On either side of the main doorway of the hall hung white banners with two blue stripes, and over the doorway was placed a six-pointed "Shield of David." It was the invention of David Wolffsohn, who employed the colors of the traditional Jewish prayer shawl. Fifty years later, the combined emblems became the flag of the Zionist state. The "Shield of David" is of Assyrian origin; previously a decorative motif or magical emblem. It appeared on the heraldic flag of the Jews in Prague in 1527.

that "Zionism is a return to the Jewish fold even before it is a return to the Jewish land," was an expression of his own experience which was extended into the official platform of Zionism as the aim of "strengthening the Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness."<sup>3</sup>

Another leading figure who addressed the Congress was Max Nordau, a Hungarian Jewish physician and author, who delivered a polemic against assimilated Jews. "For the first time the Jewish problem was presented forcefully before a European forum," wrote Weizmann. But the Russian Jews thought Herzl was patronizing them as *Askenazim*. They found his "western dignity did not sit well with our Russian-Jewish realism; and without wanting to, we could not help irritating him."<sup>4</sup>

As a result of the Congress, the "Basle Protocol," keystone of the world Zionist movement, was adopted as follows:

Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

1. The promotion on suitable lines of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining Government consent where necessary to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.<sup>5</sup>

The British *Chovevei-Zion* Association declined an invitation to be represented at the Congress, and the Executive Committee of the Association of Rabbis in Germany protested that:

1. The efforts of so-called Zionists to found a Jewish national state in Palestine contradict the messianic promise of Judaism as contained in the Holy Writ and in later religious sources.
2. Judaism obligates its adherents to serve with all devotion the Fatherland to which they belong, and to further its national interests with all their heart and with all their strength.
3. However, those noble aims directed toward the colonization of Palestine by Jewish peasants and farmers are not in contradiction to these obligations, because they have no relation whatsoever to the founding of a national state.<sup>6</sup>

In conversation with a delegate at the First Congress, Litman Rosenthal, Herzl said,

It may be that Turkey will refuse or be unable to understand us. This will not discourage us. We will seek other means to accomplish our end. The Orient question is now the question of the day. Sooner



or later it will bring about a conflict among the nations. A European war is imminent . . . The great European War must come. With my watch in hand do I await this terrible moment. After the great European war is ended the Peace Conference will assemble. We must be ready for that time. We will assuredly be called to this great conference of the nations and we must prove to them the urgent importance of a Zionist solution to the Jewish Question. We must prove to them that the problem of the Orient and Palestine is one with the problem of the Jews—both must be solved together. We must prove to them that the Jewish problem is a world problem and that a world problem must be solved by the world. And the solution must be the return of Palestine to the Jewish people. (*American Jewish News*, 7 March 1919)

A few months later, in a message to a Jewish conference in London, Herzl wrote “. . . the first moment I entered the Movement my eyes were directed towards England, because I saw that by reason of the general situation of things there it was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied.” Herzl showed his desire for some foothold in England, and also perhaps his respect for London as the world’s financial center, by causing the Jewish Colonial Trust, which was to be the main financial instrument of his Movement, to be incorporated in 1899 as an English company.

Herzl was indefatigable. He offered the Sultan of Turkey help in re-organizing his financial affairs in return for assistance in Jewish settlement in Palestine.<sup>7</sup> To the Kaiser, who visited Palestine in 1888 and again in 1898,<sup>\*</sup> he promised support for furthering German interests in the Near East; a similar offer was made to King Edward VII of England; and he personally promised the Pope to respect the holy places of Christendom in return for Vatican support.<sup>\*\*</sup> But only from the Czar did he receive, through the Minister of the Interior, a pledge of “moral and material assistance with respect to the measures taken by the movement which would lead to a diminution of the Jewish population in Russia.”<sup>8</sup>

He reported his work to the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basle on 23 August 1903, but stated, “Zion is not and can never be. It is merely an expedient for colonization purposes, but, be it well understood, an expedient founded on a national and political basis.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup>On the latter trip he was accompanied by his Empress. Their yacht, the *Hohenzollern*, put in at Haifa, and they were escorted to Jerusalem by 2,000 Turkish soldiers.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Pope Pius X told him that the Church could not support the return of “infidel Jews” to the Holy Land.<sup>10</sup>

When pressed for Jewish colonization in Palestine, the Turkish Sublime Porte offered a charter for any other Turkish territory (with acceptance by the settlers of Ottoman citizenship) which Herzl refused.<sup>11</sup> The British Establishment, aware of Herzl's activities through his appearance before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration,\* and powerful press organs such as the *Daily Chronicle* and *Pall Mall Gazette* which were demanding a conference of the Powers to consider the Zionist program,<sup>12</sup> somewhat characteristically, had shown a willingness to negotiate about a Jewish colony in the Egyptian territory of El-'Arish on the Turco-Egyptian frontier in the Sinai Peninsula. But the Egyptian Government objected to making Nile water available for irrigation; the Turkish Government, through its Commissioner in Cairo, objected; and the British Agent in Cairo, Lord Cromer, finally advised the scheme's rejection.<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, returning from a visit to British East Africa in the Spring of 1903, Prime Minister Joseph Chamberlain put to Herzl the idea of a Jewish settlement in what was soon to become the Colony of Kenya, but through a misunderstanding Herzl believed that Uganda was intended, and it was referred to as the "Uganda scheme." Of the part of the conversation on the El-'Arish proposal, Herzl wrote in his diary that he had told Chamberlain that eventually we shall gain our aims "not from the goodwill but from the jealousy of the Powers."<sup>14</sup> With the failure of the El-'Arish proposal, Herzl authorized the preparation of a draft scheme for settlement in East Africa. This was prepared by the legal firm of Lloyd George, Roberts and Company, on the instructions of Herzl's go-between with the British Government, Leopold Greenberg.<sup>15</sup>

Herzl urged acceptance of the "Uganda scheme," favoring it as a temporary refuge, but he was opposed from all sides, and died suddenly of heart failure on 3 July 1904. Herzl's death rid the Zionists of an "alien," and he was replaced by David Wolffsohn (the Litvak\*\*).<sup>16</sup>

The "Uganda proposal" split the Zionist movement. Some who favored it formed the Jewish Territorial Organization, under the

---

\*In 1880, there were about 60,000 Jews in England. Between 1881 and 1905, there was an immigration of some 100,000 Eastern Jews. Though cut by the Aliens Bill of the Balfour Government, which became law in the summer of 1905, immigration continued so that by 1914 there was a Jewish population in England of some 300,000. A leader of the fight against the Aliens Bill and against tightening up naturalization regulations in 1903-1904 was Winston S. Churchill.<sup>18</sup>

\*\*The Eastern Jews referred to each other as "Litvaks" (Lithuania), "Galizianers" (Galicia), "Polaks," "Hungarians," and geographical regions of their ancestral origin, e.g., "Pinskers"; never by the term Jew.



leadership of Israel Zangwill (1864–1926). For these territorialists, the renunciation of “Zion” was not generally felt as an ideological sacrifice; instead they contended that not mystical claims to “historic attachment” but present conditions should determine the location of a Jewish national homeland.<sup>17</sup>

In Turkey, the “Young Turk” (Committee of Union and Progress) revolution of 1908 was ostensibly a popular movement opposed to foreign influence. However, Jews and crypto-Jews known as *Dunmeh* had played a leading part in the Revolution.<sup>19</sup>

The Zionists opened a branch of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in the Turkish capital, and the bank became the headquarters of their work in the Ottoman Empire. Victor Jacobson\* was brought from Beirut, “ostensibly to represent the Anglo-Palestine Company, but really to make Zionist propaganda among the Turkish Jews.”<sup>20</sup> His contacts included both political parties, discussions with Arab members of Parliament from Syria and Palestine, and a general approach to young Ottoman intellectuals through a newspaper issued by the Zionist office.<sup>21</sup> In Turkey, as in Germany, “Their own native Jews were resentful of the attempt to segregate them as Jews and were opposed to the intrusion of Jewish nationalism in their domestic affairs.” Though several periodicals in French “were subvented” by the Zionist-front office under Dr. Victor Jacobson,<sup>22</sup> (the first Zionist who aspired to be not a Zionist leader but a “career” diplomat,) and although he built up good political connections through social contacts, “always avoiding the sharpness of a direct issue, and waiting in patient oriental fashion for the insidious seed of propaganda to fructify,”<sup>23</sup> yet some of those engaged in the work, notably Vladimir (Zev) Jabotinsky (1880–1940), came to despair of success so long as the Ottoman Empire controlled Palestine. They henceforth pinned their hopes on its collapse.<sup>24</sup>

At the 10th Congress in 1911, David Wolffsohn, who had succeeded Herzl, said in his presidential address that what the Zionists wanted was not a Jewish state but a homeland,<sup>26</sup> while Max Nordau denounced the “infamous traducers,” who alleged that “the Zionists . . . wanted to worm their way into Turkey in

---

\*(1869–1935). Born in the Crimea, and nurtured in the atmosphere of assimilation and revolutionary agitation in Russia, Jacobson had organized clubs and written about Zionism in Russian Jewish newspapers. After the First World War, the era of the direct and indirect bribe and the contact man gave way to one in which the interests of nationalities, represented by diplomat-attorneys, had to be met, wrote Lipsky: “In this new world into which Jacobson was thrown, he laboured with the delicacy and concentration of an artist . . . working persistently and with vision to build up an interest in the cause. He had to win sympathy as well as conviction.”<sup>25</sup>

order to seize Palestine . . . It is our duty to convince (the Turks) that . . . they possess in the whole world no more generous and self-sacrificing friends than the Zionists."<sup>27</sup>

The mild sympathy which the Young Turks had shown for Zionism was replaced by suspicion as growing national unrest threatened the Ottoman Empire, especially in the Balkans. Zionist policy then shifted to the Arabs, so that they might think of Zionism as a possible make-weight against the Turks. But Zionists soon observed that their reception by Arab leaders grew warmer as the Arabs were disappointed in their hopes of gaining concessions from the Turks, but cooled swiftly when these hopes revived. The more than 60 Arab parliamentary delegates in Constantinople and the newly active Arabic press kept up "a drumfire of complaints" against Jewish immigration, land purchase and settlement in Palestine.<sup>28</sup>

"After many years of striving, the conviction was forced upon us that we stood before a blank wall, which it was impossible for us to surmount by ordinary political means," said Weizmann of the last pre-war Zionist Congress. But the strength of the national will forged for itself two main roads towards its goal—the gradual extension and strengthening of our *Yishuv* (Hebrew: literally, "settlement," a collective name for the Jewish settlers) in Palestine and the spreading of the Zionist idea throughout the length and breadth of Jewry.<sup>29</sup>

The Turks were doing all they could to keep Jews out of Palestine. But this barrier was covertly surmounted, partly due to the venality of Turkish officials,<sup>30</sup> (as delicately put in a Zionist report—"it was always possible to get round the individual official with a little artifice");<sup>32</sup> and partly to the diligence of the Russian consuls in Palestine in protecting Russian Jews and saving them from expulsion.<sup>33</sup>

But if Zionism were to succeed in its ambitions, Ottoman rule of Palestine must end. Arab independence could be prevented by the intervention of England and France, Germany or Russia. The Eastern Jews hated Czarist Russia. With the *entente cordiale* in existence, it was to be Germany or England, with the odds slightly in Britain's favor in potential support of the Zionist aim in Palestine,

---

\*In the Zionist Congress of 1911, (22 years before Hitler came to power, and three years before World War I), Nordau said, "How dare the smooth talkers, the clever official blabbers, open their mouths and boast of progress . . . Here they hold jubilant peace conferences in which they talk against war . . . But the same righteous governments, who are so nobly, industriously active to establish the eternal peace, are preparing, by their own confession, *complete annihilation for six million people*, and there is nobody, except the doomed themselves, to raise his voice in protest although this is a worse crime than any war . . ."<sup>31</sup>



as well as in military power.\* On the other hand, Zionism was attracting some German and Austrian Jews with important financial interests and had to take into account strong Jewish anti-Zionist opinion in England.

But before Zionism had finally reckoned it could gain no special consideration in Palestine from Turkey, the correspondent of *The Times* was able to report in a message published 14 April 1911, of the Zionist organ *Jeune Turc*'s\*\* "violent hostility to England" and "its germanophile enthusiasm," and to the propaganda carried on among Turkish Jews by "German Zionist agents." When the policy line altered, this impression in England had to be erased.<sup>34</sup> The concern of the majority of rich English Jews was not allayed by articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, edited by Leopold Greenberg, pointing out that in the Basle program there was "not a word of any autonomous Jewish state,"<sup>35</sup> and in *Die Welt*, the official organ of the Movement, the article by Nahum Sokolow, then the General Secretary of the Zionist Organization, in which he protested that there was no truth in the allegation that Zionism aimed at the establishment of an independent Jewish State.<sup>36</sup> Even at the 11th Congress in 1913, Otto Warburg, speaking as chairman of the Zionist Executive, gave assurances of loyalty to Turkey, adding that in colonizing Palestine and developing its resources, Zionists would be making a valuable contribution to the progress of the Turkish Empire.<sup>37</sup>

### The Great War

Until mid-1914, the surface of European diplomatic relations was placid, reflecting successfully negotiated settlements of colonial and other questions. But certain British journalists were charged by their contemporaries "that they deliberately set out to poison Anglo-German relations and to create by their scaremongering such a climate of public opinion that war between the two Great Powers became inevitable." (*The Scaremongers: The Advocacy of War and Rearmament*

\*Approximate annual expenditure for military purposes by the European Powers in the first years of the century were: France— £38,400,000; Germany— £38,000,000; Italy— £15,000,000; Russia— £43,000,000; United States— £38,300,000; Great Britain— £69,000,000 at pre-1914 values of sterling.

\*\*Its business manager was a German Jew, Sam Hochberg. Among invited contributors was the immensely wealthy Russian Jew Alexander Helphand who, as "Parvus," was later to suggest to the German left-wing parties that Lenin and his associates be sent to Russia in 1917 to demoralize still further the beaten Russian armies.

1896–1914, A.J.A. Morris, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) Were they paid or pure? Every anti-German diatribe in British newspapers added to German government concern as to whether it was part of a policy instigated or condoned by Downing Street. Further, there were groups in every major European country which could see only in war the possible means to further their interests or to thwart the ambitions of their rivals. This is why the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir-apparent to the Austro-Hungarian throne, on 28 June in Sarajevo, soon set Europe crackling with fire, a fire which naturally spread through the lines of communications to colonial territories as far away as China.

On 28 July, Austria declared war on Serbia. Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia threatening hostilities if orders for total mobilization of the Russian army and navy were not countermanded.

A telegram dated 29 July 1914 from the Czar Nicholas to the Emperor Wilhelm, proposing that the Austro-Serbian dispute should be referred to the Hague Tribunal, remained unanswered. At the same time Germany sent a message to France asking if she would remain neutral; but France, which had absorbed issue after issue of Russian railroad bonds in addition to other problems, was unequivocal in supporting Russia. Amid mounting tension and frontier violations, Germany declared war on Russia and France. The French Chief-of-Staff, General Joseph Joffre, was prepared to march into Belgium if the Germans first violated its neutrality<sup>38</sup> which had been guaranteed by Britain, France, Prussia, Austria and Russia. German troops crossed the Belgian frontier (on 4 August at 8 a.m.) and the United Kingdom declared war on Germany.

### First Pledge

Lord Kitchener, who had left London at 11:30 on the morning of 3 August to return to Egypt after leave, was stopped at Dover and put in charge of the War Office.<sup>39</sup> At the first meeting of the War Council he warned his colleagues of a long struggle which would be won not at sea but on land, for which Britain would have to raise an army of millions of men and maintain them in the field for several years.<sup>40</sup> When the defense of Egypt was discussed at the meeting, Winston Churchill suggested that the ideal method of defending Egypt was to attack the Gallipoli Peninsula which, if successful, would give Britain control of the Dardenelles. But this operation was very difficult, and required a large force. He preferred the alternative of a feint at Gallipoli, and a landing at Haifa or some other point on the Syrian coast.

In Turkey, the Sultan had taken the title of *Khalif-al-Islam*, or



supreme religious leader of Moslems everywhere, and emissaries were dispatched to Arab chiefs with instructions that in the event of Turkey being involved in the European hostilities, they were to declare a *jihad*, or Moslem holy war. A psychological and physical force which Kitchener of Khartoum, the avenger of General Gordon's death, understood very well.

Kitchener planned to draw the sting of the *jihad*, which could affect British-Indian forces and rule in the East, by promoting an Arab revolt to be led by Hussein, who had been allowed by the Turks to assume his hereditary dignity as *Sherif* of Mecca and titular ruler of the Hejaz. Kitchener cabled on 13 October 1914 to his son, Abdullah, in Mecca, saying that if the Arab nation assisted England in this war, England would guarantee that no internal intervention took place in Arabia, and would give the Arabs every assistance against external aggression.

A series of letters passed between Sherif Hussein and the British Government through Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner for Egypt, designed to secure Arab support for the British in the Great War. One dated 24 October 1915 committed HMG to the inclusion of Palestine within the boundaries of Arab independence after the war, but excluded the area now known as Lebanon. This is clearly recognized in a secret "Memorandum on British Commitments to King Hussein" prepared for the inner group at the Peace Conference in 1919. (See Appendix) I found a copy in 1964 among the papers of the late Professor Wm. Westermann, who had been adviser on Turkish affairs to the American Delegation to the Peace Conference.

## The Second Pledge

As the major ally, France's claim to preference in parts of Syria could not be ignored. The British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, told the French Ambassador in London, Mr. Paul Cambon, on 21 October 1915, of the exchanges of correspondence with Sherif Hussein, and suggested that the two governments arrive at an understanding with their Russian ally on their future interests in the Ottoman Empire.

M. Picot was appointed French representative with Sir Mark Sykes, now Secretary of the British War Cabinet, to define the interests of their countries and to go to Russia to include that country's views in their agreement.

In the subsequent secret discussions with Foreign Secretary Sazonov, Russia was accorded the occupation of Constantinople, both shores of the Bosphorus and some parts of "Turkish" Armenia.\* France claimed Lebanon and Syria eastwards to

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\*This new offer to Russia of a direct outlet into the Mediterranean is a measure of the great importance attached by Britain and France to con-

Mosul. Palestine did in fact have inhabitants and shrines of the Greek and Russian Orthodox and Armenian churches, and Russia at first claimed a right to the area as their protector. This was countered by Sykes-Picot and the claim was withdrawn to the extent that Russia, in consultation with the other Allies, would only participate in deciding a form of international administration for Palestine.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement was incompatible with the pledges made to the Arabs. When the Turks gave Hussein details of the Agreement after the Russian revolution, he confined his action to a formal repudiation.

Like the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, the Tripartite Agreement made no mention of concessions to Zionism in the future disposition of Palestine, or even mention of the word "Jew." However it is now known that before the departure of Sykes\* for Petrograd on 27 February 1916 for discussions with Sazonov, he was approached with a plan by Herbert Samuel, who had a seat in the Cabinet as President of the Local Government Board and was strongly sympathetic to Herzl's Zionism.<sup>41</sup>

The plan put forward by Samuel was in the form of a memorandum which Sykes thought prudent to commit to memory and destroy. Commenting on it, Sykes wrote to Samuel suggesting that if Belgium should assume the administration of Palestine it might be more acceptable to France as an alternative to the international administration which she wanted and the Zionists did not.<sup>42</sup> Of boundaries marked on a map attached to the memorandum he wrote, "By excluding Hebron and the East of the Jordan there is less to discuss with the Moslems, as the Mosque of Omar then

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tinued and wholehearted Russian participation in the war. British policy from the end of the Napoleonic wars had been directed against Russia's efforts to extend its conquests to the Golden Horn and the Mediterranean (threatening Egypt and the way to India). For this reason, Britain and France had formed an alliance and fought the Crimean War (1854-56), which ended in the Black Sea being declared neutral; no warships could enter it nor could arsenals be built on its shores.

But Russian concern for the capture of Constantinople was more than economic and strategic. It was not unusual for priests to declare that the Russian people had a sacred duty to drive out the "infidel" Turk and raise the orthodox cross on the dome of Santa Sophia.

In 1877, the Russian armies again moved towards Constantinople with the excuse of avenging cruelties practiced on Christians. Again England frustrated these designs and the aggression ended with the Congress of Berlin, and British occupation of Cyprus.

\*Sir Mark Sykes, Secretary of the British War Cabinet, sent to Russia to negotiate the Tripartite (Sykes-Picot) Agreement for the Partition of the Ottoman Empire. M. Picot was the French representative in the negotia-



becomes the only matter of vital importance to discuss with them and further does away with any contact with the bedouins, who never cross the river except on business. I imagine that the principal object of Zionism is the realization of the ideal of an existing center of nationality rather than boundaries or extent of territory. The moment I return I will let you know how things stand at Pd."<sup>43</sup>

However, in conversations both with Sykes and the French ambassador, Sazonov was careful not to commit himself as to the extent of the Russian interest in Palestine, but made it clear that Russia would have to insist that not only the holy places, but all towns and localities in which there were religious establishments belonging to the Orthodox Church, should be placed under international administration, with a guarantee for free access to the Mediterranean.<sup>44</sup>

Czarist Russia would not agree to a Zionist formula for Palestine; but its days were numbered.

### The Third Pledge

In 1914, the central office of the Zionist Organization and the seat of its directorate, the Zionist Executive, were in Berlin. It already had adherents in most Eastern Jewish communities, including all the countries at war, though its main strength was in Russia and Austria-Hungary.<sup>45</sup> Some important institutions, namely, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Anglo-Palestine Company and the Jewish National Fund, were incorporated in England. Of the Executive, two members (Otto Warburg\* and Arthur Hantke) were German citizens, three (Yechiel Tschlenow, Nahum Sokolow and Victor Jacobson) were Russians and one (Shmarya Levin) had recently exchanged his Russian for Austro-Hungarian nationality. The 25 members of the General Council included 12 from Germany and Austria-Hungary, 7 from Russia, 2 (Chaim Weizmann and Leopold Kessler) from England, and one each from Belgium, France, Holland and Rumania.<sup>46</sup>

Some prominent German Zionists associated themselves with a newly founded organization known as the *Komitee für den Osten*, whose aims were: "To place at the disposal of the German Govern-

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tions. Neither Hussein nor Sir Henry McMahon were made aware of these secret discussions. Among other things, the agreement called for parts of Palestine to be placed under "an international administration."

\*Of the Warburg international banking family. Although ostensibly a second Secretary in the Wilhelmstrasse, Warburg has been reported as having the same position in German counterintelligence as Admiral Canaris in World War II.

ment the special knowledge of the founders and their relations with the Jews in Eastern Europe and in America, so as to contribute to the overthrow of Czarist Russia and to secure the national autonomy of the Jews."<sup>47</sup>

Influential Zionists outside the Central Powers were disturbed by the activities of the K.f.d.O. and anxious for the Zionist movement not to be compromised. Weizmann's advice was that the central office be moved from Berlin and that the conduct of Zionist affairs during the war should be entrusted to a provisional executive committee for general Zionist affairs in the United States.

At a conference in New York on 30 August 1914, this committee was set up under the chairmanship of Louis D. Brandeis, with the British-born Dr. Richard Gottheil and Jacob de Haas, Rabbi Stephen Wise and Felix Frankfurter, among his principal lieutenants. For Shmarya Levin, the representative of the Zionist Executive in the United States, and Dr. Judah Magnes, to whom the alliance of England and France with Russia seemed "unholy," Russian czarism was the enemy against which their force should be pitted.<sup>48</sup> But on 1 October 1914 Gottheil, first President of the Zionist Organization of America, wrote from the Department of Semitic Languages, Columbia University, to Brandeis in Boston enclosing a memorandum on what the organization planned to seek from the belligerents, with respect to the Russian Jews:

We have got to be prepared to work under the Government of any one of the Powers . . . I shall be glad to have any suggestion from you in regard to this memorandum, and shall be glad to know if it meets with your approval. I recognize that I ought not to have put it out without first consulting you; but the exigencies of the situation demanded immediate action. We ought to be fully prepared to take advantage of any occasion that offers itself.<sup>49</sup>

In a speech on 9 November, four days after Britain's declaration of war on Turkey, Prime Minister Asquith said that the traditional eastern policy had been abandoned and the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire had become a war aim. "It is the Ottoman Government," he declared, "and not we who have rung the death-knell of Ottoman dominion not only in Europe but in Asia."<sup>50</sup> The statement followed a discussion of the subject at a Cabinet meeting earlier that day, at which we know, from Herbert Samuel's memoirs, that Lloyd George, who had been retained as legal counsel by the Zionists some years before,<sup>51</sup> "referred to the ultimate destiny of Palestine." In a talk with Samuel after the meeting, Lloyd George assured him that "he was very keen to see a Jewish state established in Palestine."

On the same day, Samuel developed the Zionist position more



fully in a conversation with the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey. He spoke of Zionist aspirations for the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state, and of the importance of its geographical position to the British Empire. Such a state, he said, "could not be large enough to defend itself," and it would therefore be essential that it should be, by constitution, neutral. Grey asked whether Syria as a whole must necessarily go with Palestine, and Samuel replied that this was not only unnecessary but inadvisable, since it would bring in a large and unassimilable Arab population. "It would," he said, "be a great advantage if the remainder of Syria were annexed by France, as it would be far better for the state to have a European Power as a neighbor than the Turk."<sup>52</sup>

In January 1915 Samuel produced a Zionist memorandum on Palestine after discussions with Weizmann and Lloyd George. It contained arguments in favor of combining British annexation of Palestine with British support for Zionist aspirations, and ended with objections to any other solution.<sup>53</sup> Samuel circulated it to his colleagues in the Cabinet. Lloyd George was already a Zionist "partisan"; Lord Haldane, to whom Weizmann had had access, wrote expressing a friendly interest;<sup>54</sup> though privately expressing Zionist sympathies, the Marquess of Crewe presumably did not express any views in the Cabinet on the memorandum;<sup>55</sup> Zionism had a strong sentimental attraction for Grey;<sup>56</sup> but his other colleagues, including his cousin Edwin Montagu, did not give him much encouragement. Prime Minister Asquith wrote: "I confess that I am not attracted by the proposed addition to our responsibilities, but it is a curious illustration of Dissy's favorite maxim that race is everything to find this almost lyrical outburst proceeding from the well-ordered and methodical brain of H.S."<sup>57</sup>

After further conversations with Lloyd George and Grey,<sup>58</sup> Samuel circulated a revised text to the Cabinet in the middle of March 1915.

It is not known if the memorandum was formally considered by the Cabinet, but Asquith wrote in his diary on 13 March 1915 of Samuel's "dithyrambic memorandum" of which Lloyd George was "the only other partisan."<sup>59</sup> Certainly, at this time, Zionist claims and aspirations were secondary to British policy towards Russia and the Arabs.

Britain, France and Germany attached considerable importance to the attitudes of Jewry towards them because money and credit were needed for the war. The international banking houses of Lazard Frères, Eugene Mayer, J. & W. Seligman, Speyer Brothers and M.M. Warburg, were all conducting major operations in the United States, as were the Rothschilds through the New York

banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.\* Apart from their goodwill, the votes of America's Jewish community of 3,000,000 were important to the issue of that country's intervention or non-intervention in the war, and the provision of military supplies. The great majority represented the one-third of the Jews of Eastern Europe, including Russia, who had left their homelands and come to America between 1880 and 1914. Many detested Czarist Russia and wished to see it destroyed. Of these Jews, not more than 12,000 were enrolled members of the Zionist Organization.<sup>60</sup>

The goodwill of Jewry, and especially America's Jews, was assessed by both sides in the war as being very important. The once-poor Eastern European Jews had achieved a dominant position in New York's garment industry, and had become a significant political force. In 1914 they sent a Russian-born socialist to the Congress of the United States. They produced dozens of Yiddish periodicals; they patronized numerous Yiddish theatres and music halls; their sons and daughters were filling the metropolitan colleges and universities.<sup>61</sup>

From the beginning of the war, the German Ambassador in Washington, Count Bernstorff, was provided, by the *Komitee fuer den Osten*, with an adviser on Jewish Affairs (Isaac Straus); and when the head of the Zionist Agency in Constantinople appealed, in the winter of 1914, to the German Embassy to do what it could to relieve the pressure on the Jews in Palestine, it was reinforced by a similar appeal to Berlin from Bernstorff.<sup>62</sup> In November 1914, therefore, the German Embassy in Constantinople received instructions to recommend that the Turks sanction the re-opening of the Anglo-Palestine Company's Bank—a key Zionist institution. In December the Embassy made representations which prevented a projected mass deportation of Jews of Russian nationality.<sup>63</sup> In February 1915 German influence helped to save a number of Jews in Palestine from imprisonment or expulsion, and “a dozen or twenty times” the Germans intervened with the Turks at the re-

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\*Jacob Schiff, German-born senior partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and “the most influential figure of his day in American Jewish life,” wrote in *The Menorah Journal* of April 1915: “It is well known that I am a German sympathizer . . . England has been contaminated by her alliance with Russia . . . I am quite convinced that in Germany anti-semitism is a thing of the past.”<sup>64</sup> The *Jewish Encyclopedia* for 1906 states that “Schiff's firm subscribed for and floated the large Japanese war loan in 1904-05” (for the Russo-Japanese war), “in recognition of which the Mikado conferred on Schiff the second order of the Sacred Treasure of Japan.”

Partners with Schiff were Felix M. Warburg and his brother Paul who had come to New York in 1902 from Hamburg, and organized the Federal Reserve System.



quest of the Zionist office in Turkey, "thus saving and protecting the Yishuv."<sup>65</sup> The German representations reinforced those of the American Ambassador in Turkey (Henry Morgenthau).<sup>\*66</sup> Moreover, both the German consulates in Palestine and the head of the German military mission there frequently exerted their influence on behalf of the Jews.<sup>67</sup>

German respect for Jewish goodwill enabled the Constantinople Zionist Agency from December 1914 to use the German diplomatic courier service and telegraphic code for communicating with Berlin and Palestine.<sup>68</sup> On 5 June 1915 Victor Jacobson was received at the German Foreign Office by the Under-Secretary of State (von Zimmerman) and regular contact commenced between the Berlin Zionist Executive (Warburg, Hantke and Jacobson) and the German Foreign Office.<sup>69</sup>

Zionist propagandists in Germany elaborated and publicized the idea that Turkey could become a German satellite and its Empire in Asia made wide open to German enterprise; support for "a revival of Jewish life in Palestine" would form a bastion of German influence in that part of the world.<sup>70</sup> This was followed by solicitation of the German Foreign Office to notify the German consuls in Palestine of the German Government's friendly interest in Zionism. Such a course was favored by von Neurath\*\* when asked by Berlin for his views in October, and in November of 1915, the text for such a document was agreed upon and circulated after the approval of the German Chancellor (Bethmann-Hollweg). It was cautiously and vaguely worded so as not to upset Turkish susceptibilities, stating to the Palestine consuls that the German Government looked favorably on "Jewish activities designed to promote the economic and cultural progress of the Jews in Turkey, and also on the immigration and settlement of Jews from other countries."<sup>71</sup>

The Zionists felt that an important advance toward a firm German commitment to their aims had been made, but when the Berlin Zionist Executive pressed for a public assurance of sympathy and support, the Government told them to wait until the end of the war, when a victorious Germany would demonstrate its goodwill.<sup>72</sup>

When Zionist leaders in Germany met Jemal Pasha, by arrangement with the Foreign Office, during his visit to Berlin in the summer of 1917, they were told that the existing Jewish population would be treated fairly but that no further Jewish immigrants would be allowed. Jews could settle anywhere else but not in

\*An award for Morgenthau's heavy financial support for Wilson's presidential campaign.

\*\*Later, Foreign Minister (1932-38) and Protector of Bohemia (1939-43).

Palestine. The Turkish Government, Jemal Pasha declared, wanted no new nationality problems, nor was it prepared to antagonize the Palestinian Arabs, "who formed the majority of the population and were to a man opposed to Zionism."<sup>73</sup>

A few weeks after the interview, the Berlin Zionists' pressure was further weakened by the uncovering by Turkish Intelligence of a Zionist spy ring working for General Allenby's Intelligence section under an Aaron Aaronsohn. "It is no wonder that the Germans, tempted as they may have been by its advantages, shrank from committing themselves to a pro-Zionist declaration."<sup>74</sup>

It was fortunate for Zionism that the American Jews as a whole showed no enthusiasm for the Allied cause, wrote Stein, political secretary of the Zionist Organization from 1920 to 1929, "If they had all along been reliable friends, there would have been no need to pay them any special attention."<sup>75</sup>

In 1914 the French Government had sponsored a visit to the United States by Professor Sylvain Levy and the Grand Rabbi of France with the object of influencing Jewish opinion in their favor, but without success. A year later, it tried to reply to disturbing reports from its embassy in Washington about the sympathies of American Jews<sup>76</sup> by sending a Jew of Hungarian origin (Professor Victor Basch) to the United States in November 1915.<sup>77</sup> Ostensibly he represented the Ministry of Public Instruction, but his real mission was to influence American Jews through contact with their leaders.<sup>78</sup> Though armed with a message to American Jewry from Prime Minister Briand, he encountered an insuperable obstacle—the Russian alliance. "For Russia there is universal hatred and distrust . . . We are reproached with one thing only, the persecution of the Russian Jews, which we tolerate—a toleration which makes us accomplices . . . It is certain that any measures in favor of Jewish emancipation would be equivalent to a great battle lost by Germany."<sup>79</sup> Basch had to report to French President Poincaré the failure of his mission.<sup>80</sup>

At the same time that Basch had been dispatched to the United States, the French Government approved the setting up of a "Comité de Propagande Française auprès des Juifs neutres," and Jacques Bigart, the Secretary of the Alliance Israelite, accepted a secretaryship of the Comité. Bigart suggested to Lucien Wolf, of the Jewish Conjoint Foreign Committee in London, that a similar committee be set up there. Wolf consulted the Foreign Office and was invited by Lord Robert Cecil to provide a full statement of his views.<sup>81</sup>

In December 1915 Wolf submitted a memorandum in which he analyzed the characteristics of the Jewish population of the United States and reached the conclusion that "the situation,



though unsatisfactory, is far from unpromising." Though disclaiming Zionism, he wrote that "In America, the Zionist organizations have lately captured Jewish opinion." If a statement of sympathy with their aspirations were made, "I am confident they would sweep the whole of American Jewry into enthusiastic allegiance to their cause."<sup>82</sup>

Early in 1916 a further memorandum was submitted to the British Foreign Office as a formal communication from the Jewish Conjoint Foreign Committee. This stated that "the London (Conjoint) and Paris Committees formed to influence Jewish opinion in neutral countries in a sense favorable to the Allies" had agreed to make representations to their respective Governments. First, the Russian Government should be urged to ease the position of their Jews by immediate concessions for national-cultural autonomy; secondly, "in view of the great organized strength of the Zionists in the United States," (in fact out of the three million Jews in the U.S. less than 12,000 had enrolled as Zionists in 1913),<sup>83</sup> the Allied Powers should give assurances to the Jews of facilities in Palestine for immigration and colonization, liberal local self-government for Jewish colonists, the establishment of a Jewish university, and for the recognition of Hebrew as one of the vernaculars of the land—in the event of their victory.<sup>84</sup>

On 9 March 1916 the Zionists were informed by the Foreign Office that "your suggested formula is receiving (Sir Edward Grey's) careful and sympathetic attention, but it is necessary for H.M.G. to consult their Allies on the subject."<sup>85</sup> A confidential memorandum was accordingly addressed to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs in Petrograd, to ascertain his views, though its paternity, seeing that Asquith was still Prime Minister, "remains to be discovered."<sup>86</sup> No direct reply was received, but in a note addressed to the British and French ambassadors four days later, Sazonov obliquely assented, subject to guarantees for the Orthodox Church and its establishments, to raise no objection to the settlement of Jewish colonists in Palestine.<sup>87</sup>

Nothing came of these proposals. On 4 July the Foreign Office informed the Conjoint Committee that an official announcement of support was inopportune.<sup>88</sup> They must be considered alongside the Sykes-Picot Agreement being negotiated at this time, and the virtual completion of the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence by 10 March 1916, with the hope that an Arab revolt and other measures would bring victory near.

But 1916 was a disastrous year for the Allies. "In the story of the war" wrote Lloyd George,

the end of 1916 found the fortunes of the Allies at their lowest ebb. In the offensives on the western front we had lost three men for every two of the Germans we had put out of action. Over 300,000

British troops were being immobilized for lack of initiative or equipment or both by the Turks in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and for the same reason nearly 400,000 Allied soldiers were for all purposes interned in the malarial plains around Salonika.<sup>89</sup>

The voluntary system of enlistment was abolished, and a mass conscript army of continental pattern was adopted, something which had never before occurred in British history.<sup>\*90</sup> German submarine activity in the Atlantic was formidable; nearly 1½ million tons of merchant shipping had been sunk in 1916 alone. As for paying for the war, the Allies at first had used the huge American debts in Europe to pay for war supplies, but by 1916 the resources of J.P. Morgan and Company, the Allies' financial and purchasing agents in the United States, were said to be nearly exhausted by increased Allied demands for American credit.<sup>91</sup> There was rebellion in Ireland. Lord Robert Cecil stated to the British Cabinet: "France is within measurable distance of exhaustion. The political outlook of Italy is menacing. Her finance is tottering. In Russia, there is great discouragement. She has long been on the verge of revolution. Even her man-power seems coming near its limits."<sup>94</sup>

Secretary of State Kitchener was gone—drowned when the cruiser *Hampshire* sank on 5 June 1916 off the Orkneys when he was on his way to Archangel and Petrograd to nip the revolution in the bud. He had a better knowledge of the Middle East than anyone else in the Cabinet. The circumstances suggest espionage and treachery. Walter Page, the U.S. Ambassador in London, entered in his diary: "There was a hope and feeling that he (Lord Kitchener) might not come back . . . as I make out."

There was a stalemate on all fronts. In Britain, France and Germany, hardly a family numbered all its sons among the living. But the British public—and the French, and the German—were not allowed to know the numbers of the dead and wounded. By restricting war correspondents, the American people were not allowed to know the truth either.

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\*Russian nationals resident in the United Kingdom (nearly all of them Jews), not having become British subjects, some 25,000 of military age, still escaped military service.<sup>92</sup> This prompted Jabotinsky and Weizmann to urge the formation of a special brigade for Russian Jews, but the idea was not favorably received by the Government, and the Zionists joined non-Zionists in an effort to persuade Russian Jews of military age to volunteer as individuals for service in the British army. The response was negligible, and in July 1917 the Military Service (Conventions with Allies) Act was given Royal assent. Men of military age were invited to serve in the British army or risk deportation to Russia. However, the Russian revolution prevented its unhindered application.<sup>93</sup>



The figures that are known are a recital of horrors.\*

In these circumstances, a European tradition of negotiated peace in scores of wars, might have led to peace at the end of 1916 or early 1917.

Into this gloomy winter of 1916 walked a new figure. He was James Malcolm,\*\* an Oxford educated Armenian\*\*\* who, at the beginning of 1916, with the sanction of the British and Russian Governments, had been appointed by the Armenian Patriarch a member of the Armenian National Delegation to take charge of Armenian interests during and after the war. In this official capacity, and as adviser to the British Government on Eastern affairs,<sup>95</sup> he had frequent contacts with the Cabinet Office, the Foreign Office, the War Office and the French and other Allied embassies in London, and made visits to Paris for consultations with his colleagues and leading French officials. He was passionately devoted to an Allied victory which he hoped would guarantee the national freedom of the Armenians then under Turkish and Russian rule.

Sir Mark Sykes, with whom he was on terms of family friendship, told him that the Cabinet was looking anxiously for United States intervention in the war on the side of the Allies, but when asked what progress was being made in that direction, Sykes shook his head glumly. "Precious little," he replied.

James Malcolm now suggested to Mark Sykes that the reason why previous overtures to American Jewry to support the Allies had received no attention was because the approach had been made to the wrong people. It was to the Zionist Jews that the British and French Governments should address their parleys.

"You are going the wrong way about it," said Mr. Malcolm. "You can win the sympathy of certain politically-minded Jews

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\*Half a million Frenchmen were lost in the first four months of war, 1 million lost by the end of 1915, and 5 million by 1918. Who can imagine that the Allies lost 600,000 men in one battle, the Somme, and the British more officers in the first few months than all wars of the previous hundred years put together?

At Stalingrad, in the Second World War, the Wehrmacht had 230,000 men in the field. The German losses at Verdun alone were 325,000 killed or wounded.

By this time a soldier in one of the better divisions could count on a maximum of three months' service without being killed or wounded, and the life expectancy for an officer at the front was down to five months in an ordinary regiment and six weeks in a crack one.

\*\*See his *Origins of the Balfour Declaration: Dr. Weizmann's Contribution* reprinted by the IHR, \$2.00 postpaid.

\*\*\*Born in Persia, where his family had settled before Elizabethan days. He was sent to school in England in 1881, being placed in the care of a

everywhere, and especially in the United States, in one way only, and that is, by offering to try and secure Palestine for them."<sup>96</sup>

What really weighed most heavily now with Sykes were the terms of the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement. He told Malcolm that to offer to secure Palestine for the Jews was impossible. "Malcolm insisted that there was no other way and urged a Cabinet discussion. A day or two later, Sykes told him that the matter had been mentioned to Lord Milner who had asked for further information. Malcolm pointed out the influence of Judge Brandeis of the American Supreme Court, and his strong Zionist sympathies."<sup>97</sup>

In the United States, the President's adviser, Louis D. Brandeis, a leading advocate of Zionism, had been inducted as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on 5 June 1916. That Wilson was vulnerable was evident, in that as early as 1911, he had made known his profound interest in the Zionist idea and in Jewry.<sup>98</sup>

Malcolm described Wilson as being "attached to Brandeis by ties of peculiar hardness," a cryptic reference to the story that Wilson had been blackmailed for \$40,000 for some hot love letters he had written to his neighbor's wife when he was President of Princeton. He did not have the money, and the go-between, Samuel Untermyer, of the law firm of Guggenheim, Untermyer & Marshall, said he would provide it if Wilson would appoint to the next vacancy on the Supreme Court a nominee selected by Mr. Untermyer. The money was paid, the letters returned, and Brandeis had been the nominee.

Wilson had written to the Senate, where opposition to the nominee was strong: "I have known him. I have tested him by seeking his advice upon some of the most difficult and perplexing public questions about which it was necessary for me to form a judgement . . ." When Brandeis had been approved by the Senate, Wilson wrote to Henry Morgenthau: "I never signed any commission with such satisfaction." "Relief" might have been a more appropriate word.

The fact that endorsement of Wilson's nominee by the Senate Judiciary Committee had only been made "after hearings of unprecedented length"<sup>99</sup> was not important. Brandeis had the President's ear; he was "formally concerned with the Department of State."<sup>100</sup> This was the significant development, said Malcolm, which compelled a new approach to the Zionists by offering them the key to Palestine.

The British Ambassador to the United States (Sir Cecil Spring-

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friend and agent of his family, Sir Albert (Abdullah) Sassoon. Early in 1915, he founded the Russia Society in London among the British public as a means of improving relations between the two countries. Unlike the Zionists, he had no animus towards Czarist Russia.



Rice) had written from Washington in January 1914 that "a deputation came down from New York and in two days 'fixed' the two Houses so that the President had to renounce the idea of making a new treaty with Russia."<sup>101</sup> In November 1914 he had written to the British Foreign Secretary of the German Jewish bankers who were extending credits to the German Government and "were getting hold of the principal New York papers" thereby "bringing them over as much as they dare to the German side" and "toiling in a solid phalanx to compass our destruction."<sup>102</sup>

This anti-Russian sentiment was part of a deep concern for the well-being of Russian and Polish Jews. Brandeis wrote to his brother from Washington on 8 December 1914: "... You cannot possibly conceive the horrible sufferings of the Jews in Poland and adjacent countries. These changes of control from German to Russian and Polish anti-semitism are bringing miseries as great as the Jews ever suffered in all their exiles."<sup>\*103</sup>

In a speech to the Russian Duma on 9 February (27 January Gregorian) 1915, Foreign Minister Sazonov denied the calumnious stories which, he said, were circulated by Germany, of accounts of alleged pogroms against the Jews and of wholesale murders of Jews by the Russian armies. "If the Jewish population suffered in the war zone, that circumstance unfortunately was inevitably associated with war, and the same conditions applied in equal measure to all people living within the region of military activity." He added to the rebuttal with accounts of hardship in areas of German military action in Poland, Belgium and Serbia.<sup>104</sup>

It is noteworthy that the chairman of the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee responded to an appeal by the Brandeis group that all American Jews should organize to emphasize Zionist aims in Palestine before the Great Powers in any negotiations during or at the end of the war, by dissociating his community from the suggestion that Jews of other nationalities were to be accorded special status. He said that "the very thought of the mass of the Jews of America having a voice in the matter of deciding the welfare of the Jews in the world made him shrink in horror."<sup>107</sup>

The new approach to the Zionist movement by Mark Sykes with James Malcolm as preliminary interlocutor took the form of a

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\*A reference to the 1914 invasion of Austria and East Prussia by the Russians with such vigor that many people believed that the "Russian steamroller" would soon reach Berlin and end the war. Only the diversion of whole army divisions from the Western to the Eastern Front under the command of General von Hindenburg saved Berlin, and in turn saved Paris.

There was a direct effort by certain groups to support anti-Imperial activities in Russia from the United States,<sup>105</sup> but Brandeis was apparently not implicated.

series of meetings at Chaim Weizmann's London house, with the knowledge and approval of the Secretary of the War Cabinet, Sir Maurice Hankey.

A *Programme for a New Administration of Palestine in Accordance with the Aspirations of the Zionist Movement* was issued by the English Political Committee of the Zionist Organization in October 1916, and submitted to the British Foreign Office as a basis for discussion in order to give an official character to the informal house-talks. It included the following:

(1) The Jewish Chartered Company is to have power to exercise the right of pre-emption over Crown and other lands and to acquire for its own use all or any concessions which may at any time be granted by the suzerain government or governments.

(2) The present population, being too small, too poor and too little trained to make rapid progress, requires the introduction of a new and progressive element in the population. (But the rights of minority nationalities were to be protected).

Other points were, (3) recognition of separate Jewish nationality in Palestine; (4) participation of the Palestine Jewish population in local self-government; (5) Jewish autonomy in purely Jewish affairs; (6) official recognition and legalization of existing Jewish institutions for colonization in Palestine.<sup>108</sup>

This Programme does not appear to have reached Cabinet level at the time it was issued, probably because of Asquith's known lack of sympathy, but as recorded by Samuel Landman, the Zionist Organization was given official British facilities for its international correspondence.<sup>109</sup>

Lloyd George, an earnest and powerful demagogue, was now prepared to oust Asquith, his chief, by a *coup de main*. With the death of Kitchener in the summer of 1916, he had passed from Munitions to the War Office and he saw the top of the parliamentary tree within his grasp. In this maneuver he was powerfully aided by the newspaper proprietor Northcliffe,\* who turned all his publications from *The Times* downwards to depreciate Asquith, and by the newspaper-owning M.P., Max Aitken (later Lord Beaverbrook).

With public sympathy well prepared, Lloyd George demanded virtual control of war policy. It was intended that Asquith should refuse. He did. Lloyd George resigned. Asquith also resigned to facilitate the reconstruction of the Government. The King then sent for the Conservative leader, Bonar Law, who, as prearranged, advised him to offer the premiership to Lloyd George.<sup>110</sup>

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\*Northcliffe was small-minded enough to have Lloyd George called to the telephone, in front of friends, to demonstrate the politician's need of the Press.



Asquith and Grey were out; Lloyd George and Balfour were in. With Lloyd George as Prime Minister from December 1916, Zionist relations with the British Government developed fast. Lloyd George had been legal counsel for the Zionists, and while Minister of Munitions, had had assistance from the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann; the new Foreign Minister, Arthur Balfour, was already known for his Zionist sympathies.

The Zionists were undermining the wall between them and their Palestine objective which they had found impossible "to surmount by ordinary political means" prior to the war.<sup>111</sup> Herzl's suggestion that they would get Palestine "not from the goodwill but from the jealousy of the Powers,"<sup>112</sup> was being made to come true.

The Zionists moved resolutely to exploit the new situation now that the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary were their firm supporters.

Landman, in his *Secret History of the Balfour Declaration*, wrote:

Through General McDonogh, Director of Military Operations, who was won over by Fitzmaurice (formerly Dragoman of the British Embassy in Constantinople and a friend of James Malcolm), Dr. Weizmann was able, about this time, to secure from the Government the services of half a dozen younger Zionists for active work on behalf of Zionism. At the time, conscription was in force, and only those who were engaged on work of national importance could be released from active service at the Front. I remember Dr. Weizmann writing a letter to General McDonogh and invoking his assistance in obtaining the exemption from active service of Leon Simon, (who later rose to high rank in the Civil Service as Sir Leon Simon, C.B.), Harry Sacher, (on the editorial staff of the *Manchester Guardian*), Simon Marks,\* Yamson Tolkowsky and myself. At Dr. Weizmann's request I was transferred from the War Office (M.I.9), where I was then working, to the Ministry of Propaganda, which was under Lord Northcliffe, and later to the Zionist office, where I commenced work about December 1916. Simon Marks actually arrived at the Office in khaki, and immediately set about the task of organizing the office which, as will be easily understood, had to maintain constant communications with Zionists in most countries.

From that time onwards for several years, Zionism was considered an ally of the British Government, and every help and assistance was forthcoming from each government department. Passport or travel difficulties did not exist when a man was recommended by our office. For instance, a certificate signed by me was

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\*Associated with Israel M. Sieff, another of Weizmann's inner circle, in the business which later became Marks & Spencer, Ltd. Sieff was appointed an economic consultant to the U.S. Administration (OPA) in March 1924. As subsequent supporters, with Lord Melchett, of "Political and Economic Planning" (PEP), they exercised considerable influence on British inter-war policy.

accepted by the Home Office at that time as evidence that an Ottoman Jew was to be treated as a friendly alien and not as an enemy, which was the case with the Turkish subjects.

### The Declaration, 1917

The informal committee of Zionists and Mark Sykes as representative of the British Government, met on 7 February 1917 at the house of Moses Gaster,\* the Chief Rabbi of the Sephardic (Spanish and Portuguese) congregations in England. Gaster opened the meeting with a statement that stressed Zionist support for British strategic interests in Palestine which were to be an integral part of any agreement between them. As these interests might be considered paramount to British statesmen, support for Zionist aims there, Gaster said, was fully justified. Zionism was irrevocably opposed to any internationalization proposals, even an Anglo-French condominium.<sup>113</sup>

Herbert Samuel followed with an expression of the hope that Jews in Palestine would receive full national status, which would be shared by Jews in the *Diaspora*. The question of conflict of nationality was not mentioned and a succeeding speaker, Harry Sacher, suggested that the sharing should not involve the political implications of citizenship.<sup>114</sup> Weizmann spoke of the necessity for unrestricted immigration. It is clear that the content of each speech was thoroughly prepared before the meeting.

Sykes outlined the obstacles: the inevitable Russian objections, the opposition of the Arabs, and strongly pressed French claims to all Syria, including Palestine.<sup>115</sup> James de Rothschild and Nahum Sokolow, the international Zionist leader, also spoke.

The meeting ended with a summary of Zionist objectives:

- I. International recognition of Jewish right to Palestine;
- II. Juridical nationhood for the Jewish community in Palestine;
- III. The creation of a Jewish chartered company in Palestine with rights to acquire land;
- IV. Union and one administration for Palestine; and
- V. Extra-territorial status for the holy places.<sup>117</sup>

The first three points are Zionist, the last two were designed to placate England and Russia, respectively,<sup>118</sup> and probably Italy and the Vatican. Sokolow was chosen to act as Zionist representative, to negotiate with Sir Mark Sykes.

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\*Born in Rumania in 1856, his imposing presence and scholarship combined with "an oracular manner suggesting that he had access to mysteries hidden from others, had made him an important figure at Zionist Congresses and on Zionist platforms in England and abroad." It was calculated that Sykes would be impressed by his personality and background.<sup>116</sup>



The Zionists were, of course, coordinating their activities internationally. On the same day as the meeting in London, Rabbi Stephen Wise in the United States wrote to Brandeis: "I sent the memorandum to Colonel House covering our question, and he writes: 'I hope the dream you have may soon become a reality.'"<sup>118a</sup>

The reports reaching England of impending dissolution of the Russian state practically removed the need for Russian endorsement of Zionist aims, but made French and Italian acceptance even more urgent. This at any rate was the belief of Sykes, Balfour, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, who, as claimed in their subsequent statements, were convinced that proclaimed Allied support for Zionist aims would especially influence the United States. Events in Russia made the cooperation of Jewish groups with the Allies much easier. At a mass meeting in March 1917 to celebrate the revolution which had then taken place, Rabbi Stephen Wise, who had succeeded Brandeis as chairman of the American Provisional Zionist Committee after Brandeis's appointment to the Supreme Court, said: "I believe that of all the achievements of my people, none has been nobler than the part the sons and daughters of Israel have taken in the great movement which has culminated in free Russia."<sup>119</sup>

Negotiations for a series of loans totalling \$190,000,000 by the United States to the Provisional Government in Russia of Alexander Kerensky were begun on the advice of the U.S. ambassador to Russia, David R. Francis, who noted in his telegram to Secretary of State Lansing, "financial aid now from America would be a master-stroke. Confidential. Immeasurably important to the Jews that revolution succeed . . ."<sup>120</sup>

On 22 March 1917 Jacob H. Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., wrote to Mortimer Schiff, "We should be somewhat careful not to appear as overzealous but you might cable Cassel because of recent action of Germany (the declaration of unlimited U-boat warfare) and developments in Russia we shall no longer abstain from Allied Governments financing when opportunity offers."

He also sent a congratulatory cable to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first Provisional Government, referring to the previous government as "the merciless persecutors of my co-religionists."

In the same month, Leiber Davidovich Bronstein, alias Leon Trotsky, a Russian-born U.S. immigrant, had left the Bronx, New York, for Russia, with a contingent of followers, while V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin) and a party of about thirty were moving across Germany from Switzerland, through Scandinavia to Russia. Some evidence exists that Schiff and other sponsors like Helphand financed these revolutionaries.

In March 1917, President Wilson denounced as "a little group of willful men," the non-interventionists who filibustered an Administration-sponsored bill that would have empowered Wilson to wage an undeclared naval war against Germany. The opposition to Wilson was led by Senators La Follette and Norris.

On 5 April, the day before the United States Congress adopted a resolution of war, Schiff had been informed by Baron Gunzburg of the actual signing of the decrees removing all restrictions on the Jews in Russia.

At a special session of Congress on 2 April 1917, President Wilson referred to American merchant ships taking supplies to the Allies which had been sunk during the previous month by German submarines (operating a counter-blockade; the British and French fleets having blockaded the Central Powers from the beginning of the war); and then told Congress that "wonderful and heartening things have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia."

He asked for a declaration of war with a mission:

for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, *for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.*

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace that she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other. (emphasis supplied)

That night crowds filled the streets, marching, shouting, singing "Dixie" or "The Star Spangled Banner." Wilson turned to his secretary, Tumulty: "Think what that means, the applause. My message tonight was a message of death. How strange to applaud that!"

So, within six months of Malcolm's specific suggestion to Sykes, the United States of America, guided by Woodrow Wilson, was on the side of the Allies in the Great War.

Was Wilson guided by Brandeis away from neutrality—to war?

In London, the War Cabinet led by Lloyd George lost no time committing British forces first to the capture of Jerusalem, and then to the total expulsion of the Turks from Palestine. The attack from Egypt, launched on 26 March 1917, attempting to take Gaza, ended in failure. By the end of April a second attack on Gaza had been driven back and it had become clear that there was no prospect of a quick success on this Front.



From Cairo, where he had gone hoping to follow the Army into Jerusalem with Weizmann, Sykes telegraphed to the Foreign Office that, if the Egyptian Expeditionary Force was not reinforced, then it would be necessary "to drop all Zionist projects . . . Zionists in London and U.S.A. should be warned of this through M. Sokolow . . ." <sup>120a</sup>

Three weeks later, Sykes was told that reinforcements were coming from Salonika. The War Cabinet also decided to replace the Force's commander with General Allenby.

Sykes was the official negotiator for the whole project of assisting the Zionists. He acted immediately after the meeting at Gaster's house by asking his friend M. Picot to meet Nahum Sokolow at the French Embassy in London in an attempt to induce the French to give way on the question of British suzerainty in Palestine.<sup>121</sup> James Malcolm was then asked to go alone to Paris to arrange an interview for Sokolow directly with the French Foreign Minister. Sokolow had been previously unsuccessful in obtaining the support of French Jewry for a meeting with the Minister; since the richest and most influential Jews in the United States and England, with the notable exception of the Rothschilds, who could have arranged such a meeting, were opposed to the political implications of Zionism. In Paris, the powerful *Alliance Israélite Universelle* had made every effort to dissuade him from his mission.<sup>122</sup> Not that the Zionists had no supporters in France other than Edmond de Rothschild,\* but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had no reason to entangle itself with them.<sup>123</sup> Now James Malcolm opened the door directly to them as he had done in London.

Sykes joined Malcolm and Sokolow in Paris. Sykes and Malcolm, apart from the consideration of Zionism and future American support for the war, were concerned with the possibility of an Arab-Jewish-Armenian *entente* which, through amity between Islamic, Jewish and Christian peoples, would bring peace, stability and a bright new future for the inhabitants of this area where Europe, Asia Minor and Africa meet. Sokolow went along for the diplomatic ride, but in a letter to Weizmann (20 April 1917) he wrote: "I regard the idea as quite fantastic. It is difficult to reach an understanding with the Arabs, but we will have to try. There are no conflicts between Jews and Armenians because there are no common interests whatever." <sup>\*\* 124</sup>

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\*These included the socialist leader, Jules Guesde, who had joined Viviani's National Government as Minister of State; Gustave Herve; the publicist and future Minister de Monzie; and others.

\*\*Privately, Sokolow resented Malcolm as "a stranger in the center of our work," who was "endowed with an esprit of a goyish kind." <sup>130</sup>

Several conversations were held with Picot, including one on 9 April when other officials included Jules Cambon, the Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry, and the Minister's Chef de Cabinet. Exactly what assurances were given to Sokolow is uncertain, but he wrote to Weizmann "that they accept in principle the recognition of Jewish nationality in terms of a national home, local autonomy, etc."<sup>125</sup> And to Brandeis and Tschlenow, he telegraphed through French official channels: "... Have full confidence Allied victory will realise our Palestine Zionist aspirations."<sup>126</sup>

Sokolow set off for Rome and the Vatican. "There, thanks to the introductions of Fitzmaurice on the one hand and the help of Baron Sidney Sonnino\* on the other," a Papal audience and interviews with the leading Foreign Office officials were quickly arranged.<sup>127</sup>

When Sokolow returned to Paris, he requested and received a letter from the Foreign Minister dated 4 June 1917, supporting the Zionist cause in general terms. He hastily wrote two telegrams which he gave to M. Picot for dispatch by official diplomatic channels. One was addressed to Louis D. Brandeis in the United States. It read: "Now you can move. We have the formal assurance of the French Government."<sup>\*\*128</sup>

"After many years," wrote M. Picot, "I am still moved by the thanks he poured out to me as he gave me the two telegrams . . . I do not say that it was the cause of the great upsurge of enthusiasm which occurred in the United States, but I say that Judge Brandeis, to whom this telegram was addressed, was certainly one of the elements determining the decision of President Wilson."<sup>129</sup>

But Wilson had declared war one month before!

It is natural that M. Picot should want to believe that he had played a significant part in bringing America into the war and therefore helping his country's victory. The evidence certainly supports his having a part in helping a Zionist victory.

Their objective was in sight, but had still to be taken and held.

Although the United States was now a belligerent, no declaration of support had been made for the Zionist program for

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\*Of Jewish extraction.<sup>131</sup>

\*\*The French note represented a defeat for the "Syrian Party" in the government who believed in French dominion over the entire area. This was not only due to the strong representations of Sykes on behalf of his Government, but was assisted by those of Baron Edmond de Rothschild,<sup>132</sup> who prevailed upon the *Alliance Israélite* to back the Zionist cause.

The result of the no less successful conversations in Rome and the Vatican were cabled to the Zionist Organization over British controlled lines.<sup>133</sup>



Palestine, either by Britain or the United States, and some of the richest and most powerful Jews in both countries were opposed to it.

The exception among these Jewish merchant princes was, of course, the House of Rothschild. From London on 25 April 1917, James de Rothschild cabled to Brandeis that Balfour was coming to the United States, and urged American Jewry to support "a Jewish Palestine under British protection," as well as to press their government to do so. He advised Brandeis to meet Balfour.<sup>134</sup> The meeting took place at a White House luncheon. "You are one of the Americans I wanted to meet," said the British Foreign Secretary.<sup>135</sup> Brandeis cabled Louis de Rothschild: "Have had a satisfactory talk with Mr. Balfour, also with our President. This is not for publication."<sup>136</sup>

On the other hand, a letter dated 17 May 1917 appeared in *The Times* (London) signed by the President of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the President of the Anglo-Jewish Association (Alexander and Montefiore, both men of wealth and eminence) stating their approval of Jewish settlement in Palestine as a source of inspiration for all Jews, but adding that they could not favor the Zionists' political scheme. Jews, they believed, were a religious community and they opposed the creation of "a secular Jewish nationality recruited on some loose and obscure principle of race and ethnological peculiarity." They particularly took exception to Zionist pressure for a Jewish chartered company invested with political and economic privileges in which Jews alone would participate, since this was incompatible with the desires of world Jewry for equal rights wherever they lived.<sup>137</sup>

A controversy then ensued in the British press, in Jewish associations and in the corridors of government, between the Zionist and non-Zionist Jews. In this, Weizmann really had less weight, but he mobilized the more forceful team. The Chief Rabbi dissociated himself from the non-Zionist statement and charged that the Alexander-Montefiore letter did not represent the views of their organizations.<sup>138</sup> Lord Rothschild wrote: "We Zionists cannot see how the establishment of an autonomous Jewish State under the aegis of one of the Allied Powers could be subversive to the loyalty of Jews to countries of which they were citizens. In the letter you have published, the question is also raised of a chartered company." He continued: "We Zionists have always felt that if Palestine is to be colonized by the Jews, some machinery must be set up to receive the immigrants, settle them on the land and develop the land, and to be generally a directing agency. I can only again emphasize that we Zionists have no wish for privileges at the expense of other nationalities, but only desire to be allowed to work out our destinies side by side with other nationalities in an

autonomous state under the suzerainty of one of the Allied Powers."<sup>139</sup> This letter stressed the colonialist aspect of Zionism, but detracted from the strong statist declaration of Weizmann. The Zionist body in Palestine was to be of a more organizational character for the Jewish community.

Perhaps feeling that his statement had been a little too strong for liberal acceptance, Weizmann also joined this correspondence in the *Times*. Writing as President of the English Zionist Federation, he first claimed that,

it is strictly a question of fact that the Jews are a nationality. An overwhelming majority of them had always had the conviction that they were a nationality, which has been shared by non-Jews in all countries."

The letter continued:

The Zionists are not demanding in Palestine monopolies or exclusive privileges, nor are they asking that any part of Palestine should be administered by a chartered company to the detriment of others. *It always was and remains a cardinal principle of Zionism as a democratic movement that all races and sects in Palestine should enjoy full justice and liberty*, and Zionists are confident that the new suzerain whom they hope Palestine will acquire as a result of the war will, in its administration of the country, be guided by the same principle.<sup>140</sup> (emphasis supplied)

The competition for the attention of the British public and British Jewry by the Zionists and their Jewish opponents continued in the press and in their various special meetings. A manifesto of solidarity with the opinions of Alexander and Montefiore was sent to *The Times* on 1 June 1917; and in the same month at Buffalo, N.Y., the President of the Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis added his weight against Jewish nationalism: "I am not here to quarrel with Zionism. Mine is only the intention to declare that we, as rabbis, who are consecrated to the service of the Lord . . . have no place in a movement in which Jews band together on racial or national grounds, and for a political State or even for a legally-assured Home."<sup>141</sup>

But while the controversy continued, the Zionists worked hard to produce a draft document which could form a declaration acceptable to the Allies, particularly Britain and the United States, and which would be in the nature of a charter of international status for their aims in Palestine. This was treated as a matter of urgency, as Weizmann believed it would remove the support from non-Zionist Jews<sup>142</sup> and ensure against the uncertainties inseparable from the war.



On 13 June 1917 Weizmann wrote Sir Ronald Graham at the Foreign Office that "it appears desirable from every point of view that the British Government should give expression to its sympathy and support of the Zionist claims on Palestine. In fact, it need only confirm the view which eminent and representative members of the Government have many times expressed to us . . ." <sup>143</sup> This was timed to coincide with a minute of the same date of one of Balfour's advisers in which it was suggested that the time had arrived "when we might meet the wishes of the Zionists and give them an assurance that H.M.G. are in general sympathy with their aspirations." <sup>144</sup> To which Balfour remarked, "Personally, I should still prefer to associate the U.S.A. in the protectorate, should we succeed in securing it." <sup>145</sup>

The Zionists also had to counter tentative British and American plans to seek a separate peace with Turkey. When Weizmann, for the Zionists, together with Malcolm, for the Armenians, went on 10 June to the Foreign Office to protest such a plan, Weizmann broadly suggested that the Zionist leaders in Germany were being courted by the German Government, and he mentioned, to improve credibility, that approaches were made to them through the medium of a Dr. Lepsius.

The truth, probably, is that the Berlin Zionist Executive was initiating renewed contact with the German Government so as to give weight to the pleading of their counterparts in London that the risk of German competition could not be left out of account. Lepsius was actually a leading Evangelical divine, well known for his championship of the Armenians, who were then being massacred in Turkey. When Leonard Stein examined the papers of the Berlin Executive after the war, his name was not to be found, and Mr. Lichtheim of the Executive had no recollection of any overtures by Lepsius. <sup>146</sup>

In the U.S., in July 1917, a special mission consisting of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., and Justice Brandeis's nephew, Felix Frankfurter, was charged by President Wilson to proceed to Turkey, against which the United States did not declare war, to sound out the possibility of peace negotiations between Turkey and the Allies. In this, Wilson may have been particularly motivated by his passion to stop the massacres of Armenian and Greek Christians which were then taking place in Turkey and for whom he expressed immense solicitude on many occasions. Weizmann, however, accompanied by the French Zionist M. Weyl, forewarned, proceeded to intercept them at Gibraltar and persuaded them to return home. <sup>147</sup> During 1917 and 1918 more Christians were massacred in Turkey. Had Morgenthau and Frankfurter carried out their mission successfully, maybe this would have been avoided.

This account appears in William Yale's book *The Near East: A Modern History*. He was a Special Agent of the State Department in the Near East during the First World War. When I had dinner with him on 12 May 1970 at the Biltmore Hotel in New York, I asked him if Weizmann had told him how the special mission had been aborted. He replied that Weizmann said that the Governor of Gibraltar had held a special banquet in their honor, but at the end all the British officials withdrew discretely, leaving the four Jews alone. "Then," said Weizmann, "we fixed it."

The same evening, he told me something which he said he had never told anyone else, and which was in his secret papers which were only to be opened after his death. He later wrote to me, after he had read *The Palestine Diary*, saying that he would like me to deal with those papers.

One of Yale's assignments was to follow Wilson's preference for having private talks with key personalities capable of influencing the course of events. He did this with Lloyd George, General Allenby and Col. T.E. Lawrence, for example. Yale said he had a talk with Weizmann "somewhere in the Mediterranean in 1919," and asked him what might happen if the British did not support a national home for the Jews in Palestine. Weizmann thumped his fist on the table and the teacups jumped, "If they don't," he said, "we'll smash the British Empire as we smashed the Russian Empire."

Brandeis was in Washington during the summer of 1917 and conferred with Secretary of State Robert S. Lansing from time to time on Turkish-American relations and the treatment of Jews in Palestine.<sup>148</sup> He busied himself in particular with drafts of what later became the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine, and in obtaining American approval for them.<sup>149</sup> A considerable number of drafts were made in London and transmitted to the United States, through War Office channels, for the use of the American Zionist Political Committee. Some were detailed, but the British Government did not want to commit itself to more than a general statement of principles.

On 18 July, such a statement, approved in the United States, was forwarded by Lord Rothschild to Lord Balfour. It read as follows:

His Majesty's Government, after considering the aims of the Zionist Organization, accepts the principle of recognizing Palestine as the National Home\* of the Jewish people and the right of the

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\*The use of the term "National Home" was a continuation of the euphemism deliberately adopted since the first Zionist Congress, when the term "Heimstaette" was used instead of any of the possible German words signifying "state." At that time, its purpose was to avoid provoking the hostility of non-Zionist Jews.<sup>151</sup>



Jewish people to build up its national life in Palestine under a protection to be established at the conclusion of peace, following upon the successful issue of war.

His Majesty's Government regards as essential for the realization of this principle the grant of internal autonomy to the Jewish nationality in Palestine, freedom of immigration for Jews, and the establishment of a Jewish national colonization corporation for the resettlement and economic development of the country.

The conditions and forms of the internal autonomy and a charter for the Jewish national colonizing corporation should, in the view of His Majesty's Government, be elaborated in detail, and determined with the representatives of the Zionist Organization.<sup>150</sup>

It seems possible that Balfour would have issued this declaration but strong representatives against it were made directly to the Cabinet by Lucien Wolf, Claude Montefiore, Sir Mathew Nathan, Secretary of State for India Edwin Montagu,\* and other non-Zionist Jews. It was significant, they believed, that "anti-semites are always very sympathetic to Zionism," and though they would welcome the establishment in Palestine of a center of Jewish culture, some—like Philip Magnes—feared that a political declaration would antagonize other sections of the population in Palestine, and might result in the Turks dealing with the Jews as they had dealt with the Armenians.<sup>154</sup> The Jewish opposition was too important to ignore, and the preparation of a new draft was commenced. At about this time, Northcliffe and Reading\*\* visited Washington and had a discussion with Brandeis at which they undoubtedly discussed Zionism.<sup>155</sup>

Multiple pressures at key points led Lord Robert Cecil to telegraph to Col. E.M. House on 3 September 1917: "We are being pressed here for a declaration of sympathy with the Zionist movement and I should be very grateful if you felt able to ascertain unofficially if the President favours such a declaration."<sup>156</sup> House, who had performed services relating to Federal Reserve and cur-

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The author or inventor of the term "Heimstaette" was Max Nordau who coined it "to deceive by its mildness" until such time as "there was no reason to dissimulate our real aim."<sup>152</sup>

The Arabic translation of "National Home" ignores the intended subtlety, and the words employed: *watan*, *qawm*, and *sha'b*, are much stronger in meaning than an abstract notion of government.<sup>153</sup>

\*(1879–1924). His father, the first Lord Swaythling, and Herbert Samuel's father were brothers.

\*\*Rufus Isaacs, a Jewish lawyer, who had quickly risen to fame in his profession, and then in politics. This was a period when elevations to the peerage for political and financial assistance to the party in power were so numerous that the whole system of British peerage was weakened. In 1916, Isaacs was a viscount; in 1917 an earl.

rency legislation for Jacob W. Schiff and Paul Warburg,<sup>157</sup> and was Wilson's closet adviser, relayed the message, but a week later Cecil was still without a reply.

On 11 September the Foreign Office had ready for dispatch the following message for Sir William Wiseman,\* head of the British Military Intelligence Service in the United States: "Has Colonel House been able to ascertain whether the President favours sympathy with Zionist aspirations as asked in my telegram of September 3rd? We should be most grateful for an early reply as September 17th is the Jewish New Year and announcement of sympathy by or on that date would have excellent effect." But before it was sent, a telegram from Colonel House dated 11 September reached the Foreign Office.

Wilson had been approached as requested and had expressed the opinion that "the time was not opportune for any definite statement further, perhaps, than one of sympathy, provided it can be made without conveying any real commitment." Presumably, a formal declaration would presuppose the expulsion of the Turks from Palestine, but the United States was not at war with Turkey, and a declaration implying annexation would exclude an early and separate peace with that country.<sup>158</sup>

In a widely publicized speech in Cincinnati on 21 May 1916, after temporarily relinquishing his appointment as Ambassador to Turkey in favor of a Jewish colleague, Henry Morgenthau had announced that he had recently suggested to the Turkish Government that Turkey should sell Palestine to the Zionists after the war. The proposal, he said, had been well received, but its publication caused anger in Turkey.<sup>159</sup>

Weizmann was "greatly astonished" at this news, especially as he had "wired to Brandeis requesting him to use his influence in our favour . . . But up to now I have heard nothing from Brandeis."<sup>161</sup>

On 19 September Weizmann cabled to Brandeis:

Following text declaration has been approved by Foreign Office and Prime Minister and submitted to War Cabinet:

(1) H.M. Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people.

(2) H.M. Government will use its best endeavours to secure the achievement of the object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist Organization.<sup>162</sup>

Weizmann suggested that non-Zionist opposition should be forestalled, and in this it would "greatly help if President Wilson

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\*Joined Kuhn, Loeb & Co. in 1921, and was responsible for their liaison with London banks, and was "in charge of financing several large enterprises."<sup>160</sup>



and yourself support the text. Matter most urgent."<sup>163</sup> He followed this up with a telegram to two leading New York Zionists, asking them to "see Brandeis and Frankfurter to immediately discuss my last two telegrams with them," adding that it might be necessary for him to come to the United States himself.<sup>164</sup>

Brandeis saw House on 23 September and drafted a message, sent the following day through the British War Office. It advised that presidential support would be facilitated if the French and Italians made inquiry about the White House attitude, but he followed this the same day with another cable stating that from previous talks with the President and in the opinion of his close advisers, he could safely say that Wilson would be in complete sympathy.<sup>165</sup>

Thus Brandeis had either persuaded Wilson that there was nothing in the draft (Rothschild) declaration of 19 September which could be interpreted as "conveying any real commitment," which is difficult to believe, or he had induced the President to change his mind about the kind of declaration he could approve or was sure he and House could do so.<sup>166</sup>

On 7 February 1917, Stephen Wise had written to Brandeis: "I sent the memorandum to Colonel House covering our question, and he writes, 'I hope the dream you have may soon become a reality'."<sup>167</sup> In October, after seeing House together with Wise, de Haas reported to Brandeis: "He has told us that he was as much interested in our success as ourselves." To Wilson, House stated that "The Jews from every tribe descended in force, and they seem determined to break in with a jimmy, if they are not let in."<sup>168</sup> A new draft declaration had been prepared; Wilson had to support it.

On 9 October 1917, Weizmann cabled again to Brandeis from London of difficulties from the "assimilants" opposition: "They have found an excellent champion . . . in Mr. Edwin Montagu who is a member of the Government and has certainly made use of his position to injure the Zionist cause."<sup>169</sup>

Weizmann also telegraphed to Brandeis a new (Milner-Amery) formula. The same draft was cabled by Balfour to House in Washington on 14 October:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish race and will use its best endeavours to facilitate achievement of this object; it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality and citizenship.<sup>170</sup>

It was reinforced by a telegram from the U.S. Embassy in London direct to President Wilson (by-passing the State Department), stating that the "question of a message of sympathy with the (Zionist) movement" was being reconsidered by the British Cabinet "in view of reports that (the) German Government are making great efforts to capture (the) Zionist movement."<sup>171</sup>

Brandeis and his associates found the draft unsatisfactory in two particulars. They disliked that part of the draft's second safeguard clause which read, "by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality and citizenship," and substituted "the rights and civil political status enjoyed by Jews in any country." In addition, Brandeis apparently proposed the change of "Jewish race" to "Jewish people."<sup>172</sup>

Jacob de Haas, then Executive Secretary of the Provisional Zionist Committee, has written that the pressure to issue the declaration was coming from the English Zionist leaders: "they apparently needed it to stabilize their position against local anti-Zionism. If American Zionists were anxious about it, Washington would act." De Haas continues:

Then one morning Baron Furness, one of England's unostentatious representatives, brought to 44 East 23rd Street, at that time headquarters of the Zionist Organization, the final draft ready for issue. The language of the declaration accepted by the English Zionists based as it was on the theory of discontent was unacceptable to me. I informed Justice Brandeis of my views, called in Dr. Schmarya Levin and proceeded to change the text. Then with Dr. Wise, I hurried to Colonel House. By this time he had come to speak of Zionism as "our cause." Quietly he perused my proposed change, discussed its wisdom and promised to call President Wilson on his private wire and urge the change. He cabled to the British Cabinet. Next day he informed me that the President had approved. I had business that week-end in Boston and it was over the long distance wire that my secretary in New York read to me the final form as repeated by cable from London. It was the text as I had altered it.<sup>173</sup>

"It seems clear," wrote Stein, "that it was not without some prompting by House that Wilson eventually authorized a favourable reply to the British enquiry." Sir William Wiseman, "who was *persona grata* both with the President and with House, was relied upon by the Foreign Office for dealing with the declaration at the American end. Sir William's recollection is that Colonel House was influential in bringing the matter to the President's attention and persuading him to approve the formula."<sup>174</sup>

On 16 October 1917, after a conference with House, Wiseman telegraphed to Balfour's private secretary: "Colonel House put the formula before the President, who approves of it but asks that no mention of his approval shall be made when His Majesty's



Government makes formula public, as he had arranged that American Jews shall then ask him for approval, which he will publicly give here."<sup>175</sup>

The *Balfour Declaration*, as stated, was issued on 2 November 1917. Its text, seemingly so simple, had been prepared by some of the craftiest of the craft of legal drafting. Leaflets containing its message were dropped by air on Germany and Austria and on the Jewish belt from Poland to the Baltic Sea.

Seven months had passed since America entered the war. It was an epochal triumph for Zionism, and some believe, for the Jews.

On the other hand, two months before the declaration, Sokolow had written of a marked falling off in "le philo-sémitisme d'autrefois," ascribed by some to the impression that the Russian Jews were the mainspring of Bolshevism; and on the day it was issued, *The Jewish Chronicle* complained of "the antisemitic campaign which a section of the press in this country, indifferent to the national interests, is sedulously conducting."<sup>176</sup>

There only remained certain courtesies to be effected. On 12 November 1917, Weizmann wrote a letter of thanks to Brandeis:

"... I need hardly say how we all rejoice in this great event and how grateful we all feel to you for the valuable and efficient help which you have lent to the cause in the critical hour... Once more, dear Mr. Brandeis, I beg to tender to you our heartiest congratulations not only on my own behalf but also on behalf of our friends here and may this epoch-making be a beginning of great work for our sorely tried people and also of mankind."<sup>177</sup>

The other principal Allied governments were approached with requests for similar pronouncements. The French simply supported the British Government in a short paragraph on 9 February 1918. Italian support was contained in a note dated 9 May 1918 to Mr. Sokolow by their ambassador in London in which he stressed the religious divisions of communities, grouping "a Jewish national centre" with "existing religious communities."

On 31 August 1918, President Wilson wrote to Rabbi Wise "to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement... since... Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Brandeis joined in Zionist delight at the President's endorsement and wrote: "Since the President's letter, anti-Zionism is pretty near disloyalty and non-Zionism is slackening."<sup>178</sup> Non-Zionist Jews now had a hard time if they wanted to disseminate their views; if they could not support Zionism they were asked at least to remain silent.

On 30 June 1922, the following resolution was adopted by the United States Congress:

Favouring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people;

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the United States of America favours the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which should prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.\*

All people tend to see the world and its events in terms of their own experience, ideas and prejudices. This is natural. It is a fact used by master politicians and manipulators of opinion who form their appeals accordingly. The case of the Balfour Declaration is a fascinating example of a scheme presenting a multiplicity of images according to the facet of mind on which it reflected.

There were critics of the Balfour Declaration, although among the cacophony of many events competing for attention, few but its beneficiaries concentrated on the significance of what was being offered. One was the Jewish leader and statesman Mr. Edwin Montagu, who had no desire that Jews should be regarded as a separate race and a distinct nationality.<sup>181</sup> The other was Lord Curzon, who became Foreign Secretary at the end of October 1918. He prepared a memorandum dated 26 October 1917, on the penultimate and final drafts of the Balfour Declaration and related documents, and circulated it in the Cabinet. It was titled "The Future of Palestine." Here are some extracts:

I am not concerned to discuss the question in dispute between the Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews . . . I am only concerned in the more immediately practical questions:

(a) What is the meaning of the phrase "a national home for the Jewish race in Palestine," and what is the nature of the obligation that we shall assume if we accept this as a principle of British policy?

(b) If such a policy be pursued what are the chances of its successful realisation?

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\*This was introduced by Mr. Hamilton Fish. His interpretation of his action was clarified thirty-eight years later, when the World Zionists held their 25th Congress in Jerusalem. David Ben Gurion, as Prime Minister of Israel, in his address to the gathering stated: "every religious Jew has daily violated the precepts of Judaism by remaining in the diaspora"; and, citing the authority of the Jewish sages, said: "Whoever dwells outside the land of Israel is considered to have no god." He added: "Judaism is in danger of death by strangulation. In the free and prosperous countries it faces the kiss of death, a slow and imperceptible decline into the abyss of assimilation."<sup>179</sup> (continued on next page.)



If I seek guidance from the latest collection of circulated papers (The Zionist Movement, G.-164) I find a fundamental disagreement among the authorities quoted there as to the scope and nature of their aim.

A "national home for the Jewish race or people" would seem, if the words are to bear their ordinary meaning, to imply a place where the Jews can be reassembled as a nation, and where they will enjoy the privileges of an independent national existence. Such is clearly the conception of those who, like Sir Alfred Mond, speak of the creation in Palestine of "an autonomous Jewish State," words which appear to contemplate a State, i.e., a political entity, composed of Jews, governed by Jews, and administered mainly in the interests of Jews . . .

The same conception appears to underlie several other of the phrases employed in these papers, e.g., when we are told that Palestine is to become "a home for the Jewish nation," "a national home for the Jewish race," "a Jewish Palestine," and when we read of "the resettlement of Palestine as a national centre," and "the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people," all these phrases are variants of the same idea, viz., the re-creation of Palestine as it was before the days of the dispersion.

On the other hand, Lord Rothschild, when he speaks of Palestine as "a home where the Jews could speak their own language, have their own education, their own civilization, and religious institutions under the protection of Allied governments," seems to postulate a much less definite form of political existence, one, indeed, which is quite compatible with the existence of an alien (so long as it is not Turkish) government . . .

Now what is the capacity as regards population of Palestine within any reasonable period of time? Under the Turks there is no such place or country as Palestine, because it is divided up between the *sanjak* of Jerusalem and the *vilayets* of Syria and Beirut. But let us assume that in speaking of Palestine in the present context we mean the old scriptural Palestine, extending from Dan to Beersheba, i.e., from Banias to Bir es-Sabi' . . . an area of less than 10,000 square miles. What is to become of the people of this country, assuming the Turk to be expelled, and the inhabitants not to have been exterminated by the war? There are over a half a million of these, Syrian Arabs—a mixed community with Arab, Hebrew, Canaanite, Greek, Egyptian, and possibly Crusaders' blood. They and their forefathers have occupied the country for the best part of 1,500 years. They own the soil, which belongs either to individual landowners or to village communities. They profess the Mohammadan faith. They will not

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Mr. Hamilton Fish replied: "As author of the first Zionist Resolution patterned on the Balfour Resolution, I denounce and repudiate the Ben Gurion statements as irreconcilable with my Resolution as adopted by Congress, and if they represent the Government of Israel and public opinion there, then I shall disavow publicly my support of my own Resolution, as I do not want to be associated with such un-American doctrines."<sup>180</sup>

be content either to be expropriated for Jewish immigrants, or to act merely as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the latter.

### Wilson and the War

If the contract with Jewry was to bring the United States into the Great War in exchange for the promise of Palestine, did they in fact deliver, through Brandeis or anyone else?

For the German-Jewish princes of the purse in the United States, the evidence points more to the Russian revolution being the factor of most weight in determining their attitude.

Was it the resumption of Germany's submarine blockade, the sinking of the *Laconia*, the Zimmerman telegram, which really influenced Wilson for war? Was it the Zionist counsel of Brandeis? In a careful study, Prof. Alex M. Arnett showed in 1937 that Wilson had decided to put the United States into the war on the side of the Allies many months before the resumption of U-boat warfare by Germany, which was promoted as a sufficient reason.<sup>182</sup>

In the propaganda battle for American public opinion between Britain and Germany, the former had the advantage of language, and the fact that on 5 August 1914 they had cut the international undersea cables linking Germany and the United States, thus eliminating quick communication between those two countries and giving British "news" the edge in forming public opinion.

The success of British propaganda methods were acknowledged by a German soldier of the time when he dictated his memoirs, *Mein Kampf*, in 1925: "In England propaganda was regarded as a weapon of the first order, whereas with us it represented the last hope of a livelihood for our unemployed politicians and a snug job for shirkers of the modest heroic type. Taken all in all, its results were negative."

British propaganda portrayed the war as one of just defense against a barbarian aggressor akin to the hordes of Genghis Khan, who were rapers of nuns, mutilators of children, led by the Kaiser—pictured as a beast in human form, a lunatic, deformed monster, modern judas, and criminal monarch.

Stories that German soldiers cut off the hands of Belgian children and crucified prisoners and perpetrated and all sorts of other atrocities said to have been practiced in Belgium, were circulated as widely as possible. The story about their making glycerine and soap from corpses did not appear until the end of April 1917, when new stories were created by American propagandists. One, a book called *Christine*, by "Alice Cholmondeley," a collection of letters purporting to have been written by a teenage girl music student to her mother in Britain until her death in 1914,



mingled a damning catalogue of alleged German character faults with emotional feelings for her fictitious mother and music. Propaganda experts rated it highly.<sup>183</sup>

The head of the American section of the British propaganda bureau, Sir Gilbert Parker, was able to report on his success in the issue of his secret *American Press Review* for 11 October 1916, before the Presidential election: "This week supplies satisfactory evidence of the permeation of the American Press by British influence."

Men of British ancestry still dominated the powerful infrastructure of the economy, filled top positions in the State Department, in the influential Eastern universities, in the communications and cultural media. Britain and France were more identified with democracy and freedom, and the Central Powers with imperial militaristic autocracy. From Oyster Bay, former President Theodore Roosevelt, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, performed high-pitched war dances of words in support of belligerency.

But at the Democratic convention, and in the subsequent campaign, it was William Jennings Bryan and his allied orators who created the theme and slogan: "He kept us out of war."

Bryan had resigned as Secretary of State in June 1915 because he believed Wilson was jeopardizing American neutrality and showing partiality towards England. In his last interview, he told Wilson bitterly, "Colonel House has been Secretary of State, not I, and I have never had your full confidence."

House, a secretive and subtle flatterer who had performed services relating to the Federal Reserve Bank and currency legislation for Jacob W. Schiff and Paul Warburg, was perceived by Wilson as the "friend who so thoroughly understands me," "my second personality . . . my independent self. His thoughts and mine are one."

Bryan had wanted to go on a peace mission to Europe at the beginning of 1915, but the President sent House instead. House had actually sailed on the British ship *Lusitania* and as it approached the Irish coast on 5 February, the captain ordered the American flag to be raised.

*The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* record that on the morning of 7 May 1915, he and the British Foreign Secretary Grey drove to Kew. "We spoke of the probability of an ocean liner being sunk," recorded House, "and I told him if this were done, a flame of indignation would sweep across America, which would in itself probably carry us into the war." An hour later, House was with King George in Buckingham Palace. "We fell to talking, strangely enough," the Colonel wrote that night, "of the probability of Germany sinking a trans-Atlantic liner. . . ." He said, "Suppose they

should sink the *Lusitania* with American passengers on board. . . ."

That evening House dined at the American Embassy. A dispatch came in, stating that at two in the afternoon a German submarine had torpedoed and sunk the *Lusitania* off the southern coast of Ireland. 1,200 lives were lost, including 128 Americans. It took 60 years for the truth about its cargo to be confirmed; that it had carried munitions which exploded when the torpedo hit. But Secretary of State Bryan remarked to his wife, "I wonder if that ship carried munitions of war? . . . If she did carry them, it puts a different face on the whole matter! England has been using our citizens to protect her ammunition."

In a telegram to President Wilson from England on 9 May 1915, House said he believed an immediate demand should be made to Germany for assurance against a similar incident.

I should inform her that our Government expected to take measures . . . to ensure the safety of American citizens.

If war follows, it will not be a new war, but an endeavor to end more speedily an old one. Our intervention will save, rather than increase loss of life. We can no longer be neutral spectators . . .

In another telegram on 25 May, he noted that he had received from Ambassador Gerard a cable that Germany is in no need of food. "This does away with their contention that the starving of Germany justified their submarine policy."

The next day, House lunched with Sir Edward Grey and read him all the telegrams that had passed between the President, Gerard and himself since last they had met. And he wrote on 30 May 1915, "I have concluded that war with Germany is inevitable, and this afternoon at six o'clock I decided to go home on the S.S. *St. Paul* on Saturday. I sent a cable to the President to this effect." After his arrival in the United States, he wrote to the President from Rosslyn, Long Island, on 16 June 1915, a long letter which included the paragraph:

I need not tell you that if the Allies fail to win, it must necessarily mean a reversal of our entire policy.

I think we shall find ourselves drifting into war with Germany . . . Regrettable as this would be, there would be compensations. The war would be more speedily ended, and we would be in a strong position to aid the other great democracies in turning the world into the right paths. It is something that we have to face with fortitude, being consoled by the thought that no matter what sacrifices we make, the end will justify them. Affectionately yours, E.M. House.

Are these references related to Zionism or Palestine? I think not. Perhaps the clue is that immediately after the election of Wilson,



House had anonymously published a political romance entitled *Philip Dru: Administrator*. Dru leads a revolt and becomes a dictator in Washington, where he formulates a new American constitution and brings about an international grouping or league of Powers.

Let us look to the other side of the water again in 1916, a year later.

About a month before Malcolm's meeting with Sir Mark Sykes, Lloyd George gave an interview to the President of the United Press Association of America, in which he said "that Britain had only now got into her stride in her war effort, and was justifiably suspicious of any suggestion that President Wilson should choose this moment to 'butt in' with a proposal to stop the war before we could achieve victory."

"The whole world . . . must know that there can be no outside interference at this stage. Britain asked no intervention when she was unprepared to fight. She will tolerate none now that she is prepared, until the Prussian military despotism is broken beyond repair. . . . The motto of the Allies was 'Never Again!' " And this made worthwhile the sacrifices so far as well as those needed to end the war with victory.<sup>184</sup>

Grey wrote to him on the 29th of September that he was apprehensive about the effect "of the warning to Wilson in your interview, . . . It has always been my view that until the Allies were sure of victory the door should be kept open for Wilson's mediation."

But the following month, at one of the formal regular meetings with the Chief of the Imperial Staff, when Lloyd George received the familiar answers as to the course of the war—the German losses were greater than the Allies, that the Germans were gradually being worn down, and their morale shaken by constant defeat and retreat—he asked Sir Wm. Robertson for his views as "to how this sanguinary conflict was to be brought to a successful end . . . He just mumbled something about 'attrition'."

Lloyd George then asked for a formal memorandum on the subject. This was not encouraging, and said that an end could not be expected "before the summer of 1918. How long it may go on afterwards I cannot even guess."

The facts were far from rosy, but were the hopes of Great Britain really hanging upon American entry into the war? There were two other possible courses.

One was suggested by the Marquess of Landsdowne, a member of the Cabinet and a statesman of considerable standing as the author of the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904. It was contained in a Memorandum Respecting a Peace Settlement, circulated to the Cabinet with the consent of the Prime Minister. Landsdowne sug-

gested doubts as to the possibility of victory within a reasonable space of time.

What does the prolongation of the war mean? Our own casualties already amount to over 1,100,000. We have had 15,000 officers killed, not including those who are missing. There is no reason to suppose that, as the force at the front in the different theatres of war increases, the casualties will increase at a lower rate. We are slowly but surely killing off the best of the male population of these islands. The figures representing the casualties of our Allies are not before me. The total must be appalling.<sup>185</sup>

The other members of the Cabinet and the Chief of Staff repudiated peace without victory.

The other course was that adopted: to thrust more men and money into the holocaust (defined as a wholesale sacrifice or destruction). What would now be called political and military summit meetings were held in France to plan for it. They commenced on 15 November 1916.

In the political presentations, the only reference to America seems to have been offered by Lloyd George:

The difficulties we have experienced in making payment for our purchases abroad must be as present to the minds of French statesmen as to ourselves. Our dependence upon America is growing for food, raw material and munitions. We are rapidly exhausting the securities negotiable in America. If victory shone on our banners our difficulties would disappear. (Asquith deleted the next sentence, which read) Success means credit: financiers never hesitate to lend to a prosperous concern: but business which is lumbering along amidst great difficulties and which is making no headway in spite of enormous expenditure will find the banks gradually closing their books against it.

This reference to Allied problems in getting more credit from the bankers in the United States, who were predominantly German-Jewish, elucidates Schiff's agreement to arrange credit for Britain through the Jewish banker Cassel—they were not waiting for a Balfour Declaration, they were waiting for the Russian Revolution!

On the military side, there was general agreement at the summit conference that what was needed was a "knock-out blow," and it was decided that the 1917 plan of campaign would be an offensive on all fronts, including Palestine, with the Western Front as the principal one.

On 7 December the Asquith government fell and Lloyd George, who was pledged to a more vigorous prosecution of the war, took over the Government. Five days later, Germany and her allies put forward notes in which they stated their willingness to consider peace by compromise and negotiations.



The first of the battles opened on 9 April 1917, heralded by a bombardment of 2,700,000 shells. Another attack was launched by the French nine days later, these resulting in about a million dead and wounded on both sides. The French Army mutinied, and General Petain was put in charge.

At this time the two events which were to twist the world into a new shape were occurring, the Russian Revolution and American entry into the war.

The French Government wanted to defer all offensive operations until American assistance became available, but the generals thought otherwise. Maj.-Gen. J.F.C. Fuller, whom I have met, one of the few bright military-political minds in this century, tells us that Haig "had set his heart on a decisive battle in Flanders, and so obsessed was he by it that he believed that he could beat the Germans single-handed, and before the Americans came in."<sup>186</sup> I do not think that people who did not live in the great days of the British Empire can have a sense of the hubris of a Haig, unless one gets it from classical literature. Perhaps today it would be found in the head of the World Bank, from whom we taxpayers, like the common soldiers of that time, are so far removed! There was actually resentment in the England of my boyhood about Americans claiming to have played any significant part in fighting the Great War.

The outcome of the grandiosity of the generals and politicians was the costly Flanders campaign of the summer and autumn. On 7th June it was opened by the limited and successful Battle of Messines, which was preceded by a seventeen days' bombardment of 3,500,000 shells, and initiated by the explosion of nineteen mines packed with a million pounds of high explosives.

On 31st July it was followed by the Third Battle of Ypres, for which the largest force of artillery ever seen in British history was assembled. In all, the preliminary bombardment lasted nineteen days, and during it 4,300,000 shells, some 107,000 tons in weight, were hurled onto the prospective low lying battlefield. Its entire surface was upheaved; all drains, dikes, culverts and roads were destroyed, and an almost uncrossable swamp created, in which the infantry wallowed for three and a half months. When, on 10th November, the battle ended, the Germans had been pushed back a maximum depth of five miles on a frontage of ten miles, at a cost of a little under 200,000 men to themselves, and, at the lowest estimate, of 300,000 to their enemy.

Thus ended the last of the great artillery battles of attrition on the Western Front, and when in retrospect they are looked on, it becomes understandable why the politicians were so eager to escape them.

The Great War was like a greatly magnified version of the

mutual destruction of noble men in the *Nibelungenlied*. Set against each other by the vanity and lack of vision of their rulers, the more they fought the more there was to avenge until death delivered them from their need. "At the going down of the sun and in the morning," we should learn their lesson.

### Britain's Obligation?

In a memorandum marked in his own handwriting "Private & Confidential" to Lord Peel and other members of the Royal Commission on Palestine in 1936, James Malcolm wrote:

I have always been convinced that until the Jewish question was more or less satisfactorily settled there could be no real or permanent peace in the world, and that the solution lay in Palestine. This was one of the two main considerations which impelled me, in the autumn of 1916, to initiate the negotiations which led eventually to the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine. The other, of course, was to bring America into the War.

For generations Jews and Gentiles alike have assumed in error that the cause of Anti-Semitism was in the main religious. Indeed, the Jews in the hope of obtaining relief from intolerance, engaged in the intensive and subversive propagation of materialistic doctrines productive of "Liberalism," Socialism, and Irreligion, resulting in de-Christianisation. On the other hand, the more materialistic the Gentiles became, the more aware they were subconsciously made of the cause of Anti-Semitism, which at bottom was, and remains to this day, primarily an economic one. A French writer—Vicomte de Poncins—has remarked that in some respects Anti-Semitism is largely a form of self-defence against Jewish economic aggression. In my opinion, however, neither the Jews nor the Gentiles bear the sole responsibility for this.

As I have already said, I had a part in initiating the negotiations in the early autumn of 1916 between the British and French Governments and the Zionist leaders, which led to the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine.

The first object, of course, was to enlist the very considerable and necessary influence of the Jews, and especially of the Zionist or Nationalist Jews, to help us bring America into the War at the most critical period of the hostilities. This was publicly acknowledged by Mr. Lloyd George during a recent debate in the House of Commons.

Our second object was to enable and induce Jews all the world over to envisage constructive work as their proper field, and to take their minds off destructive and subversive schemes which, owing to their general sense of insecurity and homelessness, even in the periods preceding the French Revolution, had provoked so much trouble and unrest in various countries, until their ever-increasing violence culminated in the Third International and the Russian Communist Revolution. But to achieve this end it was necessary to promise them Palestine in consideration of their help, as already ex-



plained, and not as a mere humanitarian experiment or enterprise, as represented in certain quarters.

It is no wonder that Weizmann did not refer to Malcolm in his autobiography, and Sokolow privately resented Malcolm "as a stranger in the center of our work," who was "endowed with an *esprit* of a goyish kind."<sup>187</sup>

It is also worth noting that on page seven of his memorandum, Malcolm quoted General Ludendorff, former Quartermaster-General of the German Army, and perhaps at least remembered for heading an unsuccessful coup in Munich in 1923, as saying that the Balfour Declaration was "the cleverest thing done by the Allies in the way of propaganda and that he wished Germany had thought of it first."

On the other hand, might it not have provided some cold comfort for Ludendorff to believe that the Zionist Jews were a major factor in the outcome of the war—if that is what he is implying?

Malcolm's belief in the Balfour Declaration as a means of bringing the United States into the war was confirmed by Samuel Landman, secretary to the Zionist leaders Weizmann and Sokolow, and later secretary of the World Zionist Organization. As

the only way (which proved so to be) to induce the American President to come into the war was to secure the cooperation of Zionist Jews by promising them Palestine, and thus enlist and mobilize the hitherto unsuspectedly powerful forces of Zionist Jews in America and elsewhere in favour of the Allies on a *quid pro quo* contract basis. Thus, as will be seen, the Zionists having carried out their part, and greatly helped to bring America in, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was but the public confirmation of the necessarily secret "gentlemens' " agreement of 1916, made with the previous knowledge, acquiescence, and or approval of the Arabs, and of the British, and of the French and other Allied governments, and not merely a voluntary, altruistic and romantic gesture on the part of Great Britain as certain people either through pardonable ignorance assume or unpardonable ill-will would represent or rather misrepresent . . .<sup>188</sup>

Speaking in the House of Commons on 4 July 1922, Winston Churchill asked rhetorically,

Are we to keep our pledge to the Zionists made in 1917 . . . ? Pledges and promises were made during the war, and they were made, not only on the merits, though I think the merits are considerable. They were made because it was considered they would be of value to us in our struggle to win the war. It was considered that the support which the Jews could give us all over the world, and particularly in the United States, and also in Russia, would be a definite palpable advantage. I was not responsible at that time for

the giving of those pledges, nor for the conduct of the war of which they were, when given, an integral part. But like other members I supported the policy of the War Cabinet. Like other members, I accepted and was proud to accept a share in those great transactions, which left us with terrible losses, with formidable obligations, but nevertheless with unchallengable victory.

However, Hansard notes, one member, Mr. Gwynne, plaintively complained that "the House has not yet had an opportunity of discussing it."

Writing to *The Times* on 2 November 1949, Malcolm Thomson, the official biographer of Lloyd George, noted that this was the thirty-second anniversary of the Balfour Declaration and it seemed a

suitable occasion for stating briefly certain facts about its origin which have recently been incorrectly recorded.

When writing the official biography of Lloyd George, I was able to study the original documents bearing on this question. From these it was clear that although certain members of the Cabinets of 1916 and 1917 sympathized with Zionist aspirations, the efforts of Zionist leaders to win any promise of support from the British Government had proved quite ineffectual, and the secret Sykes-Picot agreement with the French for partition of spheres of interest in the Middle East seemed to doom Zionist aims. A change of attitude was, however, brought about through the initiative of Mr. James A. Malcolm, who pressed on Sir Mark Sykes, then Under-Secretary to the War Cabinet, the thesis that an allied offer to restore Palestine to the Jews would swing over from the German to the allied side the very powerful influence of American Jews, including Judge Brandeis, the friend and adviser of President Wilson. Sykes was interested, and at his request Malcolm introduced him to Dr. Weizmann and the other Zionist leaders, and negotiations were opened which culminated in the Balfour Declaration.

These facts have at one time or another been mentioned in various books and articles, and are set out by Dr. Adolf Boehm in his monumental history of Zionism, "*Die Zionistische Bewegung*," Vol. I, p. 656. It therefore surprised me to find in Dr. Weizmann's autobiography, "*Trial and Error*," that he makes no mention of Mr. Malcolm's crucially important intervention, and even attributes his own introduction to Sir Mark Sykes to the late Dr. Gaster. As future historians might not unnaturally suppose Dr. Weizmann's account to be authentic, I have communicated with Mr. Malcolm, who not only confirms the account I have given, but holds a letter written to him by Dr. Weizmann on March 5, 1941, saying: "You will be interested to hear that some time ago I had occasion to write to Mr. Lloyd George about your useful and timely initiative in 1916 to bring about the negotiations between myself and my Zionist colleagues and Sir Mark Sykes and others about Palestine and Zionist support of the allied cause in America and elsewhere."



No doubt a complexity of motives lay behind the Balfour Declaration, including strategic and diplomatic considerations and, on the part of Balfour, Lloyd George, and Smuts, a genuine sympathy with Zionist aims. But the determining factor was the intervention of Mr. Malcolm with his scheme for engaging by some such concession the support of American Zionists for the allied cause in the first world war.

Yours, & c.,  
MALCOLM THOMSON

According to Lloyd George's *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, where, as planned many years before, the Zionists were strongly represented,

There is no better proof of the value of the Balfour Declaration as a military move than the fact that Germany entered into negotiations with Turkey in an endeavor to provide an alternative scheme which would appeal to Zionists. A German-Jewish Society, the V.J.O.D.,\* was formed, and in January 1918, Talaat, the Turkish Grand Vizier, at the instigation of the Germans, gave vague promises of legislation by means of which "all justifiable wishes of the Jews in Palestine would be able to meet their fulfilment."

Another most cogent reason for the adoption by the Allies of the policy of the Declaration lay in the state of Russia herself. Russian Jews had been secretly active on behalf of the Central Powers from the first; they had become the chief agents of German pacifist propaganda in Russia; by 1917 they had done much in preparing for that general disintegration of Russian society, later recognised as the Revolution. It was believed that if Great Britain declared for the fulfillment of Zionist aspirations in Palestine under her own pledge, one effect would be to bring Russian Jewry to the cause of the Entente.

It was believed, also, that such a declaration would have a potent influence upon world Jewry outside Russia, and secure for the Entente the aid of Jewish financial interests. In America, their aid in this respect would have a special value when the Allies had almost exhausted the gold and marketable securities available for American purchases. Such were the chief considerations which, in 1917, impelled the British Government towards making a contract with Jewry.<sup>189</sup>

As for getting the support of Russian Jewry, Trotsky's aims were to overthrow the Provisional Government and turn the imperialist war into a war of international revolution. In November 1917 the first aim was accomplished. Military factors primarily influenced Lenin to sign the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

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\*Vereinigung Juedischer Organisationen in Deutschland zur Wahrung der Rechte des Osten. (Alliance of the Jewish Organizations of Germany for the Safeguarding of the Rights of the East.)

The Zionist sympathizers Churchill and George seemed never to lose an opportunity to tell the British people that they had an obligation to support the Zionists.

But what had the Zionists done for Britain?

Where was the documentation?

"Measured by British interests alone," wrote the Oxford historian Elizabeth Monroe in 1963, the Balfour Declaration "was one of the greatest mistakes in our imperial history!"

The Zionists had the Herzlian tradition—shall we call it—"Promises, promises." Considerable credit for the diplomacy which brought into existence the Jewish national home must go to Weizmann. A British official who came into contact with him summarized his diplomatic method in the following words:

When (the First World War) began, his cause was hardly known to the principal statesman of the victors. It had many enemies, and some of the most formidable were amongst the most highly placed of his own people . . . He once told me that 2,000 interviews had gone into the making of the Balfour Declaration. With unerring skill he adapted his arguments to the special circumstances of each statesman. To the British and Americans he could use biblical language and awake a deep emotional undertone; to other nationalities he more often talked in terms of interest. Mr. Lloyd George was told that Palestine was a little mountainous country not unlike Wales; with Lord Balfour the philosophical background of Zionism could be surveyed; for Lord Cecil the problem was placed in the setting of a new world organization; while to Lord Milner the extension of imperial power could be vividly portrayed. To me, who dealt with these matters as a junior officer of the General Staff, he brought from many sources all the evidences that could be obtained of the importance of a Jewish national home to the strategical position of the British Empire, but he always indicated by a hundred shades and inflections of the voice that he believed that I could also appreciate better than my superiors other more subtle and recondite arguments.<sup>190</sup>

### **Triumph and Tragedy**

Herzl correctly predicted a great war between the Great Powers. His followers organized to be ready for that time to further their ambitions through exploiting the rivalry of the Great Powers. They had a vested interest in promoting that war and in its continuance until Palestine was wrested from Turkey by British soldiers.

They prepared for the Peace Conference at Versailles although they had no belligerent standing, but they had the weight of the Rothschilds, Bernard Baruch, Felix Frankfurter, and others, which made room for them.

In the Introduction to *The Palestine Diary* I wrote,



The establishment in 1948 of a "Jewish state" in Palestine was a phenomenal achievement. In fifty years from the Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897—attended by a small number of Jews who represented little more than themselves—the Zionist idea had captivated the vast majority of world Jewry, and enlisted in particular Britain, America and the United Nations to intervene in Palestine in its support.

In 1983, seventy-five years after the Balfour Declaration and nearly ninety years after the first Zionist Congress in Switzerland, a meeting was held there of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine—but the conferees were not Jews—they were Palestinians—two million are in exile—displaced by Jews! Where is the meaning for us?

On a day-to-day level, we can look in our newspapers for Zionist tactics of influence and leverage which we can document they have used successfully in the past.

Then there is a long-term strategy. From the mass of material in a century of history and in our complex society of today I see the underlying effect of two themes. They influence the lives of every one of us, and will continue to do so unless a change is made.

We can see them clearly in their early formulation, before they had been fed as valid data into the information processing and software systems of our society, with the result that most of the answers we get are wrong!

They are found in the conversation of Herzl and Meyer-Cohn in 1895. The sets of ideas are those associated with Jewish nationalism and racism on the Right<sup>191</sup>—racism being defined by Sir Andrew Huxley P.R.S. as the belief in the subjugation of one race by another, and on the other hand the concept of "universalism."

Acceptance of this input from the Right into our computations has resulted in the transfer of some \$50 billion from our pockets into theirs.<sup>192</sup> In 1983, budgeted American tax money, labeled "aid," alone amounts to \$625 for every man, woman and child in Israel.<sup>193</sup> It results in our acceptance of concentration camps for Palestinians containing thousands of people without a squeak from the so-called "international community"; in acceptance of their assassination, torture, deportation, closing of their schools and colleges, even of their massacre.<sup>194</sup> The lives of American troops—men and women, are committed to supporting these crimes.<sup>195</sup> Criticism is called "antisemitism," a word which computes as "unemployable social outcast."

Jewish nationalism and Israeli policy planned the present destabilization of Lebanon in 1955.<sup>196</sup> This is part of larger schemes to fragment and enfeeble possible challenges to their supremacy in the Middle East.<sup>197</sup>

On the other hand we have "universalism." This, I believe was the factor motivating Woodrow Wilson through House in his telegram of 30 May 1916 and letter of 16 June 1915 to the President, to which I have referred. "The League of Nations," the United Nations Organization, are its printouts. Just as House was a coefficient of the international bankers, so the United Nations and the international bankers have been part of the coefficient whereby over \$400 billion of the earnings of workers in countries where universalism is a significant force, has been transferred to the peoples of Asia, Africa, South America and Communist countries; money needed for our capital investment.

People should ask: How is it that, with such multiplication of industrial power and resources, our peoples' standard of living and possibilities to have and support children have not multiplied accordingly? Why do so many of our women have to work? Why does no public figure—politician, labor leader—dare to ask—and raise the roof?

Universalism and Marxism compete superficially for first place as finalists in western culture distortion. Both promote its ethnic dilution, but deny us the reality of racial differences. Against our individuality and our nationalism, they and the global capitalists and their corporations unite as transnationals to reduce all but themselves to a common consumer market of blurred boundaries and one color. They would like one law—which they would make; one armed force—which they would control. Universalism would impose—not a global peace, but a global tyranny!

Universalism has come up with "interdependence," an expression used as a cover for the expropriation of our earnings as foreign aid in various forms; it has anesthetized the sense of self-defense of our countries so that those who have tried to stop their colonization by people from exploding populations of Africa, Asia and Latin America have been made to feel that they were depriving others of their "human rights."

In countries where they live other than Israel, Zionists are in the forefront of opposition to restrictions on immigration. Note that even in 1903 a leader of the fight against the Alien's Bill and against tightening up naturalization regulations in Britain was the pro-Zionist Winston S. Churchill, and the super-Zionist Herzl appeared before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration to oppose any restriction.

And yet, my Arab friends born in Jerusalem are cast out and cannot return.

"If," said Herzl, "we wanted to bring about the unity of mankind independent of national boundaries, we would have to combat the ideal of patriotism. The latter, however, will prove stronger than we for innumerable years to come."

In a hundred years they have almost won that struggle.



In a conversation with Joseph Chamberlain in 1903, Theodore Herzl was asked how the Jewish colony would survive in the distant future. Herzl said, "We shall play the role of a small buffer state. We shall attain this not through the goodwill but from the jealousy of the Powers."

This is the game that Israel plays today, obtaining its military supplies, its high technology, and its billions of dollars from the pay packets of American workers, using the rivalry of the USSR and the U.S.A.

We should not allow ourselves to be made pawns in the games of others.

## Appendix

**SECRET**

Political Intelligence Department,  
Foreign Office.

Special 3.

### Memorandum on British Commitments to King Husein

(Page 9) With regard to Palestine, His Majesty's Government are committed by Sir H. McMahon's letter to the Sherif on the 24th October, 1915, to its inclusion in the boundaries of Arab independence. But they have stated their policy regarding the Palestinian Holy Places and Zionist colonisation in their message to him of the 4th January, 1918:

"That so far as Palestine is concerned, we are determined that no people shall be subjected to another, but that in view of the fact:

"(a.) That there are in Palestine shrines, Wakfs, and Holy Places, sacred in some cases to Moslems alone, to Jews alone, to Christians alone, and in others to two or all three, and inasmuch as these places are of interest to vast masses of people outside Palestine and Arabia, there must be a special regime to deal with these places approved of by the world.

"(b.) That as regards the Mosque of Omar, it shall be considered as a Moslem concern alone, and shall not be subjected directly or indirectly to any non-Moslem authority.

"That since the Jewish opinion of the world is in favour of a return of Jews to Palestine, and inasmuch as this opinion must remain a constant factor, and further, as His Majesty's Government view with favour the realisation of this aspiration, His Majesty's Government are determined that in so far as is compatible with the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political, no obstacle should be put in the way of the realisation of this ideal."

This message was delivered personally to King Husein by Commander Hogarth, and the latter reported on his reception of it as follows:

"The King would not accept an independent Jewish State in Palestine, nor was I instructed to warn him that such a State was contemplated by Great Britain. He probably knows nothing of the actual or possible economy of Palestine, and his ready assent to Jewish settlement there is not worth very much. But I think he appreciates the financial advantage of Arab co-operation with the Jews."

## Notes

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7. *Ibid.*, For financial details, see pp. 262-264.
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17. Halpern, *The Idea of a Jewish State*, pp. 154-155.
18. Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 78.
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23. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
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25. Lipsky, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles*, pp. 95, 98.
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27. Lipsky, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles*, p. 26.
28. Halpern, *The Idea of a Jewish State*, p. 267.
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34. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.
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43. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-234.
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48. Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, pp. 197-198.
49. Gotheil to Louis D. Brandeis, 1 October 1914 (unpublished).
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72. Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 214, fn. 23.
73. Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, pp. 536-537; Note of the interview in memorandum 28 August 1917, Zionist Archives.
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76. Conjoint Foreign Committee 1916/210, 5 April 1916; Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 218.
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84. Conjoint Foreign Committee, 1916/130ff, 18 February 1916; Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 221.
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159. *The Jewish Chronicle*, 26 May 1916. In a personal communication, Prof. W. Yale notes that the Cairo publisher Dr. Faris Nimr told him that Morgenthau had talked with the Khedive, Abbas Hilmi, in 1914, regarding a role in promoting the cession of Palestine to Egypt.
160. *New York Times*, Obituary, 18 June, 1962.
161. Chaim Weizmann Papers in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 506.
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165. *Ibid.*, Brandeis to House, 24 September 1917.
166. Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, pp. 507-508.
167. *The Brandeis Papers* in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 509.
168. *The Wilson Papers* in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 509.
169. Mason, Brandeis, *A Free Man's Life*, p. 453.
170. *Ibid.*
171. Adler, 'The Palestine Question in the Wilson Era,' pp. 305-306. Quoted in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 528.
172. See 'The Zionist-Israel juridical claims to constitute "The Jewish people" nationality entity and to confer membership in it: Appraisal in public international law,' W.T. Mallinson, Jr., *George Washington Law Review*, Vol. 32, No. 5, (June 1964), pp. 983-1075, particularly p. 1015.
173. *The New Palestine*, published by the Zionist Organization of America, 28 October 1927, pp. 321, 343.
174. William Wiseman to Leonard Stein, 7 November 1952; in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 529.
175. In a dispatch dated 19 May 1919 from Balfour to Curzon, 'The correspondence with Sir William Wiseman in October 1917' is mentioned as evidence of endorsement of the Balfour Declaration. *Document on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, Vol. IV, No. 196, fn. 4, p. 281.



176. Stein, pp. 561-62.
  177. Mason, *Brandeis, A Free Man's Life*, p. 454.
  178. *Ibid.*, p. 455.
  179. *New York Times*, 8 January 1961, 53:6.
  180. *Ibid.*, 14 January 1961, 22:5.
  181. Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, Vol. II, p. 732.
  182. Claude Kitchen and the Wilson War Policies, 1937, reprinted 1971, Russel.
  183. Knightley, Phillip, *The First Casualty*, (N.Y.: Harcourt Brace, 1975), p. 122.
  184. *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1933), pp. 280-3.
  185. *War Memoirs*, p. 291.
  186. *The Conduct of War*, J.F.C. Fuller, (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1961), p. 171.
  187. Translation from the Russian in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 395.
  188. *Great Britain, the Jews and Palestine*, (London, 1936), pp. 4-5, New Zionist Press.
  189. George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, p. 726.
  190. Taylor, *Prelude to Israel*, p. 24.
  191. Example: resigning Israeli Chief of Staff, Gen. Rafael Eytan, following the invasion of Lebanon, likened the Palestinians to "cockroaches."
  192. The U.S. General Accounting Office figure for military and economic aid to Israel from 1948 through 1982 was \$24 billion. To this must be added the tax-free contributions to Israeli organizations, loss on investment of funds in Israeli bonds by American cities such as New York, by labor unions, and other entities. To this add the costs of transfer of American technology to Israel. Since 1982, U.S. annual taxpayer levies for Israel have been increased by Congress, so that the cost of Israel for the United States could easily climb to well in excess of \$100 billion over the next decade.
  193. *New York Times*, 10 July 1983.
  194. "I recall distinctly how our soldiers fired their weapons at the elderly, at women and children, all on order of their commanders. I witnessed the pleas and cries of small children after their mothers were brutally killed in front of them—by our soldiers. Some of the soldiers even fired phosphorus cannisters into Ein El-Helweh shelters, where hundreds of civilians had taken refuge. None of them survived." Account by Lt. Eytan Kleibneuf in *Haolam Hazei*, Israel, 7 July 1982. Kleibneuf is a member of Mi'jan Michael Kibbutz and member of Mapam's United Kibbutzim Movement, and a reserve officer in the Israel infantry forces.
- The West German weekly *Stern*, 24 August 1982, carried an article by Austria's Jewish Chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, stating that Israel had committed "gigantic crimes" in its invasion of Lebanon. "Israel stands morally naked. Its leaders have shown their true face," he concluded.
- During Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the U.S. *Jewish Press* carried a regular column by Rabbi Meir Kahane advocating the killing of Palestinians of all ages. This, he wrote, was G-d's will as expressed in the Torah. Not to do so, opposed that will. This is the Holy War (*herem*) which God "commanded" the Hebrews to wage against the Canaanites for the possession of the Promised Land. The Old Testament repeatedly refers to the terror that the *herem* would produce and to Israel's obligation to destroy all persons with their property who remain in the land, lest they become slaves or corrupting influences. The Hebrew word *herem* designates a sacred sphere where ordinary standards do not apply, and in a military context, a *herem* is a total war of annihilation without limits against men, women, children, animals and property. For a discussion of the *herem* and its revival by the Zealots as reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see de Vaux, R., *Ancient Israel*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972, pp. 258-267.
- In psychological terms, the defense for indulgence in the horror of *herem* is projection—projection of ideas of *herem* as being held by others, or indulging in behavior which invites the "Group-Fantasy of Martyrdom." See *Journal of Psychohistory*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Fall 1978, H.F. Stein, "The Psychodynamic Paradox of Survival Through Persecution," pp. 151-210.

(Behind the Balfour Declaration, Notes, continued on page 498.)

## A Postwar View of the Greater East Asia War

MICHIKO HASEGAWA

In striking contrast to the situation in North America and Europe, historical revisionism enjoys widespread support and even official sanction in Japan. The growing willingness of the Japanese to reassess their nation's role in the "Greater East Asia War" received worldwide attention during the so-called "textbook controversy" of 1982, when new Japanese high school history textbooks were introduced that portrayed Japan's wartime role in a more positive light. Recent documentary films and "docudrama" television series about the war years have also contributed to the revisionist trend. And last August Yasuhiro Nakasone became the first postwar Prime Minister to make an official visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, a Shinto holy place in Tokyo honoring Japanese war dead, including wartime Prime Minister Hideki Tojo and other leaders who were hanged by the Americans as war criminals.

The article that follows is reprinted from a special 1984 issue of the attractive quarterly magazine, **Japan Echo**, which consisted entirely of revisionist essays. It was widely distributed by the Toyota Motor Company, Japan Air Lines and the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Hayao Shimizu of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies introduced the special issue with an editorial essay entitled "The War and Japan: Revisionist Views." Besides the various objective factors, he wrote, the subjective or psychological factor behind the remarkable recent growth of revisionism in Japan has been "the fervent enthusiasm ordinary people have shown for reconfirming



their identity by means of a fresh look at history." The impetus has not come from scholars, but is rather based on a growing desire "among the Japanese in general to re-establish their sense of national identity." Shimizu went on to explain: "Perhaps we can say that at the root of such developments is a manifestation of the natural nationalism of the Japanese, which for most of the postwar period was suppressed, sometimes openly and at other times in covert fashion." Not surprisingly, leftists in Japan and abroad are not happy with this trend. "Clearly the direction being taken by the [historical] debate is not welcomed by those favorably inclined to the Marxist slant on history." (Mark Weber)

### From Darkness to Nothingness

Individuals in any era perceive a demarcation between the years preceding and following their own births. On a subconscious level, the years preceding one's birth are bathed in darkness to a greater or lesser degree. Birth is the beginning of time for an individual; anything occurring before this precedes time itself.

To those of us born around 1945 or 1946, however, this perception of time is neither individualistic nor subconscious. Actual darkness surrounds the time of our birth, so this darkness is not only perceived by us but also admitted by the adults we grew up with. Those of us born in the immediate postwar years see ourselves as children born of darkness.

The shadows of that darkness still remained when we were children. At the foot of an ancient burial mound that we used as a playground was an air raid shelter with its two entrances forced open. We were sternly warned not to go inside, for accidents involving children trapped in abandoned air raid shelters were common at the time. Yet motivated by something stronger than simple curiosity—more of a yearning—we wanted very much just once to enter and experience an air raid.

Adult talk in those days always returned to memories of the war—to searchlights crisscrossing the sky and confirming the presence of B-29s as they flew serenely above the reach of anti-aircraft guns. To the incendiary bombs that fell by the gate of the house in front of ours. To mother trembling in fear, father rushing out with buckets to quench the fire, and mother's resentment at his delayed return. They would say, "I never want to go through that again," and yet on their faces we saw the intense excitement common to survivors of disaster, and we regretted not having shared the experience. Glimpsed in this way, the darkness of the past remained mysterious, half-frightening and half-enticing.

This childish curiosity gradually subsided as we reached school

age, but now we were taught that the war years were a dark age in a totally different sense of the word. In addition to the period's shortages of food, clothing, and fuel and the ever-present danger of bombardment from the skies, we learned that the very light of reason itself had been abandoned. The war years were said to resemble the Dark Ages, that label used until recently to characterize the early European Middle Ages. We were taught that for inexplicable reasons the entire country had gone mad, thinking it could achieve the impossible and convinced that wrong was right.

If darkness carries this latter meaning, then defining oneself as a product of darkness is not comforting. We imagined that those responsible for the creation of the dark age had been punished and that the rest had repented and exorcised the darkness from themselves. The period, in short, was obliterated. Instead of seeing ourselves as children of darkness, accordingly, we became accustomed to the idea that we were born of nothingness.

### The Blotted-out Word

Now that the postwar generation has reached maturity, for some reason I have been reading up on the war years. Records have been left by people of varying status and describe a multitude of experiences. They tell of soldiers burdened with cooking pots dragging their way across an endless plain in northern China, of engineers stifling in the polluted atmosphere of a submarine, of pilots in New Guinea taking off from Rabaul for an attack on Port Moresby, and of soldiers dying in the jungle of Guadalcanal. There are records of the officer at an operational headquarters who heard the report of the total annihilation of the Japanese on Attu Island and of families fleeing across Manchuria's Greater Khingan Range under Russian fire. Totally immersed in that era, I would suddenly glance at the sky, breathing a sigh of relief that, miraculously, no enemy planes hovered overhead.

After several months thus spent, a single reality, a word, began to form in my mind. On first perceiving it faintly, I realized that I had previously understood nothing of war. Simultaneously I understood what it was that had been cast in the oblivion of darkness and that no one would mention. It was the word *enemy*.

This word itself produced the war years, and consequently in the postwar era even its mention was taboo. In descriptions of the war, victims killed by fires in the great incendiary bombings of Tokyo "died in the air raids." Soldiers shot down by Chinese troops immediately upon disembarking from ships at Shanghai, and soldiers killed by hand grenades tossed into the underground tunnels on Iwo Jima, "died in the war." Even those instantly in-



cinerated in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki "died when the atomic bombs fell," as if God, by some slip of the hand, had let the bombs drop from heaven. This is not a question of phrasing. In reviewing the events of the war, the Japanese intentionally omit the word *enemy*.

Overlooking the existence of an enemy during wartime and describing only the deeds of one side cause such deeds to appear crazy and barbarous. And indeed we were taught that such was the nature of Japanese actions in the war. The extent to which the word *enemy* had been blotted out of contemporary society is extraordinary. The concept still exists in the world of crime, the sports world, and the Communist Party, but has been obliterated in the realm of international affairs.

This is a critical situation. Even in considering prevention of future wars, people seeing themselves as having no external enemies can conceive only of watching over their own country. Suppose the Soviet Union should decide to invade Japan. Ample grounds exist for supposing such an attack, so what steps should be taken? More fundamentally, how can an invasion be deterred? And yet in Japan, not even common-sense anti-war measures can be discussed without raising ideological hackles. (One segment of opinion holds that it is the United States that bears watching. The concern, however, is not that a Japanese-American military conflict will break out. It is that the United States, though a country much like Japan, is nonetheless a rival.)

In contemporary Japan, one comes across little of the humility that would admit to less than full understanding of the causes of war. Only with such humility will we gain the prudence to reevaluate potential sources of trouble in the complex world around us. Having determined that Imperial Japan's militarism is the sole danger we must guard against, we have closed our eyes to the true dangers of war. The situation is much like the way in which a majority of the Japanese fought the last war, disregarding the size and strength of the enemy. To be sure, when an attack by a formidable power is so overwhelming that escape is impossible, perhaps the best tactic is blind and desperate struggle, and indeed this is exactly how Japan conducted the war. But in a situation requiring deterrence rather than battle, blindness is less than helpful.

We must first review the meaning of the war using the word *enemy* precisely and fearlessly so that the prewar generation can revise its understanding of those years and we of the postwar generation can appreciate the era that bore us. This is the minimum essential step.

Fusao Hayashi's *Dai Toa senso kotei ron* (In Affirmation of the Great East Asia War) is an example of a review fulfilling this

modest requirement. Contrary to what many people assume, this book expounds no ideology and asserts no dogma. It simply reviews in candid fashion the war's significance. In such a review, the reality of the enemy is immediately apparent. The enemies Japan actually faced—the groups of living human beings possessing power and will—are acknowledged.

### **The Reaction to the West**

Hayashi interprets the war as the last phase of a "100-Year East Asia War" that began at the end of the Tokugawa period [in the 1860s]. To contemporary readers accustomed to the notion that each four or five years marks a "new age," this 100-year span may appear unfashionably long. The long span may also appear to imply that Hayashi is not really making a serious analysis of the period. But his purpose is not frivolous. He uses the term because a war of 100 years' duration did indeed take place.

When one considers that this 100-year period corresponds roughly with the heyday of colonialism in world history, it does not seem absurdly long. The interval from when the West began its serious conquest of Asia and Africa until a majority of the colonized countries regained their independence was slightly over 100 years. During that time, no Asian or African country was exempt from its own tragic 100-year war. The hopelessness of these struggles is seen in the fact that in only two cases, the Ethiopian victory over Italy in 1896 and the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905, did the underdog come out on top.

Japan's own 100-year war was but a minor part of that larger struggle. Though Japan may be seen as having been one of the more victorious countries, it never succeeded in shaking off the enemy. Some Japanese argue that in the course of that long period only Japan, of all the nations of Asia and Africa, managed to break free and brilliantly achieve a position on the "enemy side." The world powers, however, neither acknowledged nor approved of this achievement. The deeply rooted white intolerance of other races is evident in the boycotts of Japanese goods conducted by the West in the 1930s. Japan was not allowed to be other than an Asian nation, and it never attempted to be anything else.

A tragedy is a struggle by a protagonist against destiny that is doomed to end in defeat. Japan's very determination to make a stand as an Asian nation turned its struggle into a true tragedy. Hayashi makes precisely this point: "The 100-Year East Asia War was a hopeless struggle from the outset. Yet the fight had to be fought, and Japan fought it. What a reckless war we fought for 100 years!"

When a petty protagonist undertakes a gigantic task for the sake



of petty gains, the drama may be seen as more of a farce than a tragedy, even if the outcome is disastrous. When most people speak of the tragedy of the war, what they really mean to say is that it was a farce with an unhappy ending. Hayashi, however, rejects this view. He refuses to call the war a farce, not to preserve the honor of the war dead but because he sees it as an erroneous view.

A perception of the 100-year war as a tragedy naturally must begin with a revised understanding of its roots in the last years of the Tokugawa regime. Hayashi dates the beginning of the war from the 1863 bombardment of Kagoshima by British ships and the 1864 bombardment of Shimonoseki by the vessels of several Western powers. In these two episodes of "Japanese history," the Japanese became acquainted with several Western countries that fill the pages of "world history." As the Japanese perceived this "world history," the West was brimming with vitality and full of ambitious people who used great power and devious stratagems to achieve their ends—and who sometimes failed. Interestingly, the other Japanese view—that from the vantage point of "Japanese history"—somehow managed to strip the West of this vitality. The Japanese paintings of foreigners in the early Meiji era are revealing. Westerners like Commodore Matthew Perry are depicted with strangely deformed features robbing them of their character as Westerners. "Japanese history" failed to portray the freshness of the West.

Like Hayashi, however, the Japanese leaders in those days no doubt saw the Westerners in the context of "world history." They saw faces that, just over 10 years earlier, had stuffed Indians into cannons and blown them apart. They saw people who had made a national enterprise out of the forced sale of opium in China. With this smoking gun aimed directly at them, the Japanese rallied behind the slogans "Expel the Barbarians," "Open the Nation," and "Embark on Civilization and Enlightenment." In Hayashi's view, the "expel the barbarians" and "civilization and enlightenment" slogans were not the assertions of opposing ideologies. Both expressed awareness of the threat posed by the Western powers' eastward advance. In this threat was contained the essence of the tragic 100-Year East Asia War. And as I shall explain later, it contained an even deeper tragedy than that seen by Hayashi.

The commonplace perception of the movements toward "expelling the barbarians" and "civilization and enlightenment" as totally separate phenomena is an error made by later generations. Had the Meiji Japanese looked at the West solely as an excellent model, imitating it in dress, food, and creation of an army, a navy, and a constitution, they would eventually have come to regard a

Japanese invasion of other Far Eastern countries as a logical conclusion. Modeling themselves after the West to this logical extreme would have been a laughable, grotesque farce. The so-called intellectuals apart, the ordinary Japanese never forgot that their century-long movement toward "civilization and enlightenment" was at the same time a century-long movement to "expel the barbarians." The powers and circumstances surrounding Japan did not allow the Japanese to forget this fact even temporarily.

### The Roots of the Pacific War

The Western powers' advance into Asia was not a temporary phenomenon of the years preceding the Meiji Restoration of 1868. As evidenced in the Triple Intervention, by which Russia, France, and Germany forced Japan to relinquish some of its gains from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95,\* Europe made a continuing issue of its expansionist interests in the Far East. Not long thereafter an additional threat appeared on the scene—that posed by the United States. Having acquired the Philippines in the Spanish-American War of 1898, the American forces suppressed an independence movement, killing, according to some, one-sixth of the Philippine population. The U.S. annexation of Hawaii also occurred in 1898, and Secretary of State John Hay proposed the Open Door policy for China in 1899.

The drive to the west had brought Americans to their west coast. After a brief pause, they began moving farther west, this time across the Pacific. The earlier European thrust into the Far East that had so frightened the Japanese of the late Tokugawa period exhausted its energies on India first and then Southeast Asia and China, so it had run out of steam by the time it reached Japan. Now, however, the United States was on the move, and its thrust seemed to be aimed directly at Japan. Eventually a direct U.S. blow on Japan was to be struck with the July 1941 embargo on oil shipments to Japan and the so-called Hull Note from Secretary of State Cordell Hull in November, which demanded among other things that Japan withdraw from China.

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\*The treaty of Shimonoseki, signed in April 1895, ended the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The treaty recognized Korea's independence of China and ceded Formosa (Taiwan) and the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan. But later that month Russia, France, and Germany informed Japan of their concern over the prospect of the Liaotung Peninsula's being transferred to Japan and "advised" its return to China. Japan, exhausted by the war with China and faced with the threat of forcible resistance by at least one of the powers, Russia, was forced to yield to this demand.—Ed., *Japan Echo*.



Information on Japanese-American relations on the eve of Pearl Harbor was concealed after the war, and only recently have people begun to talk. It has been revealed, for instance, that Washington had no intention of seriously negotiating in the talks held immediately prior to the war. It has even been claimed that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had foreknowledge of and anticipated the Japanese navy's supposedly secret attack. The essential point, however, is not to solve the mystery of whether or not Roosevelt laid a trap for Japan. A more important need is to comprehend the overall design of America's Pacific maneuvering.

Hayashi pinpoints the beginnings of the Pacific War in the immediate aftermath of the 1905 Portsmouth conference concluding the Russo-Japanese War. "This may strike many readers as an arbitrary or forced interpretation," he cautions, but a comprehensive view of world history shows his interpretation to be a logical, even conservative, conclusion. Going back further, we might even treat the Spanish-American War as the beginning of the Pacific War, since from that time onward two powers faced each other across the Pacific Ocean.

The next question is whether or not open conflict between these two powers was inevitable. The period after the Russo-Japanese War, some people argue, may have been the last point at which the Pacific War could have been prevented. This interpretation holds that perhaps confrontation could have been avoided had Japan accepted railway baron Edward H. Harriman's proposal to join American interests with Japanese interests in Manchuria. In a time of conflict, runs this theory, the small Japanese nation on the edge of the Pacific, facing the Eurasian continent, was forced to ally itself either with Britain and the United States or with Russia. Since an Anglo-American alliance seemed more stable and reliable than a Russian one, Japan's strategy should have been to promote harmonious relations with Britain and the United States. By its rejection of Harriman's proposal, however, Japan weakened these ties, thereby choosing the road that led to the Pacific War.

Certainly from the standpoint of a single country or from a present-day analysis of strategies, this view seems correct. Further support can be found in the fact that Britain and the United States in those days had no designs on Japan, their interest instead lying in China. But just because Japan then had the opportunity to conclude an Anglo-American alliance does not mean that Japan should have concluded such an alliance. Such a decision would have been too narrowly nationalistic.

Japan did not fight for 100 years merely to protect its own borders. Had this been the case, later generations would clearly understand the reasons for such a defensive war. But in the long war fought by Japan, protection of its own boundaries was a

minor issue. (This may be one reason the dispute over the Soviet-occupied "northern territories" today also seems to lack urgency.) National boundaries have grave significance only between countries belonging to the same cultural sphere. Japan's struggle was for something more urgent and essential than national boundaries; its cultural sphere was threatened.

### **Fighting the Wrong Enemy**

Today, since the great cultural sphere of Asia is not directly threatened, we fail to appreciate just how crucial the sphere is to Japan. Thus, when confronted with such grand visions as that of Tenshin Okakura, who expatiated on a conflict between Asia and the West, we tend to regard them as outdated or too generalized. Listening to many of the recently popular theories of Japanese character, one might think that Japan constituted a cultural sphere in itself. In earlier time, however, facing an imminent crisis in the entire Asian cultural sphere, the Japanese must have strongly sensed that their own survival was endangered should that cultural sphere be destroyed. When immediately threatened, people have no difficulty identifying their true lifelines.

Considering that Asia in those days was being choked by the West, one can easily imagine the Japanese people's reluctance to be drawn into an Anglo-American alliance or to team up with Russia. This was literally unthinkable. Had Japan made such an alliance, there would have been no answer to the inevitable scathing criticism heaped on Japan from other Asian countries. The postwar strategy cannot be applied to the past. Even though the British and Americans were not directly attacking Japan at the time, as long as they continued to be oppressors in Asia, confrontation with Japan was inevitable.

We did not fight for Japan alone. Our aim was to fight a Greater East Asia War. For this reason, the war between Japan and China and Japan's oppression of Korea were all the more profoundly regrettable, inexpressibly tragic events. Had Japan invaded China and Korea for its own benefit in thoughtless imitation of the West, this would not call for abject, prostrate apology. Japan merely would have been copying a normal mode of behavior in international society, where survival of the fittest is the law. Most countries would not even consider apology in such a case. Since Japan's actions were not of this variety, however, today we can only face China, and especially Korea, with bitter regret.

To be sure, varying interpretations of Japanese activities are possible. For instance, the political ideals behind the actions and the realities of the actions may be branded inconsistent. In spite of the clearly anticolonialist ideals of the instigators of the takeover



of Manchuria, the actual management of Manchuria was colonialist—an example of the gap between ideal and reality seen everywhere.

Another possible interpretation is that just as Japan's vision was clouded by the prospect of immediate profit, so China and Korea, newly awakened to the forces of nationalism, overreacted to the immediate Japanese threat in disregard of the major enemy. Those who tried to awaken their compatriots to the major enemy were branded traitors and died unrewarded. In any society those with unusual foresight and perception tend to be unappreciated. Yet we cannot but regret their treatment.

The American role must not be forgotten. Since nothing pleases war strategists more than division in enemy ranks, the United States supported the Chinese Nationalist government with loans and weapons in its war against Japan. That such aid was given on strictly humanitarian grounds is an interpretation straining belief.

After all is said and done, however, the reality remains that Japan went into the Asian continent to save it but ended up fighting against it. Hayashi does not evade this reality, nor does he attempt to rationalize or defend it. He simply grieves over it and sees in it the "coldheartedness of history." Abjectly apologizing to neighboring countries without appreciating coldhearted history is sheer sycophancy. The kind of people who engage in such conduct are those most likely to repeat past mistakes.

### Was "Liberation of Asia" Mere Demagoguery?

In the face of coldhearted history, minor controversies like last summer's uproar over the appropriateness of the word *invasion* in school textbooks seem petty. The essential point is an accurate understanding of the crisis that threatened all of Asia and the actions of Japan in response to that crisis. If we wish to accuse the Japanese of an invasion, then revision should begin with accounts of Columbus's discovery of America in 1492, renaming it "the first step in the invasion of the New World." After such changes, we would recognize how few movements in history are *not* invasions. We would also realize that labeling Japan's engagements in China and Korea invasions is a gross oversimplification.

Japan's actions in Southeast Asia are more easily understood. To these peoples, familiar with Western power through their direct experience as colonies under white domination, the mutual enemy appeared more clearly than it did to the Chinese and Koreans. The collaboration with Japan by Subhas Chandra Bose of India, Ba Maw of Burma, and Jose Laurel of the Philippines, as well as the Thai participation in the war, evidence a keen awareness of the need somehow to break free of white domination.

The Japanese troops were not dispatched southward as messengers of friendship and amity, however, but as combatants in a life-or-death struggle. Consequently, many Southeast Asians were alienated by the harsh Japanese actions. In addition, the Allied forces naturally drafted natives of their colonies into military service, so that Japanese and Southeast Asian soldiers often found themselves facing each other on the battlefield. Had Japan's southern advance been less of a blitzkrieg (for Japan itself as well), there might have been time to lay ample foundations for a "war of Asian liberation." Japan, however, was unable to control the timing and scale of the fighting, and even the question of war or peace was outside its control.

The decision to wage war made by the General Staff Office of the Imperial Headquarters was a reaction to the American embargo on oil shipments to Japan. Washington made this decision when its own war preparations had reached an advanced stage. In other words, the decision to fight was made neither by the Imperial Headquarters nor by the emperor but by the American government. As the United States advanced its pawns across the board, Japan was doing its best merely to keep up. Far from conducting the Greater East Asia War according to some blueprint, Japan was not even allowed time to draw up a blueprint. That Japan was forced into the fight with much of Asia still on the other side is a source of infinite regret.

Did our Greater East Asia War really result in total defeat? The former colonies that became battlegrounds all gained their independence during or after the war, and they have not fallen into white hands again. What are we to make of this fact? In the postwar years we were taught that this was an incidental byproduct of that detestable war. Yet as Japan's official statements on war objectives make clear, the goal was to free East Asia from British and American domination and establish the area's self-defense and independence. Again, if one asks Japanese war veterans why they fought, the reply comes that they believed they were fighting to liberate Asia. And indeed, Asia was liberated. It is a curious logic that denies any connection between this purpose and the war's outcome. Is history so difficult that it can only be understood through such a strange logic?

Applying this logic to the American Civil War will illustrate its distortion. It is generally recognized that the Civil War was fought not merely over the slavery issue but also over fundamental economic differences between the North and the South. Northern soldiers objected to having to die for the "niggers," but they fought nonetheless because other issues were involved. Even Lincoln's renowned Emancipation Proclamation was motivated by a hope to stimulate domestic and foreign support for the embattled



Northern troops and to enhance the Northern position. Yet nobody today, except possibly some people in isolated regions of the Deep South, would maintain that the Emancipation Proclamation was an empty farce and that the concept of freeing slaves was foisted on the common people by a prowar Yankee faction attempting to cover up its invasion of the South. Nobody would cry out against the loss of young lives as a result of such demagoguery and insist that militarism must never again be permitted. Why is this interpretation so unpopular? Because the North won the war.

But Japan lost, and defeat included denial of the ideals for which the losers fought as well as denial of their accomplishments. This was simply the inverse of "might makes right."

Why is it that people do not look at history honestly? Such honesty is what Hayashi means by calling for "affirmation" of the Greater East Asia War. His sole contention throughout the book is that we should accept things for what they are. Underlying his hope that truth will prevail is his concern for the next generation. What will result if those responsible for building the postwar world do so in willful disregard of the realities of the past? Hayashi is pessimistic about a generation brought up to consider itself a product of "nothingness." We ought not to deny the validity of his concern.

### **The Emergence of Japanese Supernationalism**

We should ask one more simple question that Hayashi never addresses. Why, in this postwar period, do we so resolutely refuse to face obvious reality? This is not a rhetorical question. Contained in the answer is a mystery and paradox of Japanese thought. Without the answer to this question, we cannot theorize about the nature of the Japanese people.

Why for so long after the war have the Japanese insisted that they alone were in the wrong, causing them to brand as peculiar all the arguments of people like Hayashi who see the fighting for what it was? One easy answer is that the seven years of occupation and censorship implanted this mindset. Another quick response is that communist propaganda is to blame. Throughout Japan's long history, the Japanese may have appeared to accept foreign doctrines without protest, but the truth is that they have never really accepted any way of thinking that threatened their traditional values. (The failure of Christianity to take root is a good example of this.) If the unreasonable condemnation of the Greater East Asia War posed a true threat to what we call *Yamato damashii*, or the Japanese spirit, then the Japanese would have soon dismissed whatever the U.S. occupation authorities or the Kremlin said about the war.

If now, 30 years after the occupation, the Japanese continue to reiterate assertions originally made by the occupation authorities, may not the reason be that on some unconscious level these assertions reflect a basically Japanese way of thought? Hayashi does not carry his argument this far. He simply laments the "dementia of the defeated." However, he misses one small fact. He states, "I forget which politician coined the slogan '100 million people united in repentance,' but undoubtedly he was of the same lineage as the politicians who, during the war, used the slogan '100 million people united in outrage.' " The dementia of the defeated, he insisted, is evident in the former slogan. The author of the slogan, however, was none other than General Kanji Ishihara, one of the prewar figures like the nationalists Shumei Okawa and Ikki Kita whom Hayashi holds in high esteem in his book. Ishihara was not cringing before the Allies by using this expression. He was not apologizing for having helped cause the war. He was suggesting that the responsibility for defeat should be shared by the entire nation.

Did everyone simply misunderstand what Ishihara was proposing? Let us consider the thinking that led to his view. Underlying his concept of national repentance was regret over the uncharacteristic behavior that the Japanese were forced into during the century beginning with the demise of the Tokugawa regime [1868]. The true tragedy of the 100-Year East Asia War was that "expulsion of the barbarians" was possible only through deliberate westernization. Asian nations like the Indian Mogul Empire and the Chinese Ch'ing Empire that proudly maintained their own cultures were toppled by Western power. Japan realized that only through discarding traditional Japanese qualities could it preserve its independence and culture. In other words, Japan chose to preserve bushido, "the way of the warrior," by shearing the samurai's topknot.

Even more fundamental and less apparent in this process of westernization, the Japanese began to subscribe to the characteristically Western world view of dividing nations into friends and foes, of recognizing foes as enemies, and of behaving antagonistically toward enemies. By accepting this confrontational world view, Japan barely managed to sustain itself through several crises. This may have been an inevitable way for Japan to proceed, but it was nonetheless regrettable. Thinking in this way, Ishihara made the following declaration concerning Japan's new Constitution: "When either the Americans or the Soviets press for Japan's rearmament sometime in the future, we must never submit to this request no matter how powerful the pressure."

After the war, sensing the passing of a crisis, the Japanese felt that they could finally be themselves. They did not misinterpret



Ishihara's slogan. Instead they took to heart the message that underlay it.

The Japanese determined never again to take up residence in the violent Western-style international community. No matter how much power was being brandished or what enemy was making threats, they decided, they would turn a blind eye. Should a dispute occur, they would attribute it to their negligence or handle it as a misunderstanding. They refused to view the world in any other way. This "peaceful world view" adopted by each individual Japanese is the heart of a characteristically Japanese way of thought. It is a true form of supernationalism. Based on this philosophy, postwar Japan's energy was wholly directed toward reconstruction rather than toward revenge.

### **Japanese Folk Wisdom**

What Hayashi sees as the dementia of the defeated is actually the natural sagacity of the Japanese. One aspect of this folk wisdom lies in the fact that its possessors are themselves unaware of it. The Japanese fail to realize that when trade friction occurs or a textbook controversy breaks out, their policy of simply offering apologies left and right amounts to a firm expression of Japanese nationalism.

Perhaps the unconscious quality of this folk wisdom is even its salient characteristic. The moment that we become aware that it is a form of nationalism, it will lose its folk quality. This is because the "peaceful world view" is based not on assertiveness but on acceptance of outside views. The view would not hold up were it to become an ideological creed. That is, the quality of the peaceful world view would be substantially altered were Japan to turn this view into an ideology and announce it as an article of public faith. Yet the Japanese cannot abandon the peaceful world view and docilely accept one of the confrontational views popular in other countries, which see the world as an area of powers balanced against and clashing with other powers, for these views run contrary to the Japanese spirit.

In the postwar period, the Japanese have managed to sustain this precarious outlook that the rest of the world shares our peaceful world view and that Japan is simply drifting safely within the confines of such a view. So convinced, we can espouse the peaceful world view not as a Japanese assertion but as an article of universal faith. This is indeed an elegant answer to the predicament posed to the Japanese outlook.

The preamble to the Constitution provides the classic statement of this ideal state subscribed to by the Japanese. "We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the

high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. . . . We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations. . . ."

What is expressed here is precisely Japan's peaceful world view. International society is supposedly founded upon sympathy for others and mutual friendly relations. It is not the bloody arena directly experienced by Japan throughout the 100-year war. Nor is it the world today, where battles still rage to banish "tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance." Japan withdrew from such a world, redefined the meaning of international society so that it would not conflict with the Japanese spirit, and declared its intention to dwell peacefully in the community thus created.

The supernationalist ideology outlined in the Constitution is a key national principle in addition to the emperor system. Anyone questioning this ideology is considered unpatriotic. Nevertheless, the actual circumstances under which the Constitution was written were far from the "international society" it presupposes. The overriding purpose in its drafting was to prevent the defeated country from ever again rising to threaten the victor. In short, the hope was to subjugate the Japanese. Japan's desperate, all-out struggle to fend off subjugation finally succeeded in reducing the threat to Japan to the form taken by the Constitution. Yet we not only fail to pay proper respect to our predecessor's struggle; we are not allowed even to remember that it occurred. People subconsciously fear that recognition of this reality may somehow rupture their dream of a peace-loving world.

There is one major and critical difficulty in this adept evasion of reality. This is that regardless of Japan's own slant on the nature of the international society in which it sees itself as living, a majority of the world's people have adopted a different slant. They still view international society entirely in terms of power and treat Japan as just one more player in the power game. Japan's plight is that it must live as if it were completely unaware that others calculate all their moves on the basis of power—in fact, it must work actively to remain ignorant of such calculations. And when Japan unintentionally creates power or a power vacuum by its own actions, the Japanese can only wait in anxious suspension for the repercussions in the power equations of other countries. Recent cases of trade friction are one small example of this.



## Understanding Ourselves

"We, the Japanese people . . . have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world," runs the preamble to the Japanese Constitution. Yet in other countries, justice, faith, and love of peace are perceived to be conditions that move to the fore or recede depending on the results of calculations of power. Without understanding these calculations, we stake our own security and existence on them. Even the boldest gambler would pale and tremble at a gamble of this magnitude. Japan, however, is accepting this gamble without so much as the twitch of an eyebrow.

We should not simply dismiss the peace-loving world view of the Constitution as illusion and affirm that the only realistic world view sees power in conflict with power. If our international society is an illusion, the confrontational world is no less so. Like our premise, the premise of inevitable antagonism between opposing forces cannot be proven. The only certainty is that we live in a world in which Japan has its characteristic illusions and other countries have theirs. We can no longer close our eyes to this truth, for to do so is fraught with danger.

The day when we could protect our identity by closing our eyes is ending. It is time that we opened our eyes, learned about ourselves, and grappled in earnest with the problem of preserving our identity. The popularity over the last dozen years of various theories of Japanese character is evidence that people have begun to sense that this problem is an important one. As yet, however, people are not certain what they should be looking for. Theories of Japanese character are being bandied about in the fashion of children playing with building blocks—tossing and chewing the blocks without creating any structure.

Who are we? How can we be ourselves? In order to make these simple questions meaningful, we must once more review the significance of the war. In Japan's long history, only during this 100-year period was it necessary to wage war to preserve our identity. In order to wage this war, inevitably we were made increasingly aware of this identity. The climactic and concluding phase of that struggle in particular must be candidly reassessed. Only when we fully understand what lay at its depths will we be able to deny that "holy war," the Greater East Asia War, and truly begin anew.

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## The Psychology and Epistemology of 'Holocaust' Newspeak\*

MICHAEL A. HOFFMAN II

“**H**olocaust” is a Newspeak word whose exact definition exists, in the society of the spectacle, as a bundle of images. It is recognized on the visceral rather than the rational plane by its targeted audience. It does not exist in the public mind as a specific event, but as a command phrase summoning a sensory overload of images of piles of naked bodies and persons with stars of David on their coats being force-marched by gun-toting German soldiers. How can any person say it didn’t happen?

When Abba Eban’s *Civilization and the Jews* TV series installment on the “Holocaust” omitted any mention of homicidal gas chambering—the central event of the history of Exterminationism—there was no apparent notice or comment among critics or the public. It was as if NASA had produced a mini-series on the moon flights without mentioning the rockets that carried the astronauts, and no one even noticed.

The spectacular “Holocaust” has the quality of a myth because it has an existence independent of its history.

Specific descriptions of a variety of actions, events and principals having tremendous diversity in significance and meaning have been absorbed into a single, narrow category. Prior to the imposition of “Holocaust” Newspeak, precise allusions and direct references were made to the allegations at issue, as for example, the claim of six million slaughtered Jews, mass murder by means of poison gas, soap manufactured from human fat and so forth.

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\*Chapter one from the author’s forthcoming book, *The Highest Degree of Sacredness: The ‘Holocaust’ Cult in Theory and Practice*.



Now, under the aegis of "Holocaust" Newspeak, the preceding *allegations* are combined into an aggregate which includes the *reality* of National Socialist internment of Jews in concentration camps, the "Kristallnacht," an officially enshrined policy of anti-Semitism and the displacement and death of hundreds of thousands of Jews as a result of war-related combat, typhus and privation. Which are upheld and which are denied when one is accused of saying "the 'Holocaust' didn't happen"?

The masterstroke of the "Holocaust" cultists was to impose a Newspeak slogan upon a combination of historical realities and historical impostures, thereby achieving a psychological and epistemological device for condemning researchers skeptical of homicidal gas chambering accounts or human skin lampshades as deniers of the existence of concentration camps, Hitlerian anti-Semitism and persecutions; and the death and displacement of hundreds of thousands of European Jews.

By exploiting this confusion, the Exterminationists can depict persons who question even the wildest flights of "Holocaust" S&M fantasy as lunatic nay-sayers to the spectacular, overwhelming enormity of an entire era's history when conveniently grouped under the Newspeak heading.

The utility of Newspeak for the maintenance of an indoctrinated mindset is glimpsed in the intriguingly stubborn affinity many journalists have for the "Holocaust" Newspeak agenda. With comical monotony, reporters refuse to describe revisionists in terms of the specific question they have about a specific event. Instead, both the event and the questioner are located within the artificial agenda of "Holocaust" Newspeak. By continually referring to a researcher who doubts the technology described for the Nazi gas chambers, for example, as one who "says the 'Holocaust' didn't happen," the doubter is cleverly saddled with the enormous connotations which are summoned in the public mind by the invocation of a Newspeak buzz word. Suggesting that gas chamber accounts might have been faked requires the logical defense of that particular assertion. Being presented to a conditioned audience as someone who says the "Holocaust" is a fake, is tantamount to being announced as one who proclaims a flat earth. As in any cult, the doubting Thomas is not addressed in terms of his specific doubts but as one who negates an entire cosmology.

Newspeak obscurantism produces an iconic mental state among the "Holocaust" cult's true believers which is indistinguishable from that of the hypnotic because, "Newspeak was designed not to extend but to diminish the range of thought." (George Orwell, 1984).

The imposition of "Holocaust" Newspeak as the officially proper academic and journalistic term for German-Jewish relations for

the period from 1933–1945 is a recent innovation. As late as 1977, the "Holocaust" word was written in the lower case, within quotation marks ("holocaust"), when used as an optional reference to the experience of Jews in the Third Reich. In the middle of the decade of the 1970's, dictionaries, encyclopedias, textbooks and newspaper indexes were altered to incorporate Newspeak, without any qualifiers, in accordance with the demands of the Big Brother Exterminationist party.

*Webster's Dictionary and Encyclopedia* and the *Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary* of the 1960's define holocaust as a burnt offering on the part of pagans and Jews. By 1975, however, "minitruer" has entered the *New Columbia Encyclopedia*, which now defines holocaust as "a name given to the period of persecution and extermination of European Jews by the National Socialists, or Nazis."

A name given by whom? By whose authority was the fact of persecution mixed together with the notion of "extermination"? Who decided on this word's authoritative application? How did it enter popular usage? Why "Holocaust" with its nebulous reference to reality (anti-Semitic persecution) as well as disputed claims (extermination)? Why wasn't the word "Exterminationism" chosen for official, dictionary-definition recognition? The latter term accurately denotes a specific allegation, that the Jewish people were "exterminated" during World War II. Such a word does not depend upon ambiguous connotations or confusing allusions to disparate events for its utility and validity. To be accused of denying Exterminationism does not place the denier in the position of a flat earthist nonsensically denouncing the massive evidence of concentration camp internment and Jewish casualties. To deny Exterminationism is to deny that Jews were in fact exterminated. This is not much of a denial since millions of Jews were alive at the end of the war.

The novocaine of the media ensures that no one asks these reasonable and obvious questions. Linguists of the caliber of Noam Chomsky and Orwell pontificators of the stature of Cronkite and Moyers, accepted and even endorsed the issuance of a license akin to the ecclesiastical *imprimatur* for use as the exclusive referent of one nation of people.

Was World War Two itself a holocaust over-all, or does the term have a proprietary relationship with Jews alone? How is it that the atomic and thermite incineration of approximately one million helpless German and Japanese civilians, mostly women and children, in deliberate mass murder firebombings by the Allied air forces, does not rate as a holocaust?

Revisionists are forced to endure from the Exterminationists a particularly chilling and grotesque example of self-aggrandize-



ment when revisionists are accused of denying a World War Two holocaust.

The overwhelming holocaust of the modern era, for which there is all of the forensic proof the Jewish "Holocaust" is supposed to contain and from which it is also intended to distract, is the merciless Allied fire-bombing holocaust against Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and dozens of other major civilian centers.

The racism of the ethnocentric "Holocaust" cult is confronted full force in the special criterion established for the phrase "Holocaust survivor." Such people are always the victims of the National Socialists and are mostly Jews. Human perception has been so impaired by this cult category that Germans and Japanese who escaped death in the unprecedented firestorms which transformed their cities into pits of mass human incineration, are not referred to as holocaust survivors.

A media-certified Jewish "survivor" of the one and only "Holocaust" with a capital H symbolizes the pathetic partisanship with which the entire epoch of the holocaust that was World War Two as a whole is invested.

Revisionists do not deny the holocaust in the fully human sense of that word. Let the TV cameramen and the professors focus their attention on the mass burning of hundreds of thousands of women and children in deliberate Allied slaughters, and they too will come to realize the degree to which Zionist racism and hatred of gentiles has suppressed this holocaust to such a degree that it is totally dismissed from discussion of the history of the Second World War.

Hence, when revisionists question this or that aspect of the Sho'ah theologian's theory about an expiational Jewish inferno, it signals to the cultist that "the 'Holocaust' didn't happen." The logic of the "Holocaust" zealot permits the visualization of only Jewish suffering; only Jews burning. If one says the gas chamber canon is questionable, contradictory, possibly false, it must then signify that one is saying the war was a picnic! The cultist is incapable of understanding that German and Japanese civilians suffered an unparalleled holocaust in World War Two which is not being denied when revisionists investigate Jewish claims; on the contrary, it is freed for the first time from an imposed silence.

It is from a desperate need to take world attention away from the authentic "burnt offerings" of that horrid war that the traumatizing monomania of Jewish "Holocaust" preoccupation has warped the conscience of the West.

Mt. Zion decrees, "The 'Holocaust' cannot be debated" and in a sense this theological fiat is quite true. In free and open debate, linguistic mystification would no longer shield partisan generali-

zations and falsehoods. Charges and assertions would have to stand on scientific and forensic evidence alone. The diminishment of thought Orwell pointed to with regard to Newspeak is noted in the current circumstances surrounding investigation into the numerous contradictions, discrepancies and outright absurdities in the claims made about homicidal gas chambers. There are many aspects of the gas chamber claims which deserve—even demand—critical, scholarly analysis. Authentically sound historiography does not shrink from such scrutiny but assists it with all the resources available. Truth need not be protected beneath a shower of fascist-baiting expletives and left-wing McCarthyist smears about “anti-Semitism.” Truth welcomes every investigation and every manifestation of curiosity. In so vast a study as the Jewish “Holocaust” claims can it really be truthfully asserted that everyone troubled by contradictions or questionable methods and testimony is *ipso facto* a fiendish Jew-hater?

“Holocaust” Newspeak offers ample protection for hoaxes through its suppressive linguistic mechanism. “Holocaust” belief diminishes critical thinking because its authority is not derived from having stood the traditional tests of point-counterpoint debate and rigorously critical exegesis, but from a ruling class monopoly-consensus possessed of the ability to propound dogmatically before large captive audiences.

The remarkable fact about the attack on revisionism by the Exterminationist historians is that it has had very little to do thus far with history, but everything to do with angry invective and Jewish moralizing.

Those who possess the authority to impose upon our discourse partisan jargon disguised as objective historical description have a tremendous impact on the shaping of human perception, an impact thus far overlooked in the study of the evolution of our beliefs about the history of the Second World War.

In modern democracies we are supposedly encouraged to question everything, from traditional religions revered by our grandparents to the infinite themes of space and time, but no “respectable” person is permitted by the establishment to question how this “Holocaust” buzz-word came to be applied, in its capitalized form, uniquely to the situation of Jews in the Third Reich.

The West, in its penultimate secular-consumer phase, wishes to uphold the concept that it alone among contemporary and historical social and cultural models, has no sacred dogmas or theology and therefore no forbidden domains of intellectual inquiry and no heretics.

As we shall see, Exterminationism (an accurate description for the ubiquitous conspiracy theory regarding Jews and National Socialists), is as much of a sacred cow in North America and



Europe as Islam in Iran, Marxism-Leninism in Albania or the Holy Ghost revival in Skunk Hollow, Tennessee.

Just as atheists and pagans were executed for denying the existence of the devil in the 17th century, revisionists are candidates for burning in the 20th century for denying the devil theory of modern European history, Exterminationism.

Menachem Begin and other Israeli government officials have described the popular supermarket-tabloid fiend known by the generic brand-name, "Nazi war criminal," as "satanic." This notion of the diabolic presupposes the angelic. The one can do no right, the other can do no wrong. All such witch crazes carry along with their *vapeurs histeriques* the whiff of solicited murder.

The murder of the modern supermarket-satanist, the brand name Nazi war criminal, is a hallmark of "Holocaust" cultism taken to its illogical, but inevitable, conclusion. In February, 1973 Israeli agents beat to death a former German soldier in the mistaken belief he was Dr. Mengele, the witch of Auschwitz and convenient fantasy projection for extant psychoses about Dr. Frankenstein.<sup>1</sup>

In 1982, French witchfinder general Serge Klarsfeld paid a Bolivian assassin \$5,000 to murder Klaus Barbie.<sup>2</sup> Despite this "peccadillo," Mr. Klarsfeld continues to receive numerous encomiums from the "humane" and "democratic" media establishment as a noble battler against fascist barbarity. If the thought of nobility somehow clashes in the reader's mind with the barbarous fact of hiring assassins, and the repercussions possible from encouraging this fellow's example by heaping lavish public praise upon him, banish the thought. To do otherwise is to flirt dangerously toward Jew-hating and neo-Nazism. Keep in mind instead that we are dealing here with angels who are above the law and demons to whom we owe nothing; certainly not the rights of man that must always be extended to Zionists under all circumstances.

Witchfinder Klarsfeld has adopted for his personal motto an adage from the Ku Klux Klan. Rather than have a satanist like Barbie walk free, Klarsfeld declared "It is better to have an illegal resolution."

The degree of fervor exhibited in the crusade against devil-Nazis is that of almost total rage. It should come as no surprise that a special category of fiend has been reserved in the Israeli hell for an even worse species of cretin. The lowest rung on the ladder of demonism is occupied by revisionists. Speaking in what the Associated Press described as a rare interview on Israeli army radio, former Prime Minister Begin announced:

There is an attempt—and even the word satanic cannot describe its evilness—to deny that six million Jews, men, women, and

children, were led by Nazi Germany and its partners to the pits, to the poison-spewing trucks, to the gas chambers, to the crematoriums.<sup>3</sup>

If assassination and death by beating are reserved for satanic Nazis, what fate do the holy people have in store for those for whom "even the word satanic" cannot describe their evilness—the revisionists?

Like the promulgation of a Papal Bull anathematizing apostate deniers of the existence of the devil—which carried with it threats of execution—the kingdom of the "Holocaust" is upheld by dogmatic Israeli declaration in the authoritative media monopoly, and woe to those who fail to heed it.

Just as there was no material, scientific proof for the existence of the devil, there is no material, scientific proof for the existence of Nazi homicidal gas chambers. There are no autopsies available from any source showing that even one Jew died as a result of Zyklon B (hydrocyanic acid) poisoning, among the millions who are alleged to have been killed in this manner, an esoteric but revolutionary fact clumsily admitted by the prestigious Exterminationist genie, Dr. Raul Hilberg.<sup>4</sup>

The "Holocaust" cult's "proof" of gas chambers depends upon precisely what the medieval witch cult depended upon for its "proof" of the devil: confessions and "eyewitnesses."

These cults do differ in one respect, however. To augment the accounts of the witnesses who smelled the smoke and saw the fire and brimstone of satan, the holy fungus of the rye ergot was administered to create the necessary hallucinatory vision. In our modern, spectacular society the witnesses do not need drugs to report about the "smoke" and the "flames" emitted by the satanic furnaces. They have the marvelous fungus of television to augment their visions.

For example, in the movie *The Wall* giant crematorium "smokestacks" belch massive clouds of evil-looking black smoke and ash. It was scientifically impossible for the crematoria in Auschwitz to emit smoke or ash, according to the builder's patent by Topf and Son. In fact, no crematoria produce these emissions. Cremation technology was devised in the late 19th century specifically for the purpose of suppressing the emissions which accompany open-pit burning. There are no such things as crematorium "smokestacks." Cremation uses heat, not flame for reduction of the corpse into ash and crematorium chimneys emit heat and not smoke or flames.

Because there is no business like *sho'ah* business, these technical facts have not had any influence on the cinematic promoters of the myth. Since cultic true believers do not permit scientific facts to get in the way of religious "truth," and since the



majority of Americans are members of the "Holocaust" cult, there is very little impetus for challenging movies like *The Wall*.

These fantasies about giant smoking furnaces are shown repeatedly in 70 mm. and Dolby stereo constituting an intensely hallucinogenic experience.

"You are there, in Auschwitz!"—rather like the increasingly sophisticated video simulators which let us imagine we are piloting a starship past Orion.

The illusion is exceedingly slick. In the case of Exterminationism, repeated exposure to falsified portrayals of the concentration camps shape the "memories" of former internees who did not witness what was depicted in *The Wall*, but after forty years cannot be too greatly faulted for perhaps imagining that they did, after sitting through a lifetime of graphic cinematic retellings of what they *should have seen*, according to the demands of Exterminationist theology.

The Jewish "Holocaust" has all the substance of a Grade B horror flick recalling Swift:

Methinks when you expose the Scene, Down the ill-organ'd  
Engines fall; Off fly the Vizards and discover all, How plain I see  
thro' the Deceit! How shallow! and how gross the cheat . . .<sup>5</sup>

The *benandante* were agrarian mystics whose sorghum and fennel agricultural rites had no connection to the episcopal satan. Their ecstatic shamanism pre-dated the advent of Judeo-Christianity in Europe by several centuries. When, in 1580, the activities of the *benandante* were reported to the witchfinders of Friuli, Italy it was decreed that *benandante* had to have been satanists because there was no mention in the inquisitors manuals, such as the *Malleus Maleficarum*, of a category of benign nature-worshippers.<sup>6</sup>

In the modern witchfinder's manuals such as Charles Higham's *American Swastika* or the appropriately named *Hammer* (of Heretics) magazine published in association with the Zionist *Shmate* society, *Searchlight* in England, the intelligence sheets of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and the Simon Wiesenthal Center, revisionists are never perceived as independent thinkers or skeptical inquirers researching "Holocaust" anomalies out of concern for historical integrity, but as satanists, butchers, terrorists, anti-Semites, neo-Nazis and perverts. For example, Lucy S. Dawidowicz, author of *The War Against the Jews*, labels revisionists as "rabid," "neo-Nazi," "crackpot," "paranoid" and "oddball."<sup>7</sup> Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Commission, adds the invectives "spiritually perverted" and "morally deranged" to the list.<sup>8</sup>

Because the *benandante* had no way of presenting their views to

the official circles of the Church and literate establishment elite, they were depicted solely from the point of view of their accusers.

The best presentation of the case against the Exterminationist theory, as of this writing, is Dr. Arthur R. Butz's *The Hoax of the 20th Century*, a brilliant tour de force of research and critical analysis. Importing or possessing the book in Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and South Africa may result in arrest and imprisonment. In the U.S., it is informally banned from college course work, bookstores and most libraries. Those libraries which do stock it usually keep it off the shelves in inter-library loan.

Those who dare to read the book or make it available to students and the public on the civil libertarian basis of the people's right to know and judge for themselves, will be smeared as Nazi sympathizers and persons spreading poison in the community. This *argumentum ad hominem* will be given by bourgeois journalists and academics who have not even read the book, but who are content to accept the infallible word of the "Holocaust" cult's popes and popesses that the book is profoundly demonic.

Without recourse to a fair hearing before the episcopate and aristocracy, the indigenous *benandante* were transformed into the classic Biblical image of satan. Similarly, in the face of modern censorship and repression, grotesque distortions and patent stupidities are presented to 20th century audiences as "what revisionists say." Lucy S. Dawidowicz:

Butz—an associate professor of electrical engineering and computer sciences—was convinced that all the Jews said to have been murdered were still alive and he undertook to prove it, his expertise in computers no doubt standing him in good stead.<sup>9</sup>

This is what Dr. Butz actually wrote:

The Jews of Europe suffered during the war by being deported to the East, by having had much of their property confiscated and, more importantly, by suffering cruelly in the circumstances surrounding Germany's defeat. They may have even lost a million dead . . . Himmler was given the power to "act independently upon his own responsibility." Everybody knew that that meant executions of partisans and persons collaborating with partisans. The dirty task was assigned to four *Einsatzgruppen* of the SD . . . the *Einsatzgruppen* must have shot many Jews, although we do not know whether "many" means 5,000, 25,000 or 100,000.<sup>10</sup>

Miss Dawidowicz had apparently not even read the book by the man she is bashing, and does not expect that her readers have or will either.

Elie Wiesel:



If we are to believe some morally deranged and spiritually perverted pseudo-historians, the Holocaust never took place . . . The Nuremberg trials, the Einsatzkommando trials, the Frankfurt trials were never held . . . There was no Treblinka, there was no Maidanek, there was no Birkenau . . . Northwestern Professor Arthur Butz calls it: "The hoax of the century."<sup>11</sup>

#### Dr. Butz on Nuremberg:

First there was the "big trial" conducted by the "International Military Tribunal" (IMT) at Nuernberg immediately after the war. This was the trial of top Nazis Goering, Hess, Ribbentrop et al. which ran from November 1945 to October 1946.<sup>12</sup>

#### Dr. Butz on Birkenau:

Thus, on the basis of seniority and also on account of quartering the Auschwitz SS administrative offices, Auschwitz I was indeed the "main camp," but Birkenau, designed for the specific requirements of the Auschwitz operations, was clearly intended as the "principal camp" in terms of inmate accomodating functions.<sup>13</sup>

This skewing of revisionism on the part of "Holocaust" zealots is intended to make it impossible for otherwise intelligent people to break out of one-track, Newspeak-imposed cognition about World War Two. Orwell:

The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees . . . but to make all other modes of thought impossible. (1984).

The quality of demonic heresy projected onto the revisionist witch is a product of the linguistic technology of Newspeak which creates a deliberate blurring of lines of distinction separating the literal from the metaphoric.

The adoption of a brand name mass-marketing sobriquet as the official, literal-academic, as well as Pop-metaphoric description of German-Jewish relations during the National Socialist reign, was a clever psychological and epistemological coup on the part of the Exterminationists. By this ruse, the critical faculties of both the masses as well as the intelligentsia have been occluded. In considering the subject of German-Jewish relations from 1933 to 1945, it has become difficult—if not impossible as, Orwell warned—to perform the basic requirement which ensures the integrity of language and perception, *the ability to make distinctions*.

The Exterminationists exploit the confusion "Holocaust" Newspeak has engendered in its denotative and connotative aspects.

When revisionist studies make specific challenges about, for ex-

ample, the number of Jews who perished or the technical impossibility of gassings having taken place in the unsealed, wooden door-latched "chambers" on display in Auschwitz as of this writing, they are defended against in terms of the linguistic and visual agenda of the Pop-metaphor of "Holocaust." Investigating any cherished axiom is cleverly interpreted to the public as an across-the-board, flat-earthist negation of a thousand conjured images of body piles, goose-steppers and concentration camp privation.

It is crucial to the Exterminationists that the public fails to grasp the distinction that the Pop-metaphors of the "Holocaust" are capable of interpretation. No revisionist of even minimal standing denies concentration camps, anti-Semitism or the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Jews from disease, hunger and combat.

The objective of the "Holocaust" cult is to ensure that the public does not learn that revisionist research does not deny the Pop imagery but seeks to discover whether the constantly repeated photographs of body piles and other images of Jewish suffering were the result of mass murder by poison gas and deliberate starvation or failed policies of preventive detention and deportation stemming from Germany's defeat in war.

Dr. Thomas Szasz excavates the underpinnings of the confusion between the literal and the metaphoric when he writes: "... where the true believer speaks metaphorically but claims that he asserts literal truths . . . heresy may consist in no more than insisting that a metaphorical truth may be a literal falsehood." (*Heresies*).

As a religious metaphor on a par with the mystical utterances of the *Talmud*, the 20th century Jewish "Holocaust" has significance as an article of pious Jewish faith. Recall that equally audacious recitals are a fixture of Jewish religious fervor. In the sacred Hebrew scripture *Talmud*, it is stated that the Romans slaughtered 40 million Jews during the siege of the Israelite fortress of Bar Kokhba.

The Talmudic story, like the gas chamber story, makes for good *de laude martyrum* apocrypha, but bad history. It is not a matter for the public to debate the literal truth of Jewish beliefs. Every religion has a right to its own story. It only becomes a public matter when Jews attempt to establish as criteria for human decency, good citizenship and public morals, the demand that non-Jews must believe Jewish fables and accept them as a matter of scientific historiography.

It is a telling commentary on the modern era that the apocryphal and expiational language and agenda of partisan religious dogma has been enthusiastically embraced as the objective description of an entire epoch of world history in public newspapers and airwaves and the lecture halls of secular universities.



It is an apparent, though not widely admitted fact, that Judaism, through the "Holocaust" cult, has become the informal state religion of the West, with the distinction of being the last truly believed religion in the otherwise agnostic West; the end-result of this reactionary hegemony being the same as that of the Big Brother party in Orwell's 1984, "to extinguish once and for all the possibility of independent thought."

Judaism is of course not unique in this endeavor. "Churchianity" and Islam have mounted similarly ambitious undertakings, which did not prevent certain high-spirited human beings from casting off the mental shackles of those cruelly oppressive hoaxes. It remains to be seen if the especially authoritative superstitions of the Church of the "Holy Hoax"—wedded as they are to the formidable and unprecedented indoctrinating abilities of modern communications technology—will defeat or will be defeated by the empirical investigations and doubts of the infidels of our time, who dare to blaspheme against the sacred *logos* of "Holocaust" Newspeak.

### Notes

1. *The Gazette* (Montreal), March 2, 1985, p. B-5.
2. *NY Times*, Jan. 24, 1985, "Lawyer tells of plot on Barbie." On Feb. 26 Barbie was administered poison by the prison physician. The *NY Times* described the assassination attempt as "medication that was apparently given him by mistake" (*NY Times*, Feb. 27, 1985; also cf. *The Spotlight*, March 11, 1985).
3. Israeli army radio broadcast of April 18, 1985.
4. *The Sault Star* (Canada), Jan. 18, 1985, p. A-11.
5. Ode to the Honourable Sir William Temple.
6. Cf. *Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the 16th and 17th Centuries*.
7. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, "Lies About the Holocaust," *Commentary*, December, 1980.
8. Elie Wiesel, "What Did Happen to the Six Million?" *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 4, 1977.
9. Dawidowicz, op. cit., p. 34.
10. Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the 20th Century*, Institute for Historical Review, 1985, pp. 239 and 197.
11. Wiesel, op. cit., p. 19.
12. Butz, op. cit., p. 18.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

*Azriel Eisenberg Presents*  
THE GREATEST SOB STORY EVER TOLD  
(with a Cast of Millions)

L.A. ROLLINS

**THE LOST GENERATION: CHILDREN IN THE HOLOCAUST**, by Azriel Eisenberg, The Pilgrim Press, 380pp, \$17.95, ISBN 0-8298-0498-6.

Azriel Eisenberg strikes again! In *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1983, I reviewed Eisenberg's *Witness to the Holocaust*. Now Eisenberg, Holocaustomaniac *par excellence*, has produced a companion volume to that egregious opus. So here I am, writing a companion review to my earlier one.

Like *Witness to the Holocaust*, *The Lost Generation: Children in the Holocaust* purports to be a collection of eyewitness accounts of "the Holocaust." But this time these accounts are either by or about those who were 14 years of age or younger during "the Nazi carnage." According to Eisenberg, 1,200,000 of the Nazis' six million Jewish victims were children. And this killing of children is supposed to be the most shocking and terrible part of the Nazis' "bloody work." Thus, a volume devoted entirely to children in "the Holocaust."

In *Witness to the Holocaust*, Eisenberg said (p. 5), "... the heart of this book is a compilation of authentic, first-hand, personal, and eyewitness accounts." Similarly, in the introduction to *The Lost Generation*, he says (p. xvii), "The accounts included in this book were chosen from books written by eyewitnesses. . . . Only authentic personal and eyewitness experiences were selected." Eisenberg emphasizes "authentic, first-hand, personal, and eyewitness accounts" because of the emotional impact they presumably will have on his more reverent readers. In *Witness to the Holocaust*, he explained (p. 5):



The *Sho'ah* [the Holocaust] cannot be intellectualized. To validate this contention, readers are invited to test their emotional reactions to the introductions of the chapters in this book as compared to the first-hand accounts that follow them. To establish any meaningful tie with Auschwitz, the Warsaw Ghetto, the partisans, the martyrs, and the survivors, we must share in their experiences. For this reason, the heart of this book is a compilation of authentic, first-hand, personal, and eyewitness accounts. They will affect your innermost being.

In the introduction to *The Lost Generation*, Eisenberg says of the "authentic personal and eyewitness experiences" that he's selected (p. xvii), "They will enable the reader to share the agony, the physical, emotional and spiritual torment of the martyred children."

Well, reading Eisenberg's "eyewitness" accounts may be a good way for devout Holocaustomaniacs to experience agony and torment. But, being the cold-hearted nitpicker that I am, I wonder if reading them is a good way to find out what really happened to Jewish children under Nazi rule.

For one thing, a number of scientific investigators of eyewitness testimony have concluded that most such testimony is to some degree unreliable. In his anthology, *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence*, Robin W. Winks included (pp. 182-191) an excerpt, concerning the credibility of testimony, from Thomas Spencer Jerome's *Aspects of the Study of Roman History*. Jerome described experiments conducted by Alfred Binet, William Stern and others. For example, here is Jerome's account of an experiment by Stern:

He had three simple pictures in black and white, which he exhibited for forty-five seconds each to about thirty cultivated adults who immediately wrote down what they had seen in each picture, and thereafter at certain intervals of time again submitted written statements. Such parts of their depositions as they were willing to take oath upon were indicated by underlining. Without going into details, it may be said that the results were not of a nature calculated to give one great confidence in the value of testimony. Error was not the exception, but the rule. Out of two hundred and eighty-two depositions only seventeen were entirely correct; and of these seventeen, fifteen were among statements written down immediately. By the fifth day even, the proportion of misstatements reached about a quarter of all the details submitted. In the depositions containing indications of matters on which the observer was willing to take an oath, only thirteen out of sixty-three failed to contain false statements, to all of which however the witnesses were prepared to swear. Many of these were cases of the introduction of elements which were absolutely absent from the picture. So one student wrote three weeks after the event: "The picture shows an old

man seated on a wooden bench. A small boy is standing at his left. He is looking at the old man who is feeding a pigeon. On the roof is perched another pigeon which is preparing to fly to the ground to get its share of food." The italicized statements were wholly incorrect: there were no pigeons in the picture. Perhaps the figure of a cat in the scene may have suggested the idea of a bird to the observer.

Jerome explained the significance of such experiments thusly:

It will appear from these and similar experiments that erroneous testimony was given in simple matters of direct, personal observation by witnesses who were not influenced by any conscious pre-existing emotion or prepossession, and who were actuated by a desire to give an exact and truthful narrative. Yet the results were not encouraging. It is evident, as scholars who have conducted or studied such experiments have shown, that good faith, the desire to tell the truth, and the certainty that the testimony is true, as well as the opportunity to secure correct information, and the absence of prepossessions, are far from affording adequate guarantees that the truth will be told. The most honest witness may misstate; the worst may tell the truth. Entirely faithful testimony is not the rule but rather a rare exception . . .

As reported by French psychiatrist Marcel Eck (*Lies and Truth*, Macmillan, 1970, p. 147), Michel Cenac, after studying similar experiments, drew the following similar conclusions about eyewitness testimony:

1. Entirely accurate testimony is the exception,
2. The witness offers false information with the same assurance that he gives true information,
3. Witnesses are inclined to perceive the facts and reconstruct their memory of them in terms of what seems likely to them rather than what they really saw.

Knowing how fallible my own memory is, these conclusions strike me as being entirely plausible. But if eyewitness testimony is commonly unreliable, then it seems fair to assume that eyewitness testimony about "the Holocaust" is commonly unreliable, too. For that matter, eyewitness testimony about "the Holocaust" might even tend to be more unreliable than other eyewitness testimony. According to Gordon Allport and Leo Postman (*The Psychology of Rumor*, Henry Holt, 1947, p. 53), eyewitness testimony is highly unreliable, "... especially in conditions where excitement existed during the original perception or in the process of narration. Normal defects of perception, retention, and verbal report are serious enough, but emotional states greatly magnify them." This is certainly a factor influencing some testimony about "the Holocaust."

Regarding the effect of emotional states, Alexander Leighton,



writing about the wartime "internment" of the Japanese (*The Governing of Men*, Princeton University Press, 1946), made some interesting and suggestive comments (p. 268):

Psychiatrists observing patients who are emotionally unwell have long known that when they go into a state of panic they misinterpret ordinary events as horrible threats. The whistle of a distant train becomes a death scream, or two people seen talking together are instantly assumed to be plotting. More than this, it has been seen that patients in panic can become hallucinated and see people coming to attack them who are not there at all, or may smell smoke and gas where none exists. It is more than probable that this happens to otherwise normal individuals when in a state of intense fear, and it may be that those persons in the [Colorado River War Relocation] Center [at Poston, Arizona] who saw non-existent machine guns and their crews during the strike were suffering from such distortions of their senses. In the Detroit riots the police were bothered by people calling up and giving specific details of murders and violence, sometimes said to be going on before their "very eyes," but which actually never occurred. There are similar instances in reports on the behavior of people under stress in war zones. . . .

According to Leighton, when psychiatric patients "go into a state of panic, they misinterpret ordinary events as horrible threats. The whistle of a distant train becomes a death scream." But it just so happens that numerous survivors of Auschwitz-Birkenau have given eyewitness (or should I say "earwitness"?) testimony about hearing the screams of people in "the gas chambers." For example, the testimony of Zvi Goldberg, one of Azriel Eisenberg's witnesses in *The Lost Generation*, includes the following (p. 207): "Suddenly the stillness of the night was shattered by the heartrending cries of the victims being forced into the death chambers." But considering how much train traffic there was in the vicinity of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the question arises: Did fearful camp inmates sometimes misinterpret the sound of train whistles as the death screams of people being gassed?

There are other possibilities. Camp inmates may have sometimes heard real screams and mistakenly assumed that they were the screams of people being killed. For example, consider Sarah Cender's eyewitness account of her arrival at Auschwitz, as quoted by Martin Gilbert (*Auschwitz and the Allies*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981, p. 309):

Upon arrival we were separated from the males and brought in front of a building where heaps of clothing were lying on the ground. We were ordered to undress quickly and naked we were pushed into a pitch dark chamber (what we naively and hopefully thought to be a bath facility—although no soap or towel were given to us).

The doors closed behind us. Anxious seconds and minutes passed. Nothing seemed to happen for a while. Only cries and laments and hysterical screams were heard from every corner of the chamber. Some of the women started to cough incoherently, believing being choked by gas. The situation became unbearable. . . .

Eventually, after a bombing raid, the doors were opened and Cender and her companions were ordered out of "the chamber." But how many camp inmates heard their "hysterical screams" and assumed that they were being gassed?

In any case, even some devout Holocaustomaniacs have acknowledged the inaccuracy of some survivor testimony. In a footnote in *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Harvard University Press, 1981), Lucy Dawidowicz writes (pp. 176-177),

Many thousands of oral histories by survivors recounting their experiences exist in libraries and archives around the world. Their quality and usefulness vary significantly according to the informant's memory, grasp of events, insights, and of course accuracy. . . . The transcribed testimonies I have examined have been full of errors in dates, names of participants, and places, and there are evident misunderstandings of the events themselves.

In his foreword to *Voices from the Holocaust*, a collection of such transcribed oral testimonies edited by Sylvia Rothchild (New American Library, 1981), Elie Wiesel admits (p. 4):

. . . here and there you will come up against some errors of fact or perception. For example, the revolt of the Birkenau *Sonderkommando* seems to have been undertaken in cooperation with the Royal Air Force. That's what we read in this book. But, this doesn't agree with the findings of historians. . . . The witness remembers a plan that involved the RAF because he undoubtedly heard rumors: every camp was an inexhaustible source of rumors.

Yes, indeed; "every camp was an inexhaustible source of rumors." And, as Allport and Postman pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 54), "Even firsthand reports are so faulty that they seldom can be trusted in detail. Rumor, being once, twice, or a thousand times removed from eyewitness testimony, is just so much more invalid." This is a point worth emphasizing because, despite Azriel Eisenberg's claims, *The Lost Generation* contains much that is *not* eyewitness testimony but is merely hearsay, rumor, inference, etc. For example, Eisenberg includes (pp. 108-110) a "document . . . written in Polish by a nameless thirteen-year-old boy in April 1944." Eisenberg's nameless "eyewitness," a resident of Warsaw, wrote, "On the very first day that the 'resettlement' program was instituted, my mother, father, sister, and little brother were deported and killed at Treblinka." But this nameless



witness was not deported to Treblinka and did not see his family members killed there, so this is not eyewitness testimony. Eisenberg also includes (pp. 138-139) a brief excerpt from Philip Friedman's *This Was Oswiecim*. Among Friedman's revelations is this: "The children were not always liquidated by gas. Dr. Jacob Wollman of Lodz declares that the SS clubbed about five hundred children to death with their rifle butts." Ouch! Of course, this is not eyewitness testimony, since Friedman didn't claim to have seen this particular atrocity. (He didn't even tell us if Dr. Wollman himself claimed to have seen it.) Titling it "THE GAS CHAMBER," Eisenberg has also included (pp. 139-141) an excerpt "From a Memorandum by Mr. Lieberman, September 27, 1945." Mr. Lieberman described in some detail the operations of "the crematorium and the gas chamber" of Birkenau. But, as he himself explained, "We were separated in quarantine but housed together with another working party, which was serving the crematorium and the gas chamber. It is due to this fact that I know how things occurred." Or, as he also wrote, "I have never seen the trolleys for the transport of corpses personally, nor have I seen the ovens operating; but as I have already mentioned, several of the working party, which was serving the gas chambers and ovens, lived with us and have given me all the details." Thus, Mr. Lieberman's account of "the gas chambers and ovens" is hearsay at best. Mr. Lieberman said, "A certain Jacob Weinschein of Paris, who is a survivor of this commando [*Sonderkommando*], is personally known to me." Didn't Jacob Weinschein ever write an eyewitness account of "the gas chambers and ovens" of Birkenau? In any case, Azriel Eisenberg has not given us eyewitness testimony from Jacob Weinschein. Instead he has given us a heap of hearsay from Mr. Lieberman.

Here is some of that hearsay:

The men and women entered the so-called bathroom and undressed separately to avoid panic. Once they were undressed they entered by separate doors in the central chamber. This chamber could take 3,000 people. The gas was released through sprays of the showers and from bombs which were thrown through apertures designed to allow for that procedure. Death occurred within five minutes. On certain days, when enormous transports arrived at the station of Birkenau, 42,000 people were gassed. Once the gassing process had been completed, the floor of the chamber opened automatically and the corpses fell into the subterranean chamber, where prisoners in charge of extracting the teeth or cutting hair of a certain length, took over. . . . Once the gold teeth had been recovered, the corpses were loaded on to a moving belt and transported to cremation ovens, through subterranean gangways. There were four ovens, a big one and three small ones, which were capable of burning 400 corpses in five minutes. Later on, when the

number of corpses exceeded the capacity of the ovens, trenches were dug and the corpses thrown in saturated with petrol.

And the cow in the nursery rhyme really did jump over the moon, which is made of green cheese.

Mr. Lieberman's hearsay account of gassings and cremation at Birkenau is a dilly. For one thing, he said that "Once the gassing process had been completed, the floor of the chamber opened automatically and the corpses fell into the subterranean chamber. . . ." But Birkenau crematoria IV and V had no subterranean chambers. Crematoria II and III each had two subterranean "chambers," one of which allegedly was a gas chamber, the other allegedly an undressing room. But these two subterranean "chambers" were on the same level, at right angles to each other. There were no subterranean chambers *underneath* the alleged subterranean gas chambers. So this part of Mr. Lieberman's tale just doesn't fit the facts.

Neither does his statement that "There were four ovens, a big one and three small ones, which were capable of burning 400 corpses in five minutes." There were four crematoria at Birkenau, two larger ones and two smaller ones. The larger ones, II and III, each had 15 ovens, or, as some people put it, 5 ovens with 3 openings each. The two smaller crematoria, IV and V, each had 8 ovens, or 2 ovens with 4 openings each. No matter how you slice it, Mr. Lieberman's testimony about four ovens, a big one and three small ones, is baloney.

As for his claim that those four ovens could cremate 400 corpses in five minutes, that's beyond baloney. According to *Los Angeles Times* staff writer Carol McGraw, "In the cremation process, a body is placed in a furnace and subjected to temperatures of up to 2,000 degrees for two or three hours." (See "Cremation: Boom Brings Controversy," 13 April 1983, Part I, page 24.) At that rate, four ovens might be able to cremate 400 corpses in 50 hours, not in five minutes.

If four ovens at Birkenau could cremate 400 corpses in five minutes, then, by extrapolation, they could cremate 192,000 corpses in 24 hours! This is preposterous in its own right, and it renders absurd Mr. Lieberman's claim that "Later on, when the number of corpses exceeded the capacity of the ovens, trenches were dug and the corpses thrown in saturated with petrol." If the four ovens could cremate 400 corpses in five minutes and, therefore, 192,000 corpses in 24 hours, then the Nazis would have had to have gassed something like 200,000 or more people a day at Birkenau in order to have exceeded the capacity of the ovens! But even Mr. Lieberman didn't claim that they ever gassed that many people in one day, although his claim that on certain days 42,000



people were gassed far surpasses in magnitude any other such allegation that I recall having seen. All in all, his story just doesn't "add up."

If Azriel Eisenberg really believes Mr. Lieberman's hearsay hokum, then he probably also believes, along with Steve Martin, that robots from Mars are stealing his luggage, and, for his own safety and the safety of others, he probably should not have access to pointed objects, such as pens and pencils, but should only be allowed to write with crayons.

A recurring theme of *The Lost Generation* is the burning alive of children and others by the Nazi beasts at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Variations on this macabre theme can be found in the testimonies of such survivors as Olga Lengyel, Philip Friedman, Halina Birenbaum, Leon Shlofsky and especially Gisella Perl. (See pages 39, 41-42, 139, 161-164, 165 and 204.) In most cases, the tellers of these tales do not explain how they know them to be true, nor do they explicitly claim to have seen these horrendous events with their own eyes. For example, after claiming that there was a policy of killing pregnant women, Gisella Perl wrote (pp. 163-164):

Then, one day, Dr. Mengele came to the hospital and gave a new order. From now on Jewish women could have their children. They were not going to be killed because of their pregnancy. The children, of course, had to be taken to the crematory by me, personally, but the women would be allowed to live. I was jubilant. . . .

I had 292 expectant mothers in my ward when Dr. Mengele changed his mind. He came roaring into the hospital, whip and revolver in hand, and had all 292 women loaded on a single truck and tossed, alive, into the flames of the crematory.

I'm sure that tossing 292 women, alive, "into the flames of the crematory" was a helluva lot easier said than done. And Gisella Perl did not say that she saw this improbable deed done.

However, in two cases, Gisella Perl apparently claimed to be an eyewitness to the burning alive of people. For example, she wrote (p. 161):

When we first arrived at Auschwitz, children under sixteen, whether boys or girls, were permitted to accompany their mothers to the women's camps. Then, as usual, there came a counter-order, and all children of fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen had to come forward because they were going to be put into a separate children's camp and receive double bread rations. . . .

The boys left first. They were kept in a camp near ours and we were able to watch them exercise from morning till night, tired, weak, and thin—without the double bread rations they were promised. Then one night the most horrible screams woke our camp from its deathlike sleep. We ran to the entrance of the camp and witnessed a sight I shall never forget as long as I live.

Several black trucks were standing before the entrance of the boys' camp, and a detachment of SS men were throwing the naked, crying, screaming little boys [of fourteen, fifteen and sixteen years of age?] on the trucks. Those who tried to escape were dragged back by the hair [which wasn't shaved off as with other prisoners?], beaten with truncheons, and whipped mercilessly. There was no help, no escape. Neither their mothers nor God could reach out a helping hand to save their lives. They were burned alive in those crematories which killed and smoked incessantly, day and night.

But, even if the rest of this "eyewitness" testimony is true, the last sentence, the crucial one, begs some questions. Did Gisella Perl see the trucks take the boys to the crematories? If so, why did she omit to mention that detail? In any case, even assuming the boys were taken to the crematories, did Gisella Perl see them burned alive in the crematories? If so, how did she manage this? Did she follow them into the crematories to see what happened? Or did the crematories have transparent walls, allowing any interested persons to see what happened inside?

In any case, at least one part of Gisella Perl's testimony is demonstrably untrue, to wit, her claim that the crematories "killed and smoked incessantly, day and night." In 1979, the CIA published *The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex*. In this publication, two CIA photo interpreters, Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier, analyzed aerial photographs taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau between April, 1944 and January, 1945. Brugioni and Poirier wrote (p. 11), "Although survivors recalled that smoke and flame emanated continually from the crematoria chimneys and was visible for miles, the photography we examined gave no positive proof of this." Brugioni and Poirier were being diplomatic. But the fact that none of the aerial photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau show smoke or flame coming from the crematoria chimneys constitutes positive disproof of the familiar claim that "smoke and flame emanated continually from the crematoria chimneys." And it constitutes positive disproof of Gisella Perl's particular version of that claim.

But what is the explanation of Gisella Perl's demonstrably false testimony that the crematoria of Birkenau "killed and smoked incessantly, day and night?" Is this merely an instance of the sort of unintentional distortion that often occurs in eyewitness testimony? Or is it an instance of outright, conscious deception?

What? Outright, conscious deception by a "Holocaust" survivor? Is that even possible? Aren't all survivors Semitic saints inherently incapable of lying?

That deception by a "Holocaust" survivor is within the realm of the possible has been admitted even by Holocaustomaniac Gitta Sereny. In *The New Statesman*, 2 November 1979, Sereny wrote:



Personal accounts, such as the recently-published *Dora* . . . are not rubbish in themselves. . . . The problem with books like this is that they are "ghosted" by professional wordsmiths—the French are especially adept—who have neither interest in nor capacity for conveying truth with restraint. It is less the exaggerations than the false emphases and cheap humor which disqualify them.

Worse again are the partial or complete fakes, such as Jean Francois Steiner's *Treblinka* or Martin Gray's *For Those I Loved*. . . .

Gray's *For Those I Loved* was the work of Max Gallo the ghostwriter, who also produced *Papillon*. During the research for a *Sunday Times* inquiry into Gray's work, M. Gallo informed me coolly that he "needed" a long chapter on Treblinka because the book required something strong for pulling in readers. When I myself told Gray, the "author," that he had manifestly never been to, nor escaped from Treblinka, he finally asked, despairingly, "But does it matter?" Wasn't the only thing that Treblinka *did* happen, that it *should* be written about, and that some Jews should be shown to have been heroic?

But, if Martin Gray's "eyewitness" account of the mass extermination of Jews at Treblinka is a fake, then how many other "eyewitness" accounts of "the Holocaust" are fake as well? And, more specifically, how many of the "authentic personal and eyewitness" accounts in *The Lost Generation* are fakes?

I would bet that Shaye Gertner's "authentic personal and eyewitness" account of his ten weeks as a member of the Birkenau *Sonderkommando* is a fake. Here is part of that account (pp. 210-211):

After being interrogated by the SS, I was taken to Birkenau and assigned to the *Sonderkommando* Field D, barracks 32. There were four hundred men, mostly Jews, some Poles, and a few Germans. Some wore red emblems [political prisoners]; others the usual green [criminals].

During the first few days I didn't go to the ovens, but did house-keeping chores. But then the squad leader Muller appeared and said, "Such a sturdy lad ought to be assigned to a shift." And I started to work on the ovens. The first days were very hard, and I began to wonder how to extricate myself. Our *Kommando* had just plunged into the task. Everyone knew that within three months all of us would be dispensed with and replaced with others.

Our unit consisted of four hundred men, working in two shifts. One oven belonged to us. We were accompanied by orchestral music on our way to work. The SS leader, Dr. Mengele, was our supervisor. He delivered the inmates to the gas chambers. He was followed in rank by Muller, then the Jewish *kapos*, Poles, and Germans. We were generally guarded by five SS men. When new transports of human cargo arrived, people were unaware of just what was in store for them. Before entering the building carrying the sign "Baths," the people had to disrobe completely and received

a number of their belongings, presumably to be reclaimed later. They got soap and towels for their shower. Then the *kapos* would dash in to beat the unfortunates, to create confusion. During the ensuing commotion, when people trampled over one another, the door of the gas chamber would be thrown open, the prisoners pushed in, and then the door would bang shut after a cylinder of poison gas was flung into the mass.

I worked ten weeks in the *Sonderkommando*. I never entered the gas chamber itself; only *kapos* were admitted there. After the gassing a door in the other side of the chamber would open; there the *kapos* would enter to throw out the corpses. All of us wore rubber gloves and wads of cotton in our mouths. The corpses exuded a pungent odor that could asphyxiate one. Small cars, loaded with forty corpses apiece, would ride along rails that extended from the gas chamber to the oven. The cars disgorged their cargo into the oven, where the bodies were reduced to ashes by electric current in ten minutes. A weak current left the bones intact; a strong current left small heaps. There was an apparatus, known as an exhaust, that blew the ashes into an adjoining pit, where they were piled into barrels by workers, then hoisted by an elevator and ultimately dumped into the Sola River.

The corpses I loaded onto the carts were yellow from the gas. Some of the cadavers had open, glazed eyes, hands holding their mouths, or clutching stomachs. None of us in this work could stand it. We often spoke of escape. (Eisenberg cites *Anthology of Holocaust Literature*, Jewish Publication Society, 1969, pp. 141-147, as his source for Gertner's account.)

According to Gertner, "All of us wore rubber gloves and wads of cotton in our mouths." What excellent safety precautions. A wad of cotton in the mouth beats a gas mask any day. Of course, Gertner and his fellow *Sonderkommando* members simply never inhaled through their noses.

Arthur Butz has written, "The ovens at Birkenau seem to have been coke or coal-fired. . . ." (*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Institute for Historical Review, 1976, p. 121.) And a surviving German document, a letter of 29 January 1943, concerning the construction of Crematorium II, said, "The fires were started in the ovens in the presence of Senior Engineer Pruefer, representative of the contractors of the firm of Topf and Soehne, Erfurt, and they are working most satisfactorily." (Butz, p. 116.) But now we know that Butz was wrong and the document forged, because "eyewitness" Shaye Gertner reported that "the bodies were reduced to ashes by electric current."

Gertner's "eyewitness" testimony that the bodies were reduced to ashes "in ten minutes" also discredits the previously-mentioned reportage of Carol McGraw, who said that the cremation of a body takes 2 or 3 hours, not ten minutes.

Another of Gertner's unique revelations: "There was an ap-



paratus, known as an exhaust, that blew the ashes into an adjoining pit, where they were piled into barrels by workers, then hoisted by an elevator and ultimately dumped into the Sola River." Those German barbarians were mighty ingenious, weren't they? But I wonder why they didn't fully automate the disposal of the ashes. Surely they could have designed and constructed devices for conveying the ashes directly from the crematoria to the river.

In any case, Gertner said, "We often spoke of escape." And he went on to describe (pp. 211-212) how they planned and then carried out an escape from Birkenau in January 1944, "perhaps the eighteenth day." The leader was a Polish officer whose name Gertner couldn't remember.

... At a signal from the Polish officer, we killed one SS man and threw the German squad leader into the lime pit. Then we began to throw grenades into the oven. Those on the other side of the gas chamber with the other three SS men, who guarded the new arrivals, shouted that it was an air attack alarm. Hearing the explosions, the SS men believed it and ran for cover. The inmates, standing in front of the gas chamber, were at a loss what to do. Meanwhile we fled individually. . . .

An hour and a half went by before the Germans really got their bearings. Then they opened fire in all directions and began to reconnoiter the surrounding area. I learned later from witnesses that about two hundred men were killed in the wake of that event. The rest escaped; it is hard to determine the number killed among the latter.

I was trudging together with a group of twenty-seven men in the direction of Germany. We were led by a Jew from Berlin familiar with the land. We had plenty of money, so we bought shovels and marched along, singing German songs in the manner of German workers. We had already penetrated deep into Germany when we were taken by the German authorities in some town. We declared that we had escaped from a transport in Dachau; they believed us and sent us to Dachau.

I was back in Dachau in March 1944. I said my name was Casimierz Dudzinski (though they knew I was Jewish).

Thanks to the incredible stupidity and gullibility of their SS guards, Gertner and some other *Sonderkommando* members escaped from Birkenau. So where did they go? Naturally, they headed right into the heart of Germany. What better place to escape the Nazi terror? I'm only surprised that Gertner didn't persuade his inevitable captors that he was Adolf Hitler himself, out for a stroll with his staff. After all, the Germans were apparently willing to believe anything that Gertner and his pals told them.

Although nobody else on Planet Earth seems to know about this revolt and escape of the Birkenau *Sonderkommando* in January

1944, Gertner's story is reminiscent of the tales that have been told of a revolt and attempted escape by the Birkenau *Sonderkommando* on 7 October 1944. However, in that case, none of the prisoners is supposed to have succeeded in escaping. (See, for example, Jozef Garlinski, *Fighting Auschwitz*, Fawcett, 1975, pp. 325-327.)

Speaking of the 7 October 1944 revolt of the *Sonderkommando*, Garlinski (p. 327) names some of those who supposedly were killed in attempting to escape: "Jozef Deresinski, Zalman Gradowski, Ajzyk Kalniak, Lajb Langfus, Lajb Panusz and Josef Warszawski, the leader." Coincidentally, two of these names are mentioned by Azriel Eisenberg on page 141. He writes, "In 1962, in the area of the Birkenau crematorium no. 3, were found the writings of three martyrs, Leib Langfuss, Zalman Leventhal, and Zalman Gradovski." Perhaps these were some of the manuscripts Robert Faurisson had in mind when he referred to "miraculously rediscovered manuscripts" in *Le Monde* on 16 January 1979. In any case, Eisenberg does not tell us how or by whom the writings of the three "martyrs" were found in 1962. But he does tell us, "Langfuss's manuscript was found in a glass jar. In it he explained why the revolt of the *Sonderkommando* had failed." Eisenberg then includes (pp. 141-142) an excerpt from "Langfuss's manuscript" recounting an incident at "the end of October 1944" in which the SS drove a group of children into "the gas chamber" with great brutality and indescribable glee. But, if Jozef Garlinski was correct in writing that Langfuss was among those killed while attempting to escape on 7 October 1944, then how, pray tell, could "Langfuss's manuscript" have "explained why the revolt of the *Sonderkommando* had failed?" And how could it have described events alleged to have taken place at "the end of October 1944?" (This date is quoted from "Langfuss's manuscript" itself.) We seem to be confronted with a miracle similar to the one that enabled Moses to record his own death in verse 5 of Chapter 34 of *Deuteronomy*.

Another of Eisenberg's selections may also partake of the miraculous, to wit, his excerpt from "the diary of Anne Frank" (pp. 76-78). According to Al Fredericks (*The New York Post*, 9 October 1980),

A report by the German Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau (BKA) indicates that portions of *The Diary of Anne Frank* had been altered or added after 1951, casting doubt over the authenticity of the entire work, the West German news weekly *Der Spiegel* has disclosed. . . .

The results of tests performed at the BKA laboratories show that portions of the work, specifically of the fourth volume, were written with a ball point pen. Since ballpoint pens were not available before 1951, the BKA concluded, those sections must have been added subsequently.



Azriel Eisenberg doesn't mention the BKA's report on "the diary of Anne Frank," let alone try to explain how Anne Frank might have written portions of it posthumously. Instead he devotes pages 355-364 to rebutting revisionism with an excerpt from *The Murderers Among Us: The Wiesenthal Memoirs*, edited by Joseph Wechsberg. According to Eisenberg, this excerpt "... illustrates the efforts now being made to rewrite the history of the tragedy, by such individuals as A.R. Butz of Evanston, Illinois, who published an outrageous book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, as well as others in the East, who are issuing a series of tracts entitled *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last*." Eisenberg is obviously well-informed about "Holocaust" revisionism (I'm being sarcastic), but his attempted refutation of revisionism from "the Wiesenthal Memoirs" is an exercise in irrelevancy. Confronted by an Austrian boy who disputed the existence of Anne Frank and the authenticity of the "diary," Wiesenthal proceeded to track down the officer who arrested the Frank family. This may prove that Anne Frank really existed. But it doesn't prove that she wrote "the diary of Anne Frank." Nor does it explain how it would have been possible for her to write portions of it more than six years after her death from typhus at Belsen in 1945.

Eisenberg immediately follows the irrelevant Wiesenthal excerpt with another response to "Holocaust" revisionism, this one emanating from the West German Federal Supreme Court. In a civil suit in which an injunction was sought against the display of an "offending" poster, the court on 18 September 1979 passed judgment "... against a German citizen who exhibited posters stating that the murder of millions of Jews in the Third Reich was a 'Zionist swindle' and the gassing of six million Jews a lie." (I am quoting *Patterns of Prejudice*, January 1980, pp. 32-33.) Eisenberg paraphrases the Court's decision as follows (p. 364):

On October 29, 1979, the Jewish Telegraphic Association released the news of a landmark decision by the West German Supreme Court which stated that the unique fate of Jews give them a claim to regard and respect from all German citizens, that the Holocaust is part of the consciousness of Jews and it is a matter of their personal dignity to be perceived as the group who suffered persecution and to whom other citizens bear a moral responsibility.

The court said that respect for these feelings had to be regarded as a guarantee for the non-repetition of the past and an essential condition making it possible for Jews to live in Germany. Whoever denies the truth of past events denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled, the court declared.

It added that any attempt to justify, to gloss over, or to dispute the facts of the Holocaust shows contempt against every person identified with persecution. Finally, the court affirmed that the evidence of the facts of the Holocaust is overwhelming.

There are a couple of discrepancies between the court's decision, as quoted by *Patterns of Prejudice*, and Eisenberg's paraphrase of it. Eisenberg says, "... the court affirmed that the evidence of the facts of the Holocaust is overwhelming." But *Patterns of Prejudice* quoted the court as saying, "The documentary evidence on the extermination of millions of Jews is damning." Similar, but different. Also, Eisenberg says the court spoke of other citizens owing Jews "a moral responsibility." But *Patterns of Prejudice* quoted the court as speaking of "a normal responsibility." Otherwise, though, Eisenberg's paraphrase of the court's ruling is reasonably accurate.

But Eisenberg's invoking of the authority of the West German Federal Supreme Court does not refute "Holocaust" revisionism. As W. Ward Fearnside and William B. Holther have written, "An authority must be qualified as an expert in the field in which he is cited." (*Fallacy: The Counterfeit of Argument*, Prentice-Hall, 1959, p. 85.) This means that, "The authority is expressing an opinion within the field of his special competence. Einstein may have held very worthy opinions on world peace, but he was not to be regarded as an expert on international relations just because of his reputation in physics." (*Op. cit.*, p. 86.) By the same token, the West German Federal Supreme Court is not to be regarded as an expert on historical matters just because of its presumed expertise in matters judicial.

Eisenberg's appeal to the authority of the court is an instance of the fallacy sometimes known as "argument from authority." This was one of the fallacies referred to by Fearnside and Holther when they wrote the following (*op. cit.*, p. 84):

The appeals described in the following fallacies often serve to take advantage of the ignorance of the audience rather than overcome it. They play on prejudices and misconceptions instead of meeting them squarely. And one must very often suspect that, unlike some fallacies which are the result of ignorance or carelessness, these appeals are dishonest in intent.

That Eisenberg's appeal to authority probably is dishonest in intent is indicated by his brazen falsehoods in *Witness to the Holocaust*, some of which I pointed out in my review of that book, as well as in *The Lost Generation*.

One rather brazen falsehood in this latter book is on page 127, where he says, "When the Red Army freed Auschwitz, fewer than 450 Jews were among the survivors; not a child was left alive." This really involves two falsehoods. First there is Eisenberg's statement that "fewer than 450 Jews were among the survivors" when the Red Army captured Auschwitz. While it may be true that there were only 450 Jewish survivors of Auschwitz still in



Auschwitz when the Red Army arrived (and I don't know if that figure is accurate). Eisenberg's statement conveniently ignores the fact that there were thousands of Jewish Auschwitz survivors who were no longer at Auschwitz by the time the Red Army reached there in late January, 1945. Tens of thousands of Auschwitz inmates, at least, including many Jews, were transferred to other camps during 1943 and 1944. For example, Dr. Ada Bimko, a.k.a. Hadassah Bimko-Rosensaft, was transferred from Auschwitz to Belsen in November, 1944. (Henry A. Zeiger, ed., *The Case Against Adolf Eichmann*, Signet, 1960, p. 180.) Furthermore, tens of thousands more Auschwitz prisoners were marched westward out of Auschwitz shortly before the arrival of the Red Army. Martin Gilbert says, "At the end of the first week of January [1945], as the Red Army drew nearer to Auschwitz, the Gestapo began to organize the evacuation of more than 65,000 Jewish prisoners." (*Auschwitz and the Allies*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981, p. 334.) Gilbert probably exaggerated the number of Jewish prisoners evacuated by assuming that all Auschwitz inmates were Jewish. Jozef Garlinski wrote, "At the final evening roll-call, on January 17th [1945], the whole complex, comprising the central camp, Birkenau and Monowice with a number of sub-camps, contained 48,340 men and 18,672 women." (*Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 341-342.) That adds up to 67,012 prisoners, about the same number Gilbert gave just for Jewish prisoners. But elsewhere in his book (p. 236), Garlinski said that Poles comprised the largest nationality within the camp population, Jews the second largest. In any case, there were thousands of Jews, perhaps ten thousand or more, among those evacuated from Auschwitz shortly before the Red Army arrived. So Eisenberg's reference to a mere 450 Jewish survivors is grossly misleading.

And his other statement, that "not a child was left alive" when the Red Army reached Auschwitz, is just plain false. On page 249 of Gerhard Schoenberger's *The Yellow Star* (Bantam, 1973), there is a photo of some children, prisoners of Auschwitz, who "lived to be liberated by the Red Army." What makes this falsehood particularly brazen is that one of Eisenberg's own witnesses in *The Lost Generation* gives contradictory testimony. On page 205, describing events between the evacuation of Auschwitz by the Germans and the arrival of the Red Army, Leon Shlofsky says, "We decided to proceed to Birkenau to save the women and children who were still living." As I said in my review of *Witness to the Holocaust*, Azriel Eisenberg is not a leading Jewish scholar, as it says on the dust jacket of that book. Rather, he is a misleading Jewish scholar.

Getting back to the West German Federal Supreme Court's decision, the court said, "Whoever tries to deny the truth of past

events, denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled." But is it only Jews who are entitled to respect or to whom such respect is denied by attempts to deny the truth of past events? For example, if someone accuses Germans of committing atrocities which never took place, are they not attempting to deny the truth of past events and thereby denying Germans the respect to which they are entitled? Consider this whopper from "Nazi-hunter" Tuvia Friedman: "We drove for a while in silence, until we approached Dachau. Silently, Yoske and I looked at the extermination camp where millions of innocent people had been executed." (*The Hunter*, Macfadden, 1961, p. 113.) Millions of people were executed at Dachau? No, not even according to former Dachau inmate Nerin E. Gun, whose estimate of the number of deaths at Dachau was not a conservative one. Gun has written, "... it is with some skepticism that I report here certain statistics compiled after the liberation. First, there are those of Domgala, who figured that 206,204 persons went through Dachau. I would put the figure closer to 450,000." (*The Day of the Americans*, Fleet, 1966, p. 128.) Gun also wrote (pp. 128-129),

It is impossible to ascertain the number of deaths in the camp from 1933 to 1940. It was certainly more than 15,000. From 1940 to liberation, a former camp inmate, Domgala, a responsible witness, accounts for 27,830 deaths, but that figure must be a minimum. In fact, more than 100,000 died at Dachau, or approximately one out of four inmates.

When Tuvia Friedman said that millions of people were executed at Dachau, was he not attempting to deny the truth of past events? And was he not thereby denying to Germans the respect to which they are entitled? Or are Germans less entitled to respect than Jews, less entitled to have the truth told about them?

The court said, "Whoever tries to deny the truth of past events, denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled." But what exactly is the truth of past events? Where may one find the truth of past events inscribed in clear, consistent, unquestionable and undeniable form?

Is it true, for example, that Jews were gassed *en masse* with Zyklon B at Auschwitz-Birkenau? Apart from a few documents, whose meaning is at best debatable, the evidence for such mass gassings consists entirely of testimony, the most important of which being the "eyewitness" testimony.\* The "eyewitness,"

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\*There is a room (in the crematorium of Auschwitz I) that allegedly was used as a gas chamber before being converted into an air-raid shelter sometime in 1944. But this room constitutes evidence of the alleged Zyklon B gassings only in conjunction with the testimony that it was used for such gassings.



however, contradict each other on various points, and some of them contradict themselves. More importantly, the stories of these "eyewitnesses" involve what appear to be various physical impossibilities. To give just one example, "eyewitnesses" have claimed that Zyklon B was capable of killing instantaneously, or within a few minutes, or in five minutes, or within three or fifteen minutes. But, citing document NI-9912, Friedrich Berg has written, "... the time required for the Zyklon to take effect would range from 6 to 32 hours depending upon the type of vermin and temperature. Since it is well known that cyanide kills very quickly given a sufficient concentration of the gas, the 6 to 32 hour period must have been essentially the period needed to produce a sufficient concentration by evaporation out of the Zyklon B granules." (See the Publisher's Footnote on page 4 of Robert Faurisson's, *The "Problem of the 'Gas Chambers' "* or *"The Rumor of Auschwitz,"* Revisionist Press, Rochelle Park, New Jersey, 1979. For more on the question of the physical possibility of the alleged Zyklon B gassings, see Robert Faurisson's two contributions to *The Journal of Historical Review*, Volume Two, Number Four.)

Would the court insist that the "eyewitness" testimonies about mass gassings with Zyklon B must be true whether or not they involve physical impossibilities? If so, why? After all, a general principle that "eyewitness" testimony must be true would suffice to establish the reality, not only of mass gassings with Zyklon B, but also of the ritual murder of Christian children by Jews seeking blood for Passover matzohs, witchcraft and everything that involved, werewolves and vampires, the golden tablets from which Joseph Smith translated *The Book of Mormon*, forced conversions in Catholic nunneries, the angel of Mons, the miracle of the sun at Fatima, and "Mad Gasser" of Mattoon, Illinois, the post-WWII survival of Adolf Hitler, flying saucers and extraterrestrial visitations of Earth, Bigfoot, etc. If, for example, one denies that witches ever flew through the air to sabbats where the Devil appeared as a being, half man and half goat, and where the flesh of babies was eaten, etc., is one denying the truth of the past and thereby denying to victims of witchcraft the respect to which they are entitled?

In any case, if Robert Faurisson and the revisionists are right, then the Zyklon B gassings, as described by "eyewitnesses," were physically impossible. And if that is the case, then it seems we are again confronted with a miracle, indeed, with a whole series of miracles.

On second thought, perhaps we are confronted, not with a series of miracles, but rather with a series of lies by "eyewitnesses." As Thomas Paine said, echoing the argument of David Hume,

If . . . we see an account given of such a miracle by the person who said he saw it, it raises a question in the mind very easily decided, which is, is it more probable that nature should go out of her course, or that a man should tell a lie? We have never seen, in our time, nature go out of her course; but we have good reason to believe that millions of lies have been told in the same time; it is, therefore, at least millions to one, that the reporter of a miracle tells a lie. (Quoted by George H. Smith in *Atheism: The Case Against God*, Nash, 1974, p. 218.)

By the same token, it is at least millions to one that the "eyewitness" reporter of physically impossible Zyklon B gassings has told a lie. (And the same goes for "eyewitness" reporters of any kind of physically impossible "Holocaust" happenings.) According to Robert Conquest, there is a Russian folk saying: "He lies like an eyewitness." Of course, not all eyewitnesses are liars, although even most honest eyewitnesses, for the reasons discussed earlier, give testimony that is to some extent false. But some eyewitnesses are liars. And some liars pretend to be eyewitnesses of places they've never been and things they've never seen (for example, Martin Gray).

Azriel Eisenberg's brandishing of the West German Federal Supreme Court's dictum ("Whoever tries to deny the truth of past events, denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled.") is both hypocritical and disingenuous. Hypocritical because Eisenberg's regard for the truth of past events is minimal, if not nonexistent. This is demonstrated both by his own falsehoods, in this book and his previous one, and by his selection of "eyewitness" accounts of "the Holocaust" containing palpable falsehoods, the "eyewitness" account of Shaye Gertner and the hearsay testimony of Mr. Lieberman being the most blatant examples.

Eisenberg's invoking of the court's dictum is disingenuous because it is not merely respect that Eisenberg wants for himself and his "eyewitnesses": it is reverence that he wants. As he said of his earlier collection of "eyewitness" accounts of "the Holocaust," ". . . it must be studied with awe and reverence." (*Witness to the Holocaust*, pp. 4-5.)

Ambrose Bierce wittily defined "reverence" as, "The spiritual attitude of a man to a god and a dog to a man." But Eisenberg and his "eyewitnesses" are not gods, nor am I a dog, although I am a Gentile. They are merely human beings, as I am. So I see no reason to revere Eisenberg and his "eyewitnesses," no reason to put them on a pedestal, above skepticism, above criticism. As far as I am concerned, the fact that some or all of Eisenberg's witnesses suffered at the hands of the Nazis does not give them a license to lie.



As Rabbi Richard E. Singer, of the Lakeside Congregation of Highland Park, Illinois, has said (quoted by Alfred M. Lilienthal in *The Zionist Connection*, Dodd, Mead, 1978, p. 401),

Jews have suffered, and Christians have suffered. Mankind has suffered. There is no group with a monopoly on suffering, and no human beings which have experienced hate and hostility more than any other. I must say, however, that it is my impression that Jewish history has been taught with a whine and a whimper rather than with a straight-forward acknowledgement that man practices his inhumanity on his fellow human beings . . . Out of this peculiar emphasis on suffering there has developed a new attitude of vicarious suffering—a feeling among numbers of Jews today that because other Jews have suffered and died they, the living, are somehow entitled to special consideration.

If only Azriel Eisenberg would take Rabbi Singer's well-chosen words to heart, then *The Last Generation* would be Eisenberg's last compilation of "stories of suffering and death." If only. If only.

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*Behind the Balfour Declaration*, Notes, continued from page 450.

**195.** Within three weeks of the presentation of the preceeding lecture at the IHR conference 241 U.S. Marines and 58 French servicemen were killed in Beirut on 23 October 1983.

**196.** *Israel's Sacred Terrorism*, by Livia Rokach. Belmont, 1980: Assoc. of Arab-Amer. Grads. Contains the memoirs of Moshe Sharett 1953-57, Israel's first Foreign Minister and second Prime Minister.

**197.** "A Strategy for Israel in the Nineteen Eighties," by Oded Yinon, a former officer in the Israeli Foreign Ministry. In *Kivunim* (Directions), the Hebrew-language journal of the Department of Information of the World Zionist Organization, February 1982. "The dissolution of Syria and Iraq . . . into ethnically or religious unique areas such as in Lebanon, is Israel's primary target on the eastern front in the long run, while the dissolution of the military power of those states serves as the short term target," the presentation reads in part.

**Dr. John's lecture, in a somewhat condensed form, is available on cassette tape from the IHR for \$8.95.**

## Rauschning's Phony 'Conversations With Hitler'—An Update

One of the most widely quoted sources of information about Hitler's personality and secret intentions is the supposed memoir of Hermann Rauschning, the National Socialist President of the Danzig Senate in 1933–1934 who was ousted from the Hitler movement a short time later and then made a new life for himself as a professional anti-Nazi.

In the book known in German as *Conversations with Hitler* (*Gespraeche mit Hitler*) and first published in the U.S. in 1940 as *The Voice of Destruction*, Rauschning presents page after page of what are purported to be Hitler's most intimate views and plans for the future, allegedly based on dozens of private conversations between 1932 and 1934. After the war the memoir was introduced as Allied prosecution exhibit USSR-378 at the main Nuremberg "war crimes" trial.

Among the damning quotations attributed to Hitler by Rauschning are these memorable statements:

We must be brutal. We must regain a clear conscience about brutality. Only then can we drive out the tenderness from our people. . . . Do I propose to exterminate entire nationalities? Yes, it will add up to that. . . . I naturally have the right to destroy millions of men of inferior races who increase like vermin. . . . Yes, we are barbarians. We want to be barbarians. It is an honorable title.

Hitler is also supposed to have confided to Rauschning, an almost unknown provincial official, fantastic plans for a German world empire that would include Africa, South America, Mexico and, eventually, the United States.

Many prestigious historians, including Leon Poliakov, Gerhard Weinberg, Alan Bullock, Joachim Fest, Nora Levin and Robert Payne, used choice quotations from Rauschning's memoir in their works of history. Poliakov, one of the most prominent Holocaust writers, specifically praised Rauschning for his "exceptional accuracy" while Levin, another widely-read Holocaust historian, called him "one of the most penetrating analysts of the Nazi period."

But not everyone has been so credulous. Swiss historian Wolfgang Haenel spent five years diligently investigating the memoir before announcing his findings in 1983 at a revisionist history conference in West Germany. The renowned *Conversations with Hitler*, he declared, are a total fraud. The book has no value "except as a document of Allied war propaganda."



Haenel was able to conclusively establish that Rauschning's claim to have met with Hitler "more than a hundred times" is a lie. The two actually met only four times, and never alone. The words attributed to Hitler, he showed, were simply invented or lifted from many different sources, including writings by Ernst Juenger and Friedrich Nietzsche. An account of Hitler hearing voices, waking at night with convulsive shrieks and pointing in terror at an empty corner while shouting "There, there, in the corner!" was taken from a short story by French writer Guy de Maupassant.

The phony memoir was designed to incite public opinion in democratic countries, especially in the United States, in favor of war against Germany. The project was the brainchild of the Hungarian-born journalist Emery Reves, who ran an influential anti-German press and propaganda agency in Paris during the 1930s. Haenel has also found evidence that a prominent British journalist named Henry Wickham-Steele helped to produce the memoir. Wickham-Steele was a right-hand man of Sir Robert Vansittart, perhaps the most vehemently anti-German figure in Britain.

A report about Haenel's sensational findings appeared in the Fall 1983 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. More recently, West Germany's most influential weekly periodicals, *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel* (7 September 1985), have run lengthy articles about the historical hoax. *Der Spiegel* concluded that Rauschning's *Conversations with Hitler* "are a falsification, an historical distortion from the first to the last page . . . Haenel not only proves the falsification, he also shows how the impressive surrogate was quickly compiled and which ingredients were mixed together."

There are some valuable lessons to be learned from the story of this sordid hoax, which took more than 40 years to finally unmask: It shows that even the most brazen historical fraud can have a tremendous impact if it serves important interests, that it's much easier to invent a great historical lie than to expose one and, finally, that everyone should be extremely wary of even the most "authoritative" portrayals of the emotionally-charged Hitler era.

A footnote: Readers interested in an authentic record of Hitler's personality and private views should look into the fascinating and wide-ranging memoir of Otto Wagener, published in August 1985 by Yale University Press under the title *Hitler: Memoirs of a Confidant*. Wagener was the first Chief of Staff of the SA ("storm-troopers") and Director of the Economic-Political Department of the National Socialist Party. He spent hundreds of hours with Hitler between 1929 and 1932, many of them alone.

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### ***Stalin Prepared for Summer 1941 Attack***

Viktor Suvorov is a former member of the Soviet General Staff who now lives in the West. He is the author of three authoritative works on the Soviet armed forces. Writing in the June 1985 issue of the *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies*, Suvorov assembles impressive evidence to show that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany in 1941. The respected British journal introduced this startling article by noting that "historians who have hitherto uncritically accepted the thesis that Stalin was the victim of unprovoked aggression in the summer of 1941 may have to revise, or at least modify, their views."

Suvorov writes that on 13 June 1941 Stalin secretly began "the biggest troop movement in the history of civilization," transferring enormous military forces to the Soviet-German frontier. The Soviet troops were deployed there not for defense, but in preparation for a surprise invasion.

"It seems certain," writes Suvorov, "that the Soviet concentration on the frontier was due to be completed by 10 July. Thus, the German blow which fell just 19 days earlier found the Red Army in the most unfavorable situation—in railway waggons."

Citing information compiled mostly from official Soviet sources, Suvorov concludes that "the only credible military intention which Stalin could have had was to begin the war himself in the summer of 1941."

Suvorov's essay, which is based on a still uncompleted Ph.D. thesis, strengthens the view of David Irving, Erich Helmdach and other revisionist historians that the attack by Germany and her Axis partners against the USSR on 22 June 1941 was a preventive measure necessitated by a forthcoming Soviet onslaught against Europe.

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### ***Churchill Wanted to "Drench" Germany With Poison Gas***

In a secret wartime memorandum recently made public, Winston Churchill told his advisers that he wanted to "drench" Germany with poison gas. Churchill's July 1944 memo to his chief of staff Gen. Hastings Ismay was reproduced in the August-September 1985 issue of *American Heritage* magazine.

"I want you to think very seriously over this question of poison gas," the four-page note began. Britain's wartime leader continued: "It is absurd to consider morality on this topic when everybody used it [gas] in the last war without a word of complaint



from the moralists or the Church. On the other hand, in the last war the bombing of open cities was regarded as forbidden. Now everybody does it as a matter of course. It is simply a question of fashion changing as she does between long and short skirts for women."

Churchill's directive bluntly stated: "I want a cold-blooded calculation made as to how it would pay to use poison gas . . . One really must not be bound within silly conventions of the mind whether they be those that ruled in the last war or those in reverse which rule in this." Specifically he proposed: "We could drench the cities of the Ruhr and many other cities in Germany in such a way that most of the population would be requiring constant medical attention. . . . It may be several weeks or even months before I shall ask you to drench Germany with poison gas, and if we do it, let us do it one hundred per cent. In the meantime, I want the matter studied in cold blood by sensible people and not by the particular set of psalm-singing uniformed defeatists which one runs across now here now there."

Churchill's proposal, which would have meant violating the 1925 Geneva Protocol outlawing the use of poison gas, was never adopted. His military advisers argued that gas warfare would divert Allied war planes from the more effective strategy of bombing Germany's industries and cities. Gas attacks would not be decisive, they feared, and Germany would very probably retaliate with devastating effect against Britain. Churchill complained to an associate that he was "not at all convinced by this negative report," but he reluctantly gave in. "Clearly I cannot make head against the parsons and the warriors at the same time," he complained in private.

The *American Heritage* article, written by Stanford University history professor Barton J. Bernstein, also reported that top American military officials urged the U.S. to begin gas warfare against Japan. Maj. Gen. William N. Porter, chief of the Chemical Warfare Service, pleaded in mid-December 1943 with U.S. Army superiors to initiate gas warfare against the Japanese, and on several occasions in 1945 Gen. George C. Marshall, U.S. Army chief of staff, urged using gas in the Pacific. There was some popular support for this view. The *New York Daily News* declared "We Should Gas Japan," and *Washington Times-Herald* agreed, explaining "You Can Cook 'Em Better with Gas." But this was a minority view. About 75 percent of Americans reportedly opposed initiating gas warfare. After the war Gen. Marshall said that the main reason that gas wasn't used was opposition from the British, who feared that a desperate Germany might then use it in Europe.

The United States produced about 135,000 tons of chemical war-

fare agents during the war, while Germany turned out about 70,000 tons, Britain about 40,000 and Japan only 7,500 tons. Although the Allies had larger stockpiles of traditional chemical agents, Germany developed far more advanced and lethal nerve gasses, most notably the devastating agents Tabun, Sarin and Soman. They were never used.

After the war a British Army chemical warfare expert concluded that Germany could have delayed the June 1944 Allied cross-Channel invasion by six months if it had gas. "Such a delay," he noted, "could have given the Germans sufficient time to complete their new V-weapons, which would have made the Allies' task all the harder and England's long range bombardment considerably worse." Even in March and April 1945, when German military resistance was rapidly collapsing, Germany kept to its pledge not to use gas. Hitler reportedly refused to consider using poison gas in part because of his recollection of the horror of his own gassing during the First World War, which temporarily blinded him.

—Mark Weber

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## Millions Go Into New Museums

### **National Holocaust Museum to Cost \$100 Million**

**T**he campaign for the "U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum" in Washington, D.C., "has moved into high gear," says national director David Weinstein. More than \$13 million in gifts and pledges for the museum center have already been received, he reports, and the campaign is receiving "support from all sectors of American life, which should enable construction of the museum to begin in the fall."

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, an independent federal government agency, was mandated by Congress to build the national museum, which will be the only one in the world outside of Israel. President Ronald Reagan is honorary chairman of the museum's fund-raising campaign.

The Council has set the Spring of 1989 as the target date for completion of the museum, which will be built near the Mall and the Washington Monument. Churches, schools, labor unions and corporations are scheduled to participate in the national fund-raising drive for the museum center, which will be supported with



a massive nationwide Holocaust media barrage. The campaign will aim to collect \$100 million, including an estimated \$30 million for construction costs, \$45 million for equipment, exhibits, computer systems, films and books, and \$25 million for maintenance and operating costs.

The 275,000-square-foot museum center building will include a 10,000 square foot "Hall of Remembrance," as well as a library, an archives, an auditorium and classrooms. Some 80,000 square feet of space will be reserved for both permanent and changing exhibitions. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council expects the museum to serve regional and local Holocaust centers across the country.

Although it was mandated by the U.S. Congress and will be built with funds from the American public, the museum is supposed to memorialize non-Americans who died on another continent more than forty years ago. There will be no comparable memorial center for the millions of non-Jewish victims of Soviet Communism, the aboriginal Indians eliminated in the expansion of the United States, or even for the 290,000 Americans who died during the Second World War.

Thoughtful people in our country and around the world will realize, even if millions of credulous Americans do not, that this museum, like the entire Holocaust campaign, is a hypocritical and mercenary venture meant primarily to generate special sympathy and support for Zionist Jewish objectives.

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum will be, above all, a monument to the historically unparalleled power and influence of a small but determined minority group, and a permanent reminder to all Americans of the craven lack of integrity and principle of those who authorized it. As the massive fund-raising and media campaign for the museum gets underway, the work of the IHR and historical revisionism will become all the more important.

—Mark Weber

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### ***Los Angeles "Museum of Tolerance" to Cost \$30 Million***

On 30 July of this year, California's Governor, George "Duke" Deukmejian, signed into law SB 337. This bill, introduced by Democratic State Senator David Roberti, of Hollywood, authorizes a grant of \$5 million to the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles for its "Museum of Tolerance" expansion program.

The bill was signed despite the public opposition of the Los

*Angeles Times*, and of some major Jewish organizations, including the so-called Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Congress.

And it was signed despite Deukmejian's vetoing of similar measures in the past. "Earlier this year Deukmejian voted more than \$4 million for private museums in the proposed budget sent to him by the legislature. In his veto message, he said he was 'concerned about the seeming proliferation of appropriations related to museums and exhibitions.' "

Although Deukmejian signed SB 337 without comment or explanation, it appears that the governor, who is of Armenian descent, was bought off by the promise of Wiesenthal Center officials that the Museum of Tolerance will include a token exhibit about the so-called Armenian Genocide of 1915, a topic dear to his heart.

Marshall Phillips, legislative chair of the West Hollywood Democratic Club, complains that Wiesenthal Center officials will not promise to give recognition to homosexuals as victims of Hitlerian intolerance. Phillips claims that "tens of thousands of homosexual men were also systematically exterminated or brutally worked to death in enterprises attached to various concentration camps." (For the sake of convenience, I suggest that henceforward we all refer to the alleged Nazi extermination of homosexuals as "the Homocaust.") Phillips says he queried Senator Roberti's office about the exclusion of homosexuals from the "Museum of Tolerance" and was told, "To include others would water down the whole event."

The criticism that SB 337 violates the First Amendment's requirement of church-state separation is still being made as well. Ron Nelson, an atheist activist, writes, "I wonder if there are any consistent atheist, nationalist, humanist or 'freedom from religious' (sic) organizations that still believe in the First Amendment. . . .

I wonder if any of these organizations or the American Civil Liberties Union will have the courage of their convictions to challenge this blatant violation of the separation of state and church in court."

The week before Deukmejian signed SB 337, one of the opponents, American Jewish Congress vice president Doug Mirell, said his group and others were considering suing the state over the issue if necessary. However, no one has actually taken any such action as yet.

If anyone does challenge the constitutionality of SB 337 in court, they should be sure to read the special report on the Wiesenthal Center by Gary Rosenblatt, published last year in *The Baltimore Jewish Times*.

Wiesenthal Center officials have lately been attempting to pass



their Holocaust museum off as a non-sectarian, humanitarian institution. Thus, they incorporated the Center, until recently a part of Yeshiva University, as a separate nonprofit organization. But Rosenblatt's interview with Wiesenthal Center Director Rabbi Marvin Hier apparently conducted before Hier got the bright idea of soaking California's taxpayers, makes it perfectly clear that the Wiesenthal Center is a specifically Jewish institution, dedicated to specifically Jewish ends.

Consider these revealing excerpts from Rosenblatt's article:

[Hier] says he felt from the beginning that the ideal site for a Holocaust museum would be a yeshiva because it would offer living proof that Judaism had survived Hitler. "What is the ultimate memorial to the six million? That Torah lives on, that the Jewish people live on," says the rabbi. "Our memorial is against assimilation, it stands for the future destiny of the Jewish people. It's not a cold memorial of bricks and mortar but a place where students carry out God's command to be vigilant against Amalek (the Biblical personification of Israel's enemies). That's the lesson of the Holocaust."

Responding to the argument that he conceived the Holocaust Center as a means of attracting wide-scale support for his yeshiva he says: "You have to bring a person to his Jewish feelings through what he cares about. The Holocaust is a tragedy most Jews can relate to, while keeping kosher or observing Shabbos is alien to so many. . . ." (Rosenblatt, "The Simon Wiesenthal Center: State-of-the-art Activism or Hollywood Hype?" *Baltimore Jewish Times*, 14 September 1984, p. 73.)

. . . We see ourselves as an Orthodox institution not happy with the image that Orthodox institutions must be limited to narrow religious issues. We're not like that. We operate on every front. We will speak up whenever and wherever Jews are put on the defensive. Our goal is to work for Am Yisrael (the people of Israel) and be involved in all issues affecting Jews. . . ." (Rosenblatt, *op. cit.*, p. 74.)

There you have it, right from the rabbi's big mouth: the Wiesenthal Center is an Orthodox Jewish institution whose goal is to work for "the people of Israel" and to be involved in all issues affecting Jews.

It is this Orthodox Jewish—and Zionist—outfit that California's taxpayers will be forced to subsidize unless somebody goes to court and gets SB 337 overturned. So what are all the First Amendment Fundamentalists waiting for? A sign from God?

—L.A. Rollins

(As it happens, the American Civil Liberties Union has filed suit in Los Angeles Superior Court to stop the state from providing the \$5 million for the proposed museum of tolerance. The suit contends that construction of this museum on the campus of Yeshiva University in Los Angeles would be in violation of the California Constitution's mandate for separation of church and state. It maintains what is clear to all honest citizens, that Yeshiva University is a private religious educational institution.

Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and dean of Yeshiva University as well, each of which are housed in the same buildings, is prepared to "vigorously defend" the constitutionality of the grant. "Preventing the spread of hatred and bigotry is the responsibility of all and has nothing to do with the issue of church and state," Hier said.

The very concept of a museum of "tolerance" is a vulgarity, and if Rabbi Hier keeps his hand in it, a significant segment of the Jewish community will probably find it offensive as well. The concept implies that tolerance is not to be found in the daily lives of our citizenry, in our communities, our literature and other arts, and therefore we don't know what it is. Rabbi Hier thinks it is necessary to go to a Jewish museum to discover the nature of tolerance.

Maybe revisionists should welcome the erection of such a pleasure palace of neuroticism as it will reveal to the many how much deception and fraud the Holocausters are trading in, information which now is restricted to the minority who read revisionist literature.)

\* \* \* \* \*

### ***California Subsidizes Japanese-American Museum***

In a 180-degree turnaround, Gov. George Deukmejian has signed a bill authorizing a \$750,000 grant for a Japanese-American history museum planned for an historic Buddhist temple in the Little Tokyo section of Los Angeles. Only a few months ago, Deukmejian had cut the \$750,000 grant from the state budget.

The bill, authored by State Senator Art Torres (D-South Pasadena), will give the money to Los Angeles if the City raises at least \$1 million in matching funds. The Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency is expected to provide the necessary \$1 million in "redevelopment funds."

"There needs to be a constant reminder of the sometimes illogical actions of government," said Torres, alluding to the "internment" of thousands of Japanese-Americans during World War II.



According to Bruce Kaji, president of the Japanese-American National Museum Foundation, the museum will show "the experiences of a minority group that has gone through normal immigration and adjustments . . . but also suffered civil injustices during World War II." Kaji has said, "It will also serve as a conscience of America, so such things do not happen again."

The museum will include exhibits of Japanese-Americans' contributions to agriculture, horticulture, fishing, mining and railroad construction, according to Kaji.

—L.A. Rollins

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## Chicago Tribune History

Perhaps the most telling aspect of World War Two historical orthodoxy is its one-dimensional view of war criminals; by current definition these are the losers of a war. The winners decide the degree of the losers' culpability and the depth of their depravity.

Apart from this victor's morality play is the reality of the difficult-to-envision scope of the war criminality of such vaunted heroes of democracy as Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, as well as those who, as "good Americans" carried out their policies of deliberate and needless mass murder.

On an equivalent level of incomprehension rests the knowledge that incontrovertible proof of the war crimes of the Allied leadership had no more impact on their legend of benevolence than revelations about the war crimes of Zionism and the duplicity its intellectual apologists have had on foreign policy or public opinion today.

Some proof of the former was offered by *Chicago Tribune* reporter Walter Trohan. Due to wartime censorship, he was forced to withhold for seven months the biggest story of America's war in the Pacific. It was finally published on the Sunday following VJ-Day, August 19, 1945, on the front pages of both the *Tribune* and the *Washington Times-Herald*.

Trohan's article revealed that two days prior to Roosevelt's departure for Yalta, the president received a crucial, forty page memorandum from General Douglas MacArthur outlining five separate surrender overtures from highly placed Japanese officials offering surrender terms which were virtually identical to the ones eventually dictated by the Allies to the Japanese in August.

The MacArthur communication was leaked to Trohan in early 1945 by Admiral William D. Leahy, FDR's chief of staff, who feared it would be classified as top secret for decades or even destroyed. The authenticity of Trohan's article (which elicited no editorial notice or re-publication in any other major U.S. newspaper), was never challenged by the White House. Former President Herbert Hoover personally queried General MacArthur on the *Tribune's* story and the general acknowledged its accuracy in every detail.

According to Harry Elmer Barnes, Truman was aware of the January surrender offer by the Japanese and privately confessed that both atomic warfare as well as further conventional military operations were unnecessary for concluding the war in the Pacific.

The significance of General MacArthur's statement to Roosevelt is monumental. Trohan's article shows that the war in the Pacific could have been over by the early Spring and that Roosevelt had sent thousands of American boys to needless deaths at Iwo Jima and Okinawa as Truman would later do to hundreds of thousands of civilians at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The measure of FDR can be found in the realization that he dismissed MacArthur's report after only a "casual reading" and described the general as a "poor politician." Indeed, in the politics of mass murder MacArthur was a non-contender. The skilled players, FDR, Truman and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson tried out their new military "toy," as Barnes described the A-bomb, without a scintilla of justification.

—Michael A. Hoffman II

*Chicago Tribune, August 19, 1945*

## **JAPS ASKED PEACE IN JAN. ENVOYS ON WAY—TOKYO**

**Roosevelt Ignored M'Arthur Report On Nip Proposals**

**By Walter Trohan**

Release of all censorship restrictions in the United States makes it possible to report that the first Japanese peace bid was relayed to the White House seven months ago.

Two days before the late President Roosevelt left the last week in January for the Yalta conference with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin, he received a Japanese offer identical with the terms subsequently concluded by his successor, Harry S. Truman.



### **MacArthur Relayed Message to F.D.**

The Jap offer, based on five separate overtures, was relayed to the White House by Gen. MacArthur in a 40-page communication. The American commander, who had just returned triumphantly to Bataan, urged negotiations on the basis of the Jap overtures.

The offer, as relayed by MacArthur, contemplated abject surrender of everything but the person of the Emperor. The suggestion was advanced from the Japanese quarters making the offer that the Emperor become a puppet in the hands of American forces.

Two of the five Jap overtures were made through American channels and three through British channels. All came from responsible Japanese, acting for Emperor Hirohito.

### **General's Communication Dismissed**

President Roosevelt dismissed the general's communication, which was studded with solemn references to the deity, after a casual reading with the remark, "MacArthur is our greatest general and our poorest politician."

The MacArthur report was not even taken to Yalta. However, it was carefully preserved in the files of the high command and subsequently became the basis of the Truman-Attlee Potsdam declaration calling for surrender of Japan.

This Jap peace bid was known to the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times-Herald* shortly after the MacArthur communication reached here. It was not published under the papers' established policy of complete co-operation with the voluntary censorship code.

### **Must Explain Delay**

Now that peace has been concluded on the basis of the terms MacArthur reported, high administration officials prepared to meet expected congressional demands for explanation of the delay. It was considered certain that from various quarters of Congress charges would be hurled that the delay cost thousands of American lives and casualties, particularly in such costly offensives as Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

It was explained in high official circles that the bid relayed by MacArthur did not constitute an official offer in the same sense as the final offer which was presented through Japanese diplomatic channels at Bern and Stockholm last week for relay to the four major Allied powers.

No negotiations were begun on the basis of the bid, it was said,

because it was feared that if any were undertaken the Jap war lords, who were presumed to be ignorant of the feelers, would visit swift punishment on those making the offer.

It was held possible that the war lords might even assassinate the Emperor and announce the son of heaven had fled the earth in a fury of indignation over the peace bid.

### **Defeat Seen Inevitable**

Officials said it was felt by Mr. Roosevelt that the Japs were not ripe for peace, except for a small group, who were powerless to cope with the war lords, and that peace could not come until the Japs had suffered more.

The Jap overtures were made on acknowledgment that defeat was inevitable and Japan had to choose the best way out of an unhappy dilemma—domination of Asia by Russia or by the United States. The unofficial Jap peace brokers said the latter would be preferable by far.

Jap proposals to Gen. MacArthur contemplated:

1. Full surrender of all Jap forces on sea, in the air, at home, on island possessions and in occupied countries.
2. Surrender of all arms and munitions.
3. Occupation of the Jap homeland and island possessions by Allied troops under American direction.

### **Would Give Up Territory**

4. Jap relinquishment from Manchuria, Korea and Formosa as well as all territory seized during the war.
5. Regulation of Jap industry to halt present and future production of implements of war.
6. Turning over of any Japanese the United States might designate as war criminals.
7. Immediate release of all prisoners of war and internees in Japan proper and areas under Japanese control.

After the fall of Germany, the policy of unconditional surrender drew critical fire. In the Senate Senator White (R.) of Maine and Capehart (R.) of Indiana took the lead in demanding that precise terms be given Japan and in asking whether peace feelers had not been received from the Nipponese.

### **Terms Drafted in July**

In July the *Tribune* reported that a set of terms were being drafted for President Truman to take to Potsdam. Capehart hailed the reported terms on the floor of the Senate as a great contribution to universal peace.



These terms, which were embodied in the Potsdam declaration, did not mention the disposition of the Emperor. Otherwise they were almost identical with the proposals contained in the MacArthur memorandum.

Just before the Japanese surrender the Russian foreign commissar disclosed that the Japs had made peace overtures through Moscow asking that the Soviets mediate the war. These overtures were made in the middle of June through the Russian foreign office and also through a personal letter from Hirohito to Stalin. Both overtures were reported to the United States and Britain.

For further reading:

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## About the Contributors

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L.A. ROLLINS is a Contributing Editor of the *IHR Newsletter*. He has also written for other publications, including *Reason*, *New Libertarian*, *Critique*, *The Spotlight*, and is a regular contributor to *The JHR*. He is the author of *The Myth of Natural Rights*.

MARK WEBER was born and raised in Oregon and received his higher education at Portland State University (BA, History, 1976), the University of Illinois, the University of Munich, and Indiana University (MA, Central European History, 1977). Based in Washington, D.C., Mr. Weber works as a freelance researcher, author and German translator. He is a frequent contributor to *The JHR*, and presented papers to the 1980 and 1982 International Revisionist conferences. He is currently at work on a major revisionist study of the "Final Solution."

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- Ed Dieckmann, Jr. on ADL-sponsored school programs in "sensitivity training" and the "Holocaust."

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